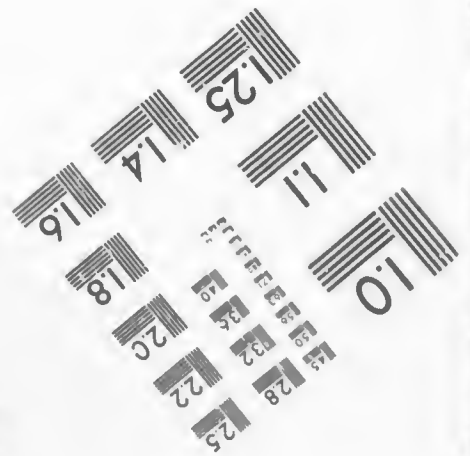
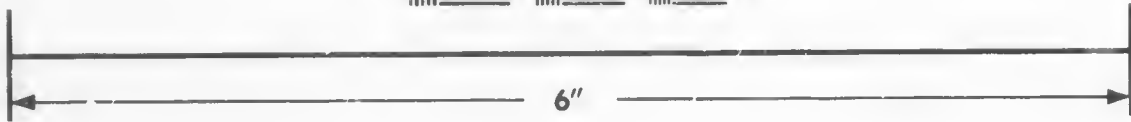
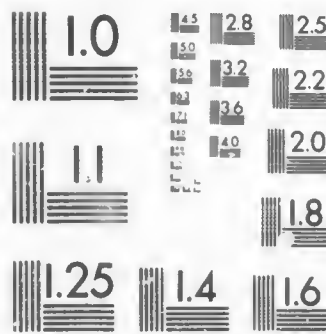


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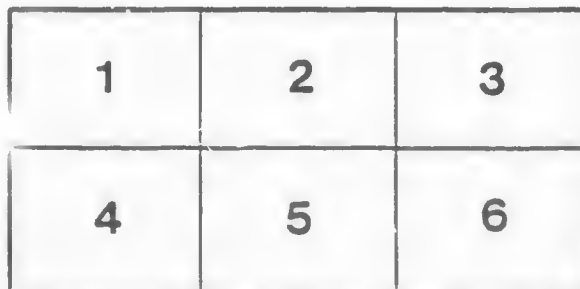
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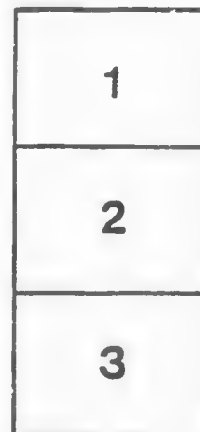
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9
THE RECIPROCITY DEBATE.

SPEECH OF

HON. A. G. JONES, M.P.

In the House of Commons, March 19th, 1888.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) who was loudly applauded on rising, said: Mr. Speaker, the principle involved in the resolution now under the consideration of this House is so far—reaching in its character, and fraught with such tremendous interests to the future welfare of this country, that I do not feel inclined to let it go to a division without asking the attention of the House for a very short time while I offer a few observations on the subject. I feel under a considerable difficulty in rising to speak at this period of the debate, because the hon. gentlemen who have preceded me from this side of the Chamber, have submitted to the consideration of the House and the country a proposition so broad, so statesmanlike, so far in the interests of this country, that the Chinese-wall-of-protection party on the other side, eloquent and argumentative as their speeches have been, from their own stand point, have been wholly unable to gainsay the position we have taken. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentlemen who have spoken from the commencement of this debate, on our side of the House, have submitted a proposition, and have proclaimed correctly the condition of this country to be such, and its financial position such, as call for the immediate consideration of this Parliament, and the consideration of the people outside of it. Now, Sir, hon. gentlemen, in the early part of this debate, quoted speeches which had been made by hon. gentlemen on this side on previous occasions. They endeavored to

make out that some hon. gentlemen on this side had been

INCONSISTENT IN THEIR UTTERANCES, and that the policy which they advocate now was not in accordance with the policy which they had advocated, individually, on other occasions. One of those gentlemen, my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies), has answered for himself to-day; he has shown this House that his speech, taken in its plain and literal meaning, from beginning to end, was not capable of the interpretation which the hon. Minister of Marine chose to put upon it. And I have no doubt that hon. gentlemen will endeavor, before this debate is over, to make quotations from observations of mine. I hope they will do so. However, I may spare them the necessity of that, Mr. Speaker, because I intend to give this House, before I resume my seat, the benefit, if benefit it may be, of the opinions which I have expressed with regard to our relations with the United States for a very considerable number of years past. (Cheers). Now, Sir, we have, in this present position, an entirely new departure. We have here a question which has never yet been formally submitted to the consideration of the people. It has been an abstract question; it has been one which people's minds may have dwelt on, but it has never been the deliberate policy of a party, and it has never been deliberately submitted for the consideration of

the people. And how are we met? We are met with the cry that it is

DISLOYAL TO THE OLD COUNTRY

The hon. gentlemen who has just resumed his seat indulged us with that cry to a considerable extent, and closed his speech by an appeal to the sentimental aspect of this question, and stating the strength of that sentiment in the hearts of the people of Canada to-day. Sir, I agree with the hon. gentleman that there is a great deal in sentiment. I agree with the hon. gentleman that great needs and great sufferings have been undergone for the sake of mere sentiment. But, Sir, if sentiment stands between us and our necessities to-day, our duty to Canada points to the course we should take in the interests of Canada. (Applause.) Sir, sitting here as one of the representatives of this Dominion, I am prepared, for my part, to say, let us consider the interests of Canada first. That, Mr. Speaker, has been the policy of hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, that has been the policy of the right hon. gentleman in times gone by. That was the policy laid down by the right hon. gentleman in that Minute of Council quoted by the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies) the other day, when the right hon. gentleman declared that the only way to make the people of Canada contented in their present position was

TO MAKE THEM PROSPEROUS ;

and no one knew better than he did that if there was prosperity in this country from one end to the other, the people were satisfied and contented with their political position. (Hear, hear.) But, as has been shown, if the true interests of a country were suffering, if the people saw on the other side of the line a market which would take all of their surplus productions, if they saw that market closed by a Chinese wall against us in consequence of the action of this Government, then I say that the time would come for the people of Canada to look around and make overtures, as this resolution invites us to make, to the

large, friendly, and powerful people to the south, and ask them if some *modus vivendi* may not be arrived at whereby we two English-speaking races on this continent may be able to exchange our products to our mutual advantage. (Applause.) I say, at the outset of this discussion, that I am glad to hear hon. gentlemen on the other side pointing out

ALL THE DISADVANTAGES

that are going to arise to the Dominion under the operation of such an Act. I am glad to hear that for this reason : because the friends of this measure—and we have friends on the other side of the border—will be able to show the people of the United States that there is at least a division of opinion on this side of the border. (Hear, hear.) If there was only one view of the question taken in this Chamber, if every member in the House and every man in the country would cordially accept the views advanced by the hon. gentlemen who have preceded me, why, the friends of that measure, and I believe they are growing in the United States, would not have the advantage of pointing out there was a division of opinion on the other side of the border as well. I hold that this is a matter which, while largely in the interests of Canada, is largely in the interests of the people of the United States as well. It is to their interest—

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. JONES. An hon. gentleman says "hear, hear." Does the hon. gentleman in any of his dealings with his fellow-men except to have all the advantages on his own side? (Cheers.) Why, is it a policy that no far-reaching statesmanship ever for one moment contemplates or desires. We desire, if we go to the United States, to say to them: Here we come offering you a trade which is to your advantage to do, and which during the time you had it under the operation of the reciprocity treaty proved to be such, and now with our enlarged commercial system, our increased number of railways, our increased population in

Canada—and in the United States as well—we believe it will be a measure for our mutual benefit, and so, come, let us trade together. (Hear, hear.) Why, the Minister of Finance when at Washington the other day made this proposition. I regret he is not here. How do we now know that the Minister of Finance did not make a proposal similar to that called for in the resolution before the House? We know he

PROPOSED A RESOLUTION THERE

in the interests of extended commerce; and now we find a resolution brought down here under the direction of the leader of this House calling for a Chinese-wall-policy of protection against the United States. Well, Sir, it appears to me that if the Minister of Finance were here to-day he would have endeavored to explain his policy, or the leader of the Government would have to explain his. (Applause.) We seem to have a Mikado and a Tycoon in this matter, and I would like to hear whether the policy of the Tycoon at Washington can be reconciled with the policy of the Mikado in the House of Commons to-day. (Cheers and laughter.) The hon. gentleman who resumed his seat a few moments ago said that the Americans were trying to coerce us in consequence of the hostile position we assumed during the Southern War. The hon. gentleman, I have no doubt, thought he was right in the evidence he offered; but if the hon. gentleman had occupied a seat in this House from 1874 to 1878, during the time the National Policy was first discussed in this Chamber and subsequently over the country, the hon. gentleman

WOULD HAVE REMEMBERED THE SPEECHES

made by his leader, by the Finance Minister, by every Tory member in this House to the effect that we are going to teach the United States their position. We were not going to allow them to have the advantage of our market, we were not going to allow them to make this a slaughter market for their products, and we were going to impose a tariff and a

National Policy against the United States which was going to bring the United States to their senses in a very short time. (Hear, hear.) I contend that those utterances of our public men on that occasion in this House and afterwards in the country did more than any other line of policy ever adopted, more than the National Policy itself, to embitter the public sentiment of the United States, the minds of the leading statesmen in Congress, against the people of this country who were

GULLED BY SUCH AN UTTERANCE

as that; and when, unfortunately for the interests of Canada, the Government came into power and had an opportunity to carry out their policy, they carried it out to the fullest extent, they carried it out with the boast that they were going to reduce our imports and trade with the United States, they were going to increase our trade with Great Britain and were going to teach the United States the fact that we could get along without them. The absurdity of that was seen from the beginning, the absurdity of that has been felt by every business man and by every farmer and by every man who has any acquaintance with the position of affairs in this country. (Cheers.) We are living alongside of the people of the United States who want what we have to sell; they take and they are the only people who will take and who can take what we have to dispose of, and we have to send them our products *minus* the duty which was imposed in consequence of the threatenings of the Tory party of this country. The hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat, indulged occasionally in poetical quotations. I followed him with a great deal of interest, and if he had confined himself to poetical quotations I am sure, in many respects, his statements would have been more accurate and more interesting to the House. The hon. gentleman indulged in a quotation from an unknown author, and as if to show how easy it was to descend from the sublime to the ridiculous, he first

CAME DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF
 pork, and then by two or three steps at once, to oleomargarine. (Laughter.) I thought, Sir, that the hon. the Minister of Inland Revenue must have apprehended what the hon. gentleman was going to say when he walked over and took his seat alongside of him during the discussion, and if the hon. the Minister of Inland Revenue could have only had the opportunity of giving him a wink and a caution, he would have said: "My good friend do not touch oleomargarine because, remember, that only a few years ago I brought in a Bill to enable oleomargarine to be imported and manufactured in this country." (Renewed laughter.) It was only on account of this strong feeling in this House that on motion of my hon. friend from Brant (Mr. Paterson) who sits beside me, the present Bill of the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue was passed to prevent its manufacture and introduction into this country. Leaving aside the hon. gentleman's conclusion with regard to our duty and our loyalty towards England, I would not have a great deal to answer. But, Sir, I would ask the hon. gentleman for one moment to refer back to the journals of the House in 1867, and he will find that the party which he follows to-day, and the leader which he serves under to-day, who was leader of the House and Government on that occasion, in the very first address from the Throne which he put into the mouth of the Governor General to deliver to this Parliament caused it to contain those words: "I congratulate you on the legislative sanction who has been given by the Imperial Parliament to the Act of Union under the provisions of which we are now assembled and which has laid the foundation of a new nationality." What does

A NEW NATIONALITY

mean, Mr. Speaker?—Does it not mean the severance from the old country and could it mean anything else? (Hear, hear.) A "new nationality" meant nothing less. It meant the independence which those gentlemen had been speak-

ing about, during the whole political campaign that preceded the Act of Union, from every hustings in the Dominion of Canada, when public men stated publicly, that we had attained our present position henceforth we were going to assume the duties and the aspect of a new country. I repeat again that on the very first occasion on which this House met after Confederation the hon. the Leader of the Government put into the mouth of the Governor General those memorable words that "we inaugurated a new nationality." (Cheers.) That, Sir, was the consequence and the object of the Union, as stated at its very inception. The hon. gentleman who spoke so eloquently with regard to our duty towards the old country would do well, I think, Sir, if he would ask his hon. colleagues to explain their meaning, when, at the very first opportunity they had of meeting the representatives of Canada under the new system of government, they announced to them, as the policy of the Administration, that they were going to adopt a new nationality. Sir, it ill becomes any of those gentlemen to endeavor to brand the hon. members on this side of the House and to argue that we are endeavoring

TO LEAD THE PEOPLE AWAY

from the old country. They themselves were the first; their leader, their Government, and the leader of the present Government was the first to indicate to the people of this country at large that we had made up our minds to adopt a new nationality, which meant severance from the old country. Now, Sir, what did the hon. gentleman with regard to this question say? In addition to the charges they make against us of being unfair to the country, he said that we have not been able to prove that this policy would be of advantage to our fishermen, and our various industries. Now, Sir, this question, as I said before, a very few years ago, was not in the position which it is to-day. We were not aware then what the position of the question would be in the United States.

To-day what do we see? We see a broad invitation from that distinguished man Mr. Bayard, the American Secretary of State, to Sir Charles Tupper, asking him to

“COME AND DISCUSS THE QUESTIONS

in a straightforward treatment on a liberal and statesmanlike plan of the entire commercial relations between the two Empires” (Applause). That invitation is the same as coming from the head of the Government, and, indeed, we had previously received almost a similar invitation from the head of the Government himself. This coming from the President, so to say, of the United States—the leader of the Cabinet, was an emphatic declaration on the part of the people of the United States, so far as the Government were concerned, that, in their judgment, the time had arrived when this question could be properly considered with Canada. Sir Charles Tupper, the hon. the Minister of Finance, who has since been in Washington, made a most cordial reply to this invitation. He did not intimate any desire on the part of Canada not to enter into the relations, but he says: “I entirely agree in your statement that we both seek to obtain a just and permanent settlement and that there is but one way to procure it, and that is by a straightforward treatment on a liberal and statesmanlike plan of the entire commercial relations of the two countries.” Here, Sir, we have then the whole case before us. We have since seen a resolution introduced into Congress by Mr. Butterworth and subsequently, by Mr. Hitt, and we have seen the

PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF OPINION

from public men in the United States with regard to this measure, and we believe to-day that they are watching with great deal of interest the discussions that take place in this House. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman has quoted occasionally from Mr. Wiman. Now, Mr. Wiman, I have no doubt, has given considerable attention to this question, and Mr. Wi-

man's idea would be quite in accord with the policy now under consideration here. He says:

“The second plan of unrestricted reciprocity to which in your letters you referred would be a most admirable arrangement, and next to the old reciprocity treaty would be most acceptable no doubt throughout Canada. It is as you say that the extension of the plan as laid down in the treaty of 1874, urged by General Grant on the part of the United States, and by the Honorable George Brown on the part of Canada. Had this negotiation been successful no Act in General Grant's Administration would have paralleled it in importance and beneficial results to the United States; while this consummation as a result of Mr. Brown's efforts would have added a lustre to a name already famous in Canada that would have been international in its scope.”

Then, Sir, he goes on to say:

“The conclusion therefore is that while the first plan in the foregoing list—the old reciprocity treaty, is impossible, the second that of unrestricted reciprocity is possible only by the early and prompt action of the Canadian Government, speaking on behalf of the people and making at once the necessary propositions from which the knowledge of the fact, I believe could be promptly carried through in view of the agitation and interest which has been excited on the question here. If no such action is taken by the representatives of the Canadian Government it is impossible to conceive that the American Congress could be induced to initiate a move of this limited character.”

Now, Sir, you will find by this that Mr. Wiman, who has given a great deal of

ATTENTION TO THIS SUBJECT,

had come to the conclusion that unrestricted reciprocity such as we are advocating to-day was entirely in accordance with the sentiment in the United States and would find acceptance there. This question of our relations with the United States as I have said before has been considered at various places and has been spoken to by myself, and as I may be mis-quoted or partially quoted by the hon. gentlemen who follow me, I will read what I said in the House last year while that question was under consideration:

“In regard to the treaty I think it very

undesirable that here or elsewhere any expressions of opinion should be given as to the great desirability or necessity of a treaty with the United States. Shortly after the treaty expired there was a meeting held at the Chamber of Commerce, Halifax, where a resolution was moved calling on the Government to take immediate steps to renew it. On that occasion I said I thought that while it was well known throughout this country that our people were anxious for a renewal of the reciprocity treaty on equal terms, it was not wise or judicious that we should publish to the world from every commercial standpoint the opinions we entertained on that subject. I am aware this expression of mine was quoted against me on a recent political occasion in my own province, but I expressed it there in the same sense in which I would express it here, because I believe the Government recognising their responsibility in dealing with a matter of such importance, would be freer to act on behalf of our country if there was not brought to bear from the other side expressions of opinion from our own people that we could not live or prosper without trade relations with that country."

I took the precaution of adopting that policy for this very reason. I did not wish to say anything that might be used against us by those in the United States who are opposed to a reciprocity treaty with us, in any future negotiations which might take place. (Hear, Hear) I remember very well the speeches which were delivered in this House, on the Washington Treaty, by the hon. leader of the Government and the hon. Minister of Finance. I remember those hon. gentlemen standing in their places and pointing out the great advantages that we

WERE GAINING UNDER THAT TREATY,

pointing out that under it we were gaining everything and giving up nothing; and the speeches of those hon. gentlemen were quoted entirely in the American case submitted to the Halifax Commission. And while I did not suppose that my speeches would have so much importance in the eyes of the public as the speeches of gentlemen who occupy the high position those hon. gentlemen occupied at that time and still occupy, I was unwilling that any member of this

House should make use of any language which American negotiators might throw up against us whenever we came to negotiate with them. Shortly after that I was interviewed by the *Boston Globe*, which was very anxious to know what we, in Nova Scotia, thought in regard to this matter. In that interview I said:

"I was a member of a Government and belong to a party that has always desired the closest commercial relations with the United States, and I do not hesitate to say that if our party came into power to-morrow our first object would be, so far as consistent with our financial obligations, to place our trade relations with our neighbors across the border on the freest and broadest basis possible. I do not believe in Commercial Union. Neither country, I believe, would agree to it but if the tariff of both countries could be reconsidered I think a way would be found by which we might trade with our neighbors who are our natural customers, on a much more liberal and extended basis than we do at present, I believe that a great deal of bad feeling was engendered in the minds of the people of the United States and in the minds of her leading statesmen by the constant cry that was kept up by the Tory party of the Dominion during the time that the Liberal Government was in power, that they (the Tories) by pursuing a policy of retaliation would force trade concessions from the Americans. The Liberals of this country never desired such a policy. They desired the freest trade relations consistent with revenue requirements, believing that the more intimate our commercial intercourse was the better feeling it would engender among the population of the two countries.

"We cannot forget that we have a large interest in the New England States particularly. Their factories are operated largely by Nova Scotians, their fishing fleet is largely manned by our own hardy sons, and the number of people from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island who have made their homes in their towns and villages it would be difficult to ascertain."

I was also interviewed by the *Chicago Times* which reported the interview as follows:—

"Hon. A. G. Jones, M. P., largely engaged in the West Indies and fish trades, has been watching with considerable interest the discussion of the question in the United States. Public opinion in Canada would be likely to shape itself in response to action that may

be taken in the United States. The people of the Maritime Provinces would favor reciprocity in the limited sense, or a broader measure like Commercial Union, if that is found practicable. 'Our commercial interests are with the United States, and not with Canada,' Mr Jones said: 'We have no binding trade interests between the east and west of Canada, and are ready to extend our commercial relations with any country that will take our products.' If the United States Government were disposed to favour unrestricted reciprocity with Canada. Mr. Jones thinks, no great difficulty would be experienced in adjusting details of the arrangement to the satisfaction of both parties. It is argued that free trade with the United States would be discrimination against the mother country, but Mr. Jones believes no opposition need be feared from that quarter. England knows that the surest way to make Canada contented with her political status as a portion of the Empire is to make her people prosperous. That would undoubtedly be the case under unrestricted free trade with the United States. 'I look on the proposition with moderate favor,' Mr. Jones said, in conclusion, 'and am prepared to discuss it for the best interests of the country. It has not yet been made a party question.'

No, Sir, these are the opinions which I have expressed on this measure up to the present time, and therefore I feel perfectly free to-day in coming here and giving my allegiance to the policy set forth in the statements I have read. But, Sir, we have heard from hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House—and they have endeavoured to propagate the idea in their papers—that the policy of the Liberal party to-day, the policy of unrestricted reciprocity, means direct taxation, the withdrawal of Provincial subsidies, the withdrawal of subsidies to various railways in the country. Sir, I take entire and immediate exception to that statement. There is no such plank in the platform of the Liberal party to-day; there is no necessity for any of these results in the arrangement we advocate for the approval of this country. (Hear, hear.) We must come here and discuss this question in a fair and honest spirit, neither overstating nor understating the case, and I am prepared to say that we

should probably lose a small amount of revenue under such an arrangement; but we

SHOULD BE ABLE TO ECONOMISE

in certain unnecessary expenses to the extent of a few millions. And, then, Sir, above all, instead of having our people in the condition we find them in to-day from one end of this Dominion to the other, instead of finding their resources crippled, their energies hampered, their farms mortgaged, and looking with hopelessness to the future, we should have contented and prosperous people, a people with money in their pockets, and we know what it means when people have money in their pockets, for they spend it, and the very man who spends one dollar to-day, would under such a condition of affairs, be able to spend three or four dollars to-morrow. Therefore, I look without the slightest apprehension to the change involved in the proposition before the House. If it involved anything approaching direct taxation, I should say, stay your hand; for I should say that this country could not under any system of government adopt direct taxation. (Applause) Although it might be the most economical if people understood it, they have not been educated up to the great economical fact that direct taxation would be the cheapest system they could adopt. And therefore you have to accept public opinion as it is. No party in this country would stand twenty-four hours, if they went to the people with direct taxation on their banners. Therefore, I take this exception at the outset, because I

DENY MOST EMPHATICALLY

that any such result can be involved in the adoption of the policy which we recommend to-day. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman may say that it would be unfair to the old country to discriminate against her with regards to the United States. Why, is it not equally unfair to discriminate against the British manufacturer, in so far as the principle and the sentiment are concerned, in favor

of the Canadian manufacturer? There is discrimination against the British manufacturer. His goods cannot come in owing to it, and if they do not come in under one condition of affairs, they will not under another; and so far as the logic and the sense is concerned, it just is as unfair for this Government, under the National Policy, to discriminate against the English manufacturer by high protective duties in favor of the people of Canada, as it would be under other circumstances to discriminate against him in favor of the people of the United States. (Applause.) The hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries the other night dealt at considerable length upon the advantages of our inter-provincial trade which has arisen out of our present political condition. To fortify his opinion, the hon. gentleman quoted an observation made by the Attorney General of Nova Scotia. I thought, as the hon. gentleman made that quotation, he might have had sufficient respect for himself, as a member of the Dominion Government, to have avoided the sneer he indulged in when speaking of the Attorney General of Nova Scotia, who is not here to answer for himself, by saying that he was a man who had

MADE A GREAT DEAL OF NOISE

about himself the last two or three years. If the hon. gentleman were to meet the Attorney General of Nova Scotia in debate, I have no doubt the Attorney General would be able to hold his own, and in his absence it is not very statesmanlike on the part of a member of this Government to attempt to belittle a member of the Local Government. (Hear, hear.) Had the hon. gentleman quoted the Hon. Mr. Longley fairly, he would have had this advantage, that I would not be in a position to make the retort which it is in my power to make to-day. We very often find hon. gentlemen opposite making quotations from the speeches of hon. gentlemen on this side, without giving us the entire quotation, but only giving us that portion, which taken by itself, bears out the impression they endeavor

to create. They are careful not to give the fair and literal meaning of what was said. Now, what did Mr. Longley say at the banquet delivered at Boston? He said:

"God and nature never destined that Nova Scotia and Ontario should trade together. We trade with Ontario, to be sure. Their drummers permeate our country, and sell \$10,000,000 of goods annually, and we pay for them most wholly in hard cash. Where do we get the money? We get it from the people of the United States."

Now, if the Minister of Marine and Fisheries had finished that quotation by giving us that part of it, he would have done Mr. Longley the justice, to which Mr. Longley was entitled. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries said that a large trade had been growing up between the east and the west. Let us see in what that trade consists. He says there is a large amount of

SUGAR BROUGHT OVER THE INTERCOLONIAL Railway. Well, there is, I admit, a very considerable quantity of sugar coming over the Intercolonial Railway, but when we find every year an annual deficiency of \$100,000 to \$200,000 in the working of the Intercolonial Railway, when we see \$8,000,000 to \$10,000,000 charged to capital account to the Intercolonial Railway, half of which should go to current expenses, I ask, is it any great advantage after all to force this trade at the expense it involves. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman says that coal is brought over the Intercolonial Railway. Coal is brought from a certain county represented by the hon. the Minister of Finance, and we have the statement, in reply to my enquiry, and which the hon. the Minister of Railways had the frankness to put in his annual report as explaining increased expenditure and diminished receipts, we have the statement that every pound of that coal carried over the Intercolonial Railway was

CARRIED AT A LEAD LOSS.

Is that the way to promote trade in this country, by making such a sacrifice?

(Hear, hear.) Hon. gentlemen, familiar with this business, are aware that when we come to put a rate of three-tenths of a cent per ton per mile on coal, that involves a loss to the country of a very extensive character. I have been told by gentlemen familiar with the business, and whom I consider as high authority, that about three-quarters of a cent per mile is the minimum rate in the United States, which, it is considered, will compensate for working expenses, so that when we come to cutting that rate down to three-tenths of a cent per mile, it is forcing trade at a very heavy expense, which the taxpayers have to bear. The hon. gentleman says that about three-quarters of a million bbls. flour are carried over the railway. There again the National Policy comes into play. If we were clear of the National Policy to-day, we would not require to carry flour over the Intercolonial Railway at a loss because I suppose it hardly pays—at all events it does not more than pay—running expenses. What would we do without the National Policy? Why, our national trade is with the United States; our little fishing vessels could in twenty-four hours take

THE PRODUCT OF OUR HARD INDUSTRY

and toil to the United States, if we had access to those markets, and exchange them for flour, which they would bring back free of duty and land at our own doors, having got rid of what the late Hon. Joseph Howe called "the Canadian corn law," like the corn law the curse of which the people of England got rid of half a century ago, and people of the Maritime Provinces would not to-day be paying 50 cents more for their flour than they would if all the restrictions imposed by the National Policy were swept away, and they had free access to the markets of the United States. (Applause.) I say there is not a single article which we get from Ontario, or which Ontario or Quebec gets from the Lower Provinces, that could not be got on much more favorable terms if it were permitted by the operations of the tariff.

There is not a single article that we get from the Upper Provinces that we could not get better from England or the United States, if the tariff permitted us or if we were back in the condition we were in the happy days gone by. Hon. gentlemen say that a trade is being built up, but they are forcing it at frightful expense, and I say emphatically that the time in the history of this country will come when different opinions will prevail, when the people will see that their interests do not lie in the policy which is advocated to-day, and when that time does come there will be a fearful retribution and

A SHAKING OF DRY BONES

amongst those manufacturers which are fostered by the policy of to-day. (Cheers.) The Liberal party would be unworthy of its standing in this country, unworthy of its principles and its traditions, if it did not; when it had the opportunity, wipe away the condition of affairs which I have pointed out, under which the present Government are forcing trade one way and that at the expense of the country, and at a great cost and burden to the consumers. (Hear, hear.) We find that in addition to being prevented from getting articles from our neighbours and from the old country which we desire to get, as a whole, under the operation of this tariff, for the benefit of a few manufacturers who can subscribe large sums for election expenses, we pay very much larger sums for everything we consume than we should do under other circumstances. Gentlemen here and elsewhere have pointed out, and have taken advantage of the country in this respect, that, as they say, for the last three or four years the people should look to see how cheap sugar has been, how cheap cotton has been, how cheap other articles have been during that time. We do not deny that these articles have been cheap during the last three or four years, but they have been

CHEAP ALL THE WORLD OVER.

(Applause.) The over-productions have

been immense. The over-production of sugar has been enormous, and the improvement in machinery and in the increase of mills has brought that branch of the industry down to the finest possible point. But we lose all the advantage of this. Prices have gone down late, and we have not had the advantage of it; and why? Because we are cursed by a policy which takes 25 per cent., 30 per cent., 40 and 50 per cent. out of us for the benefit of the manufacturers in order that they may have more money to subscribe for their party. I was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman ask what more did the taxpayers pay to-day than they did before the National Policy? I will only take one article. If the Minister of Marine had been at the meeting of the Combines Committee the other day, he would have heard a question and an answer given there that would have satisfied him, I think, that we pay more at least than we would other circumstances. The question was asked of one of the sugar dealers: How much does sugar cost in England? His answer was, 16s. 6d. per 112 lbs. He was asked what that was a pound, and his answer was 3½ cents. He was asked what was the price in Montreal from the refiners to-day, and the reply was 6¾ cents per pound. Only in that one article sugar, there is a difference of 3¼ cents per pound, and that principal permeate, every manufactured article, every article that every man is obliged to consume and requires for the use of his family in this country. (Cheers) Imagine what 3¼ cents per pound of sugar means. It means from \$7.50 to \$8 a barrel. In the production of a refinery like the Canada Refinery in Montreal of 1,000 barrels a day, the gain to them and the loss to us is \$7,500 per day. (Applause.) If you take that principle and

APPLY IT TO EVERY MANUFACTURED ARTICLE

in this country, hon. gentlemen can easily see that the argument adduced by my hon. friend from Queen's (Mr. Davies) the other day, pointing out the increased

cost of living under these circumstances, was amply justified. But that is not all. The difficulty under the present condition of affairs is this: We have certain articles to dispose of wherewith we purchase our needed requirements. The farmer has his wheat and his grain, his horses and sheep, and the various articles that he cultivates and raises; the fisherman, after his hard toil, has his fish, and the lumberman has his lumber; but where does it all go? It goes to the United States, and, when it goes there to the only market which will take it, it is met with this heavy duty, and they have to take off the product of their industry, and they have that much less when they come back to Nova Scotia with which to buy all these articles which are protected, which are raised up here for the benefit of the manufacturers, but which those people cannot do without. They cannot buy in the United States. They can only take their product there no matter what it may be or how small it may be, and bring back the price he and invest it in articles such as the sugar at \$7.50 a barrel more than should be. (Hear, hear.) Is there a wonder that there is a mortgage of 43 per cent. on the farms of Ontario? The farmers of this country have been living but they have not been prospering, and they have hardly known what was the matter with them, but they are realizing now the condition of affairs which is taken from them the legitimate product of their industry, and I venture to say that there is

A FEARFUL RECKONING COMING

in the near future, when these men realize that for all these long years they have been gulled under the impression that they were getting these articles cheap and that they could not be produced any cheaper. (Cheers.) I remember when the Postmaster-General delivered a speech in his own country when I had the honor of meeting him on an occasion which, I am sorry to say, did not have the desired effect. He was pointing out to his people there that

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cause of all this cheap sugar and cheap cotton and cheap iron was the National Policy, was because the duties were so high, because they had taken the duties up from 15 per cent. under our *règime* to 25 and 30 per cent. There was a little country lad sitting up in the gallery, and he said: "Well, Mr. McLellan, double the duties again, and we will get them just so much cheaper." It was a reasonable answer, and just such a one as the hon. gentleman might have expected. I shall now proceed to deal with a statement made by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who said that we had failed to show that the National Policy had injured the interests of the fishermen and the miners. I will

TAKE OUR COAL INTERESTS

in the first place, and I do not know that I could produce to this House a better or a higher authority than Mr. Lithgow, of Halifax, a gentleman who is accepted in Nova Scotia as the mouthpiece of the coal interest in that Province. Now, when the duties were imposed on foreign coal, accompanied by the increase in the tariff, Mr. Lithgow took a correct view of the situation, according to my view, and, I think, according to the views of reasonable business men. But I will let Mr. Lithgow speak for himself. Writing on this subject at that very time, he said:

"Anyone acquainted with the wants of a colliery in Nova Scotia will tell you that the new tariff about doubles the duties payable under the old tariff, and that the duties now imposed on colliery plant and supplies average more than the duty levied on imported coal and coke. When I think how the National Policy proposed to foster our mining interests, of Mr. Tilley's proposing to impose such a duty as would give to home industry the home market, and then think of what it and he have done for the coal mines, I—well—better not write my feelings lest the Philistines rejoice. My conviction is the Cape Breton collieries are much worse off under the new than under the old tariff. They cannot now get any more for their coal; they cannot now put their coal into Ontario; they have now to pay twice as much duty as before. Messrs. Redpath & Dr. Amund, I will venture to say, make more profit within one year under the new tariff than all the

Cape Breton collieries will under ten years, aye, or fifty years' protection the new tariff affords them. The Spring Hill and Pictou collieries, by means of subsidies, in the way of low railway freights, will be able to send coal into Canada, but the Cape Breton collieries, which cannot be thus favored, are in a worse position than before."

Since then we have put 10 cents on coal more than in 1879. But if Mr. Lithgow, who, I repeat, was considered a good authority at that time, says that the duties now imposed on colliery plant and supplies average more than the duty levied on coal and coke, it is evident that 10 cents will not benefit them to any appreciable extent. Then again, since that time the duty on anthracite has been removed, which has placed them still further

IN AN UNFAVORABLE POSITION.

Then, Sir, take the Londonderry mines. The Londonderry mines, in the county of Colchester, were established under a Nova Scotia 10 per cent. tariff. (Hear, hear.) They manufactured iron there for many years. They were fairly successful for a certain time, but the moment we came into Confederation, and all these heavy duties and charges were imposed, the result was that that mine, to my great regret, became embarrassed, and it passed into the hands of a large company. (Cheers.) It went on from year to year and finally became bankrupt. A year or two ago it passed into the hands of a second or third company, and I hope sincerely with better success. Still the past history of that undertaking will serve to show how those interests have been benefited in Nova Scotia. So, if the hon. gentleman did not understand how the National Policy had

FAILED TO BENEFIT OUR FISHERMEN,

I think he is hardly the man who should be at the head of that important department. And if he cannot see how the absence from freedom of exchange and from liberty to dispose of the products of their fisheries in the only market that requires them, and how, handicapped

with heavy duties, these people have to send their produce to that market, at no matter what cost, I think the hon. gentleman has lived a good many years in vain. (Applause.) I see it was stated recently by Mr. Wiman, at a banquet in Montreal, and I have not seen his statement questioned, though I have not had time myself to verify it from public documents, that from the expiration of the first reciprocity treaty, down to the present moment, the products of Canada have paid 100 million dollars into American Treasury. Now, Sir, is it any wonder that the farmers and other interests of this country are suffering, if, during that time, such a large amount has been paid by them on the products of their industry, and while they have been

COMPELLED TO USE THAT MARKET,

as the only one open to them? The hon. member for Huron (Mr. McMillan) told us the other night, that the farms valued at \$800,000,000 were mortgaged to the extent of \$275,000,000, or an average 43 per cent., and 6 per cent. interest on the mortgages imposes an annual obligation of \$16,500,000. I say, Sir, this is a most startling statement. I regret that it cannot be questioned. I should have been delighted to have heard some hon. gentleman opposite show the hon. member for Huron had overstated his case. When that hon. gentleman produced these figures, taken from the official documents of the country, and when no hon. gentleman opposite, up to the present time, has been able to contradict that statement, I say that we are brought face to face with a condition of affairs in this country which is of a most startling character. If the farmers of that fine Province of Ontario, with its excellent climate, have been brought, after so many years under the National Policy,

TO THE VERGE OF BANKRUPTCY,

as described by the hon. member for Huron, I say the time has arrived when every well-wisher of this country, with a sincere desire of benefiting that large in-

terest, should endeavor to discover some means of amelioration, whereby the products and industries of that large class of our people may in some way be relieved. (Hear, hear.) Sir, if that statement is borne out, as I have no doubt it will be, by the realities of their position, the farmers of Ontario have the matter in their own hands; and I have full confidence that when this matter comes to be presented to them, and when they see on the other side of the line a market for their produce in which it will bring as much as American produce—because our produce is a small affair compared with the productions of that great country, as was shown by the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) the other night—I say that I have confidence that when the farmers of Ontario come to discuss this matter in their own homes and over their own fire-sides they will at no very distant day take it into their own hands and teach these Chinese-wall protection men on the other side of the House, these men who want to build up “rings” and foster “combines” that wring from the farmers their very last cent—I say I have confidence enough in the intelligence of the farmers of Ontario and of the Dominion at large to believe that these men will be taught a lesson that will be of a very surprising character. (Applause.) The

POLICY AND EXTRAVAGANCE

of our Government which has taken on an average for the last ten years from eight to ten millions of dollars out of the people more than the actual necessities required has been another important factor in this question. We were told in 1878 by Sir Leonard Tilley in St. John, by the Finance Minister and by the leader of the present Government that we were spending too much money when we spent \$23,000,000. The people were told that if they turned out the Government and replaced the Conservatives in power, they would be able to administer the affairs of the Government for a smaller amount. And what have we seen? When the people took

hon. gentlemen opposite at their word and placed them in power, the annual expenditure went up year by year by leaps and bounds until he has reached nearly \$40,000,000 during the past year. We have now before us Estimates for \$35,000,000, which, no doubt, will be increased by the Supplementary Estimates to \$38,000,000 and probably \$40,000,000 (Hear, hear.) I say hon. gentlemen opposite have taken from

EIGHT TO TEN MILLIONS MORE

out of the consumers of the country than the necessities of the case required, and when you come to add that amount to the \$100,000,000 which have been taken out of the producers by payments on products sent to the United States, I repeat, is it a wonder that the farmers of Ontario are driven to the money lenders for their daily wants? Is it any wonder that the farmers and fishermen and in fact those engaged in every industry in Canada, except a few bloated manufacturers and combines, are laboring at the present moment under such severe depression? Badly as we are off undoubtedly, in the Maritime Provinces I am happy to say that I do not think the farmers there are in the same bad position. I say I do not think they are, for this reason: We have a variety of resources in the Province of Nova Scotia, which perhaps no other Province in the Dominion possesses. We have not only our farming industry, but we have our fishing and coal and lumbering, and shipping industries, and our farmers are all, to a certain extent, more or less interested in one or more of those industries. Then, again, we have in parts of the Province of Nova Scotia a very large fruit industry which has grown up with the old country, and which has brought hundreds of thousands of dollars into our Province. What has the National Policy to do with that? (Cheers.) Those products are not consumed in Canada. When Providence in its wisdom has given us good crops in these directions where do we find our markets? We find them in England or in the United States;

and, therefore, it is that I believe the farmers in Nova Scotia are not in the same position to the same extent as are the farmers in Ontario. They have lived but they have not prospered. (Hear, hear.) There is a great difference between making a daily living, comfortable though it may be, and prospering as honest, and industrious, and hard-working and intelligent men should. In a country like ours

THE FARMERS SHOULD NOT ONLY LIVE

but they should prosper, and if you take from them by placing heavy taxes on the products of their industry, while they live they cannot make any accumulations for their old age. (Applause.) These may not see a direct effect, and many a man is day by day wondering why he does not do better, and why the present times are so different to the old times when we had reciprocity with the United States. They raise as many potatoes and as many cattle, he catches more fish, and yet he is compelled to ask himself the question after a year's hard toil is over: Why are we in a different position to-day from what we were doing the time the reciprocity treaty was in operation. (Hear, hear.) The result is obvious. During reciprocity he had access to the American market and everything rushed to that market. Our potatoes found a market in the States—there is no other market for them. The potatoes of Prince Edward Island, which is one of their chief crops, found a market there—there is no other market for them. (Cheers.) At the present moment those potatoes are taxed 15 cents a bushel. If you estimate that an acre will produce from 200 bushels to 400 bushels, you will find, taking the lowest calculation, 200 bushels, that the duty or incubus placed on every acre of land cultivated in potatoes in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick amounts to \$30. Sweep away the present tariff and give us unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, and what would be the result? Why, our farming industry and our farm lands would go up

with a bound; every man and every farmer would know that he could put in a crop and cultivate his land, because that large country alongside of us

AFFORDED A BOUNDLESS MARKET

for his enterprise; he would know that that country could take whatever he had to dispose of and his farm would immediately improve to the extent of \$30 per acre per annum. Take the farmers of Ontario. It is not very far out of the way to say that Ontario farms do not produce over eighteen bushels of wheat to the acre on the average, say twenty bushels if you like. The whole value of one acre of wheat in Ontario would not amount to as much as a farmer in Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island or New Brunswick, would save on the duty on potatoes sent to the United States. It must always be remembered that we have no other market for those products. Canada, as we call it in the Lower Province, for we call it Canada still and always shall, takes no part of our products, it takes nothing from the Lower Provinces in the shape of natural products for it has its own. (Hear, hear.) The West Indies take our potatoes only to a very small extent, only a few cargoes, nothing in proportion to the annual product. They don't go to England, because England sends them out sometimes to the United States themselves, and here we are alongside of the markets that want them in the country we have at hand to send them to, no matter what the duty may be. I do not like to repeat that here, as it might be repeated against our case when argued elsewhere, but I do repeat here, Mr. Speaker,

IN THE INTEREST OF OUR FARMERS

that if the duty was 30 cents a bushel, and it only gave the farmers of the Maritime Provinces 5 cents a bushel or even 2 cents a bushel, they must send their goods to this market. Under such a condition of affairs when it is a matter of life or death to them, I say, Sir, with all the responsibility that belongs to the statement, that there is only one issue

before us down there and that is either RECIPROCITY OR REPEAL. (Cheers.) I say, Sir, that Nova Scotia when we had an opportunity untrammelled by all the influence, and corrupt influence of a corrupt Government—I say, Sir, when we had a legitimate expression of public opinion in Nova Scotia, and when we went before the people of Nova Scotia under a proper Franchise Act, not being controlled by returning officers or corrupt revising barristers, the honest opinion of the people of Nova Scotia was in favor of repeal. (Applause.) If there is anything that is going to make them contented with the Union to-day it is to make them feel that the people here who are responsible for the policy of the country at the present momentous time are laboring to secure them a market which will open to them a channel by which they may realize the fruits of their industry. I say, and I repeat it again, that there is only one course open to them, and I say it here as I have said it before in my own county and elsewhere, there is only one question for us in the Maritime Provinces to-day—that is reciprocity or repeal. (Hear, hear.) If you do not choose to labor to give us unrestricted reciprocity with the United States that feeling of repeal which is latent to-day will spring up again in all its force.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis). It is dead long ago.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—The hon. gentleman says “hear, hear.”

Mr. TUPPER (Picton)—He said repeal was dead and buried long ago.

Mr. MILLS (Annapolis)—It is dead.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—The hon. gentleman will find out in his own country, if he ventures to follow his party to the extent which his approval would appear to indicate; he will find if he goes to the electors of Nova Scotia at no distant date what the public sentiment is on that particular point. I listened to the hon. gentleman from Bruce (Mr. McNeill) this afternoon, when he referred to this question. He taunted us to go to the country and obtain an expression of opinion on the policy we advocate. Mr.

Speaker, we are not in a position to advise or control a dissolution of this House, but, Sir, the hon. gentleman and his friends are in that position, and let them dare to go to the country on this question of unrestricted reciprocity. (Loud applause.)

Mr. McNEILL—I wish for one moment to explain to the hon. gentleman. I did not suggest that he ought to go to the country in that sense. I suggested he ought to take a favorable opportunity for holding an election for the office of poundkeeper upon the annexation platform.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—I suppose the hon. gentleman under those circumstances is prepared to be the candidate. (Great laughter.) I say, Sir, when the hon. gentleman who is challenging this side of the House with temerity and desired us to open a constituency and try the question of unrestricted reciprocity, that one constituency would do no good. Let him and his friends dissolve this House and go the country, and then we will see a corporal's guard scarcely, of those honorable, patriotic gentlemen who are willing to suffer for their country but do not seem disposed to die for their country. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, the hon. member for Cardwell, (Mr. White) said that Montreal and Toronto are very prosperous. I am glad to hear it, and it is only natural that it should be so. I am glad to hear it, I repeat, as I am always glad to hear of any part of the Dominion or any other place being prosperous. But, Sir, it is very easy of explanation. We know that since this Government has been in power within the last ten years they have added within a fraction of

ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS

to the gross public debt of this country. We know that they have taken from eighty to one hundred million dollars more than they ought to have done out of the taxpayers of this country by the iniquitous National Policy. (Applause.) We know, Sir, that those two large sums of money going into circulation and that Montreal and Toronto being the centres

of commerce in the east and west of the old Province of Canada, most naturally have a great share of the advantage. We know, Sir, that those largest centres of commerce, attract the largest amount of capital, and the property which had been distributed through the Dominion by means of those expenditures of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred million dollars has borne its fruit and those cities have been advanced. They have been advanced in no other way; they have been advanced at the cost of the whole of the rest of the Dominion, and just as long as those large cities go on and prosper in this way the rural districts will suffer to that extent. (Hear, hear.) But, Sir, have they improved as much as it would appear from this statement. I notice that at a public meeting of the Board of Trade called at Montreal the other day that Mr. Drummond,

THAT EMINENT SUGAR REFINER

of Montreal, who is the president, delivered an address, which I think the hon. gentlemen opposite would find very instructive if they read it. The speech was with reference to the Government assuming the debt of the Harbor Commission in Montreal. I do not propose offering an opinion upon the assumption of that debt, but I will say this much, Mr. Speaker, that it would have been a much more legitimate appropriation of the public funds of this country to cheapen the harbor in Montreal and reduce the expense attending the imports and exports of that large centre of commerce, than to have given the large sum of money they did give to a member of their administration to build up a rival railway to the Intercolonial which is owned by the Administration. Now, Sir, what did Mr. Drummond say?

"In opening the meeting he spoke in a manner that was little short of mutinous to his friends at Ottawa. Hitherto, he said, the impression had prevailed that Montreal would come out all right, no matter what happened; but now there was no use mincing matters, and it must be stated openly that this city had arrived at a crisis in its his-

tory. The charges in the harbor of Montreal were three or four times as great as those in the port of New York, and whilst the exports of the country had gone on increasing enormously during the last ten years the trade of Montreal had remained almost stationary. Montrealers had for years been amusing themselves in discussing plans for remedying the evil, but nothing really had been done, and to-day they were forced to acknowledge that Montreal was not in a position to compete with American ports. Outward exports were taking the route by way of New York because carriage alone was charged and all dues were abolished. This was not a Montreal question, but a national question, and it was gratifying to find that over one hundred members of the House of Commons had pledged their support to it."

It evidently seemed that they had done a little log rolling around the House and had secured the promised support of one hundred members of the House of Commons.

"The time had arrived for plain speaking. The port of Montreal was hastening with rapid strides to a condition of bankruptcy."

This is one of the cities which has been so highly favored by the National Policy, and Mr. Drummond continues:

"The income of the harbor commissioners was not sufficient to carry on the ordinary routine work of the port, and the inevitable result of bankruptcy or repudiation was close at hand unless the Government took immediate action." (Applause.)

Now, whether Mr Drummond was right or wrong, that statement on the face of it does not convey the *colour de rose* aspect of the prosperity of Montreal, which hon. gentlemen on the other side seem so desirous to make out. Hon. gentlemen have stated during this debate that this policy was going to injure the manufacturers. I need not go into that branch of the question because my hon. friends who preceded me have dealt with that question in such an exhaustive manner that it is completely unanswerable. Let me take one or two illustrations. It is evident, if the public prints can be relied on, that the Ontario manufacturers are not all of that opinion. We have seen from day to day statements

made by Ontario manufacturers that they are

NOT APPREHENSIVE OF THE RESULT

of unrestricted reciprocity; and these are men with a knowledge of their business, with ample capacity and ample industry. I say that wherever a manufactory was established under proper management previous to the introduction of the National Policy, it has succeeded, if not to a great extent of late years, to a sufficient extent to yield a fair return on the capital invested. My hon. friend the other night quoted also Mr. Gibson, one of the oldest and most enterprising business men in the Province of New Brunswick, who has built up a large cotton mill in that Province. He was interviewed on this question, and what was his answer? He said: "So far from my dreading unrestricted reciprocity, or apprehending any difficulty in connection with my industry from it, I should feel satisfied that it would open up to me a market of 65,000,000 people, instead of 4,500,000 as at present;" and Mr. Gibson is a man whose judgment as a business man is relied on more than any other man in the Province of New Brunswick, and I may say in the Province of Nova Scotia as well. (Applause.) He was able to gauge the condition of his enterprise so well that when the question was put to him, he was ready to answer at once and emphatically that so far from his apprehending anything disadvantageous to his cotton industry, unrestricted reciprocity was just what he desired to see carried into effect. Then, I am informed by an hon. member of this House that the other day one of the proprietors of the new sugar refinery to be built in Montreal, in conversation with him, said: "We are putting in all our machinery of the most improved pattern, and are building our refinery according to the most improved methods, and if the unrestricted policy prevails, and we have

A MARKET IN THE UNITED STATES,

then, instead of having our market over-

crowded every little while, we shall be able to compete successfully in all the border and Western States with the American refiners." (Cheers.) Does anyone doubt a statement like that? (Hear, hear.) Why should not our refineries in the Lower Provinces, and in Montreal as well, be able to do a large portion of the business in the American border States? Our climate is good, our labor is cheap, our coal is cheap, and we have capital for our enterprises, and instead of these large refining industries every little while being brought to a dead stop by orders from the head centre, or being limited in their production by orders to produce only so many barrels a day, so that a great many men are thrown out of employment—instead of having that condition of affairs, which will grow worse with the advent of another refinery to compete with them in the market, all these things would be changed, and they would have a constant market which would enable them to keep their enterprises going and giving ample employment to their men all the year round. That is a consideration which may not have occurred to those less familiar than I am with that branch of trade.

THE REFINING INDUSTRY

of this country would be one of the first to reap the advantage of unrestricted reciprocity. (Cheers.) I have said that we have cheap labor. Can any one doubt that after the exposure made in the city of Quebec the other day before the Labor Commission? I noticed by a paper published here that the last statement made there gave the startling fact that mill hands in the city of Quebec could only get 35 cents a day, and that women were laboring in the match factories of Quebec for 15 cents a day. Is it any wonder that these people should be dissatisfied? Why, one of our Nova Scotian or Canadian girls who go to the United States as a domestic servant is able to earn from \$14 to \$20 a month and her board, while a poor girl in the Province of Quebec, who perhaps, cannot leave her

home, is laboring here for \$3.50 a month and paying her board. (Hear, hear.) If there is anything to show that we would be able to compete in the matter of labor with the people of the United States, it would be that startling fact which was

REVEALED BEFORE THE LABOR COMMISSION

the other day. Now, Sir, I will give you a statement with regard to the general condition of affairs in the Province of Nova Scotia, made in a letter written by a gentleman in Halifax who worked as hard as any man in that city to defeat me in 1878, and succeeded. This gentleman has more small properties in the city of Halifax, and controls more investments than any other man in that city to-day. I refer to Mr. James Thompson. Someone having stated that the value of property would not decrease in Halifax, Mr. Thompson wrote as follows:

"I saw in the report of a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce a few days since that one of the merchants of this city had asserted that the real estate of the Province had increased at least 50 per cent. since Confederation. I was somewhat surprised at the statement, and am anxious to know from what sources the facts are derived which would warrant such a conclusion.

"Some years since I took the trouble to get the amount of the assessment rolls of some of the counties of this Province, and arrived at an entirely opposite conclusion. Taking four leading counties, representing the four of the leading industries,—Cape Breton as representing the coal mining interest; Antigonish as representing the farming interest; Hants as representing the ship-building interest; and Queen's as representing the lumbering interest, and we will find that the assessment rolls amounted in 1868 to \$11,316,000, while in 1884—at the time he was writing—they had decreased to less than \$1,000,000.

That is the effect it had with us, and since that time I may say that so far from having improved in value, their value has become less and less from day to day, until, in the city of Halifax at least, it is almost impossible to sell property at all. I notice in a St. John paper to-day the advertisements of pro-

erty to be disposed off at public auction, and the auctioneer puts at the foot of the advertisements the notice, "Any bid will be accepted that will more than pay for the taxes and water rates." Well, we have had a large amount of property sold for taxes in Halifax. At one time last year there were some two hundred or three hundred properties advertised for sale

UNDER THE SHERIFF'S HAMMER,

and on one occasion a valuable wharf property, which had been a few years ago sold for \$40,000, only realized just one-half that amount. You can go through the streets of Halifax, from one end of the city to the other, and I do not hesitate to say that on enquiry you will find that since our free trade with the United States was put an end to, the value of property in the city of Halifax has fallen more than 50 per cent. (Hear, hear.) A condition of affairs equally disastrous exists in other parts of the Provinces. Now, I come to the fishermen. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries must be very unqualified to fill the position he holds, if he does not know more about the interests of our fishermen and the way unrestricted reciprocity would benefit them than he was disposed to admit the other night. Perhaps the hon. gentleman in the receipt of his \$7,000 a year, hardly understands the hardships and toil which our fishermen go through from year to year. Is he aware that at one or two o'clock in the morning, these men rise from their beds, light their candles, cook their frugal meals, and go out in their small boats miles from the land, encountering heavy weather, in cold and rainy seasons, and come back in the afternoon with the product of their day's labor—may be a few barrels of mackerel, or herring, or a few quintals of codfish? What are they to do with their harvest? These men know when they catch the mackerel, that their only market is the United States; they know that only a few of the fish go to the West Indies; they know that every mackerel caught along the Atlantic

coast, in the Province of Nova Scotia, of a valuable character—what we call our fat mackerel—must go to the United States, even if the duty were \$10 a barrel. (Cheers.) These fish do not go to

THE OLD PROVINCES OF CANADA

they do not go to England, they cannot go to the West Indies, because being fat they will not keep in that hot climate; so that every barrel of mackerel, no matter what the duty may be, and no matter if it brings a net return of only one or two dollars a barrel, must go to the United States or be thrown overboard to rot. I hold in my hand the statement of a vessel, which, in 1885, the year after the reciprocity treaty was terminated, landed 800 barrels of mackerel in the port of Boston. That may seem a large amount to anyone not familiar with the question, and it is a large amount, far above the average. These men under ordinary circumstances would have been able to realize a very fair return, but when they went to the United States and had to pay the duty of \$2 a barrel, what was the result? From their hard labor, from the 15th June to the 30th October, in rain and shine, in calm and storm, exposed to the inclemency of that boisterous Atlantic coast, these hardy fishermen only realized, after all that long, hard summer's toil and labor, the paltry sum of \$30 a piece. Can such a condition of affairs be allowed to exist while a remedy is possible? (Cries of no, no.) Can such a condition of affairs be allowed to remain if there is within sight a possible arrangement which will open the market to the product of these hardy men? The Government would be unworthy of the position they occupy if they did not strain every effort, if they did not

USE EVERY POSSIBLE INFLUENCE

to open this market. I am not sanguine that we are going to convince any hon. gentleman on the other side. I know how strong is their party allegiance. I know how they will follow their leader, and that we cannot expect to convert

them ; but I know that we have an intelligent constituency behind every one of them, and it is to those men we are appealing. It is to the intelligent constituencies that we are addressing our observations to-day, and it is possible that some Robert Peel may come out from the ranks of the Tory party to carry a great measure as that illustrious statesman did the abolition of the corn laws of England. It may be that some shaft, some argument may go forth, which will reach the hearts and the convictions of some leader on that side, who, when he sees the momentous interests involved in the trade with 65,000,000 people alongside of us, and sees that by his efforts he may forward a scheme which is going to make two great peoples to a certain extent one, which is going to allay a great deal of acrimony and disputes which have prevailed for years past, which is going to do a service and not a dis-service to the old country, who, when he realizes that England and America are the two greatest countries and

MAY TOGETHER BID DEFIANCE

to the world, and that a peaceful settlement of the Irish question, which I am proud to say I have always advocated, and which I believe to be nearer accomplishment to-day than it ever was in the history of that country,—are now, more than ever, desirable,—who, when he sees the immediate possibility of bringing these two great nations together in peaceful alliance and harmonious working, a great Angli-Saxon race, will not be untrue to his own judgment, will not be faithless to his duty, and allow his prejudices to control him, but will give this matter the consideration we have a right to expect from every hon. gentleman here. (Applause.) What is the position of these fishermen to-day? \$500,000 per year is what the fishermen of this country, under the present policy of restriction, pay to the revenue of the United States ; that is when they have a fair catch. All that would be changed, and the \$500,000 would go into the pockets of our own fishermen.

An hon. MEMBER.—No.

M. JONES (Halifax). The hon. gentleman says no, but he is not sufficiently familiar possibly with that branch of the subject to know, as pointed out by the hon. member for Norfolk the other day, that, while we catch a certain quantity of fish, the Americans catch a much larger quantity. The price of these articles is settled by what the Americans produce themselves, and the quantity which we send, which is small to them but great to us, will go there and will not affect the price in their market, and we will obtain the same value. Does anyone suppose that the fishing industry of this country is

TO REMAIN IN THE POSITION

we find it to-day? Does any hon. member desire that it shall always be kept in the same condition, that there shall be no further development of that great industry which a benign Providence has placed within our reach? What is the use of developing it to any further extent if we have no market? What is the use of our people making efforts to build new vessels, to send out new crews and to catch more fish, if we have no market for them? The market of the United States is the only market we can ever look to to successfully develop to any extent that great fishing industry along our shores. Looking at its position to-day, it is a matter of life or death to them down on the shore. One hon. gentleman quoted a statement from the Halifax Chamber of Commerce to show that the fishing industry was fairly profitable. What was said in that was not very committal one way or the other. They said that the prices were low in the early part of the season, but that, as they had advanced considerably later in the season, the result of the year's fishery had been fairly successful. How was that brought about? If the hon. gentleman had known this fact perhaps he would not have given this the prominence he did. In the early part of the season fish were very low. Then we found that we

HAD HARDLY A GOOD CATCH.

That was not, however, the important

factor. The fisheries in St. Pierre-Miquelon, which had been so much reduced the previous year, in spite of the enormous bounty of 10 francs per quintal, were still further reduced, and they did not send out one-half of the number they sent out the previous year, and so reduced the catch of the previous season. The catch in Newfoundland was short, and it was almost a failure in Labrador; and then came the news that the great Norwegian fishery, one of the largest in the world, counted by millions, had been a failure to a very great extent. When all this was known in the consuming markets of Europe and elsewhere of course there was an advance in fish, and our men to that extent realized an advantage; but we cannot hope to expect, and we do not desire to see any such condition of affairs again. However, if it had not been for that condition of affairs, had it not been for the failure in all these places to which I have referred, the fishing interest in Nova Scotia would have been a very poor affair last year. (Hear, hear.) But what had it been for the few years previous? If the hon. gentleman had been really interested in that question, he would have known that in the three previous years, instead of that industry being productive at all, the men had barely made a living out of it.

PRICES WERE SO LOW,

while the catches were large, and the United States markets were closed to them, that our own people as well as those in Newfoundland reduced their outfit and their catches as well. But, give us access to the United States market, give us access to the fifty or sixty millions of people alongside of us, then our fishing industry, with the millions and millions which are involved in it, would go forward with leaps and bounds, and there would be such an increase in that branch of commerce as would give wealth to that part of the country. (Great cheering.) The hon. gentleman asked us what was a natural market, and he said that France, if nearness was to be considered, was a

more natural market for England, than some of the distant places with which England had much greater commercial relations. The hon. gentleman might have stated his case with equal force, if he had given us the whole condition of affairs, if he had stated that there were only two countries in the world with which England had greater trade relations than with the French nation alongside of her, and those are India and the United States. India, with its hundreds of millions of people, must be and naturally will be for a long time the greatest market that England possesses, and the United States that Anglo-Saxon country,

IS THE NEXT GREATEST CONSUMER

of her products; but the French nation alongside, of her, was also valuable to her, as \$230,000,000 were taken by the French during the year, according to the public records, and although the hon. gentleman may not think that a very large amount, I consider it sufficient to establish the fact, that but for the immediate proximity of France to England, but for the free trade policy inaugurated by Mr. Cobden, and subsequently carried out to a certain extent, introducing better trade relations between those countries, it would not have amounted to the large sum it did. I would like the hon. the Minister of Marine to go long the coast when he visits Halifax next year, instead of allowing his gunboat to go down the shore electioneering in the county of Shelburne, instead of sending her down to sound along every little harbor in the county of Shelburne, but of course not to make promises. Oh, no, we have the work of the gallant member for Shelburne (Gen. Laurie), that he made no promises, I do not say he did but I say that, he went down on board that Dominion gunboat with the Dominion flag flying over his head, and the so-called engineer going into every port along that coast and sounding, and saying this would be a nice place for a wharf, and that would be

A NICE PLACE FOR A BREAKWATER,

and you must require a lighthouse here—I do not say he made any promises, but the inference would be natural. If the Minister of Marine, instead of allowing his navy to be employed in that way, would go along our coasts himself and judge of all these questions, I think he would be in a much better position to give an opinion. He would find there one thing. He would find that our hardy fishermen are leaving us and going to the United States, as I am sorry to say. The hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill) would say that sentiment should keep them at home and let them starve. Sentiment is very strong, but a man cannot live on sentiment alone, and, when these hardy fishermen go out in one of our own vessels and fish by the side of an American vessel, and the American vessel takes 1,000 quintals of fish, and our vessel takes 1,000 quintal of fish, and our own men are on board that American vessel go into an American port, and get 50 cents a quintals more than the man who lands his fish in Nova Scotia, I say that sentiment will stand a very short time against such an argument as that. I know, from my own experience, that a large number of vessels last season were prevented from going into the fishery because they could not obtain the crews, because the men had all gone to the United States. Go down to the Island of Cape Breton. My hon. friends from Cape Breton here will bear me out—

Gen. LAURIE. Hear, hear.

Mr. JONES (Halifax). The hon. gentleman confirms my statement, as I knew he would from his frankness. (Cheers.) But I say, go down to the Island of Cape Breton, and there you will find that almost all the population, a large number of people there who used to be engaged in our shore fishery, have gone to the United States.

An hon. MEMBER. No.
Mr. JONES (Halifax). I know better, for I am engaged in that business myself. Years ago we used to have tens of thousands of valuable shore fish

brought to the Halifax market and exported all over the world; that branch of commerce, as far as regards the shore fishery, is a thing of the past. Those men have gone banking, and under the new condition of affairs, and when they found that our fishing vessels could not fish on as favorable terms as the Americans, they emigrated to the States and engaged on board American vessels. When they go there they make acquaintances, acquaintance leads to friendship, friendship leads to settlement, and settlement generally leads to marriage, and the United States reaps the advantage we lose from their industry. This operation has been repeated from year to year as the years roll round. Now, Sir, the National Policy was started, if I remember rightly—I do not wish to misrepresent the Government—with four objects. The first was to encourage manufactures, second to increase our trade with England, third to reduce our trade with the United States, and fourth

TO SECURE RECIPROCIDTY.

Now, let us examine for one moment how far these objects have been secured. Take the manufactures first. Certain manufactures, no doubt, have been established in certain parts of the Dominion, and certain manufactures have made large sums of money. There were large manufactures before the National Policy, which yielded a fair return. Take the city of Halifax, which I represent—what did the National Policy lead to there? I venture to say that so far as the Province of Nova Scotia is concerned, the operation of the National Policy has been a curse instead of a blessing. (Cheers.) What do we see with reference to the Halifax sugar refinery; \$400,000 were put in that refinery. It went on for a year or two, but it lost all its capital, and owed the bank \$250,000 besides. The bank sold out the property to the present proprietors, minus \$100,000 which they lost; therefore there was just half a million dollars lost in the Halifax sugar refinery since it started. What it may do in the future I do not know, I only

hope it may have a successful career. Then, again, you take the sugar refinery across the harbor. It was built by English capitalists at the cost of \$700,000, and was one of the most thorough refineries in the country. It ran over twelve months and then failed. It was

TAKEN OVER BY THE R.C. HOLDERS

for less than \$300,000, and it is now starting under their management. Therefore, taking these two operations alone, I show you most conclusively—no man can gainsay it—that in the city of Halifax alone, there had been one million dollars wasted, lost to the capitalists of that country—let alone the cotton factory in Halifax, the stock of which would not bring 50 cents in the market to-day, costing \$350,000. This is the beneficent effect of the National Policy so far as we are concerned. Well, Sir, have they increased our trade with England, and diminished it with the United States, as they promised! We find that our exports to England, in 1878, were \$45,941,000; in 1887, they amounted to \$44,571,000, or \$1,369,693 less in 1887 than in 1878. Then take our exports to the United States. We were not going to do any more business with the United States, remember; we were going to teach them a lesson and build up a Chinese wall. Our exports to the United States in 1878 amounted to \$25,244,898; in 1887, to \$37,660,199, or an increase of \$12,415,000 during that time. Then take the aggregate. In 1878, the aggregate with Great Britain was \$88,372,279; in 1887, \$89,534,079, or a gain of \$6,162,760. Then take the United States. The aggregate trade in 1878 was \$73,876,437; in 1887, \$82,767,265 or a gain of \$8,890,728. Therefore in this respect you will see that so far from the National Policy increasing our commercial relations with England,

IT HAS REDUCED THEM;

and so far from decreasing our trade with the United States it has increased it; in these two respects it has been a total failure (Applause.) Now, Sir, what we

want below, as I said before, is free access to our customers across the line. We are here 4½ millions of people, speaking the same language, as has often been observed, with the same natural tendencies for trade, with the same industry, I hope, and with the same capability for business, I believe. I say, Sir, that if you can bring these two countries into closer commercial relations, and by some arrangement acceptable to the people of the United States, entered into at this favorable moment when the people of the United States seem to be considering this question, if the Government can make a proposal to them which will bring about such a change as I have indicated, then I think we shall be fortunate indeed. We want, moreover, in any arrangement made the coasting trade free to us from the Atlantic to San Francisco. (Cheers.) Imagine, Mr. Speaker, what effect it would have upon

THE GREAT SHIP-BUILDING INTERESTS

of the Lower Provinces, of the Province of Quebec, and, of course, of the Western Provinces as well. We are naturally situated for ship-building all along the Atlantic coast. There is not a harbor along that long coast line, there is not a creek on the eastern or western shores but where you will see small vessels and vessels of very considerable tonnage being built year by year. They can be built more economically with us than in the United States, because the wood is at our hands, and they are built by our own people largely during the season when there is no other employment or occupation. (Hear, hear.) Imagine, I say, if you throw open to the people of the Maritime Provinces that great boon, the right to buy American ships or to sell our vessels in their market, what an impetus it would give along our sea coast. The Americans cannot compete with us as regards the cost of vessels. I repeat that their wood is more expensive and there is a difference in values of about twenty-five or thirty per cent. This has always given us a certain advantage in our fishing outfits and enterprises,

and if we had access to their markets from Maine to California, it would open up a wide field for our sailors and fishermen, of which they would immediately take advantage, and we would see hundreds of vessels built along our coast for employment in the coasting trade of the United States. In all this matter there is no one question greater than this :

RECIPROCAL COASTING TRADE

and reciprocal registration of vessels. (Cheers.) I listened the other night, with a good deal of amusement, to a quotation made by the Minister of the Interior from a speech or document purporting to be written or spoken by the late lamented Hon. George Brown. I thought that if dead men's bones could rattle in their graves, or if a voice could come to us from the tombs, what maledictions would we hear from the old Reformer that any utterance of his should ever be construed into an approval of the monstrous policy under which this country is laboring at the present moment, (Hear, hear.) That old Reformer, who devoted his whole life to freeing commerce from its shackles, to securing for us free trade, and to promoting the good of his fellowman, would have been the last man to have countenanced such a policy, and he would have scorned the idea that any sentiment that he ever uttered or any word he ever wrote could be brought forward in support of the policy of hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. (Cheers.) No, he lived in times under different circumstances. He lived in times when commerce was free ; when it was necessary

going to a store had humbly to ask permission to buy a box of matches valued at two cents. All these are natural consequences of "combines" and guilds. Does any man suppose the Hon. George Brown would approve any such conditions and the imposition of such burdens on the trade and commerce of the country? No, he lived in different times. He lived in the times such as are indicated by Tennyson when describing the glorious reign of her present Majesty, he said :

"And statesmen at her council met
Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet."

We in this matter are bound to go forwards, and this question has come to stay. (Cheers.) We are bound to carry it to a successful conclusion. It may not be this year or next year, but within a few years the hon. gentlemen opposite will remember what I am telling them to-night, that public opinion in this country will not sustain the action which they are going to adopt, that

PUBLIC OPINION WILL BE IN HARMONY

with the sentiments proposed by the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House and the policy embodied in the resolution of the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). (Hear, hear.) We are going to make this the great question of the country for some time to come. We believe the people will approve our efforts ; we believe, when they are educated, they will see the vital importance it is going to be to every industry in which they are concerned, and they will come to our assistance. We are going into the battle, and we are going to inscribe on our banners as the watchword, as the motto, as the text of the Liberal party, these noble sentiments echoed by the Secretary of State for the American Union, Mr. Bayard, who, when writing to a friend a short time ago, said : "Providence has made us neighbors, let wisdom make us friends." (Cheers.) Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I beg to move

A HOUSEHOLDER TO GO HAT IN HAND

to ask a "combine" if he might buy so many pounds of sugar. He did not live in a time when a housemaid, on going to a grocery store had to ask most humbly from the "ring" "combine," guild or whatever they call it, whether she might buy a bottle of pickles, (Laughter.) He did not live in a time when a boy on

the following amendment to the amendment :—

That in any arrangement between Canada and the United States providing for the free importation into each country of the natural and manufactured productions of the other, it is highly desirable that it should be provided that during the continuance of any such arrangement the coasting trade of Can-

ada and of the United States should be thrown open to vessels of both countries on a footing of complete reciprocal equality, and that vessels of all kinds built in the United States or Canada may be owned and sailed by the citizens of the other and be entitled to registry in either country and to all the benefits thereto appertaining. (Great Applause.)

