they would deal fairly and justly with P. E. Island. (Applause.) Sir Mackenzie Bowell in his speech in the Senate, when Senators Prowse and Macdonald had presented the case of P. E. Island with regard to these branch railways, also stated that the Government would deal justly with P. E. Island, and would carry out the promise that Mr. Haggart made in the House of Commons. I remember that some time before this, we had pressed this matter of Railways in this Province. My friend, Mr. Martin, had been very strenuous in his advocacy of the Belfast Railway in particular, and I recollect very well that when we did so, we were greeted with a storm of derision on the part of our opponents who said it was a mere election dodge, that it was wrong and immoral to advocate railway branches so near an election as we were thought to be. It was all right they said, to advocate Railways on the floor of Parliament, but it was not right to advocate them throughout the country. The election was not quite so near as these gentlemen thought it was. But in connection with that matter, I may say that in 1890, my friend, Mr. Davies made a speech in the House of Commons, in which he advocated the building of a branch railway from Peake's station to Wood Islands Breakwater. This was in the session of 1890, the last session before the last general election, and the last opportunity that he had in Parliament of advocating a public work for this Province. A little before the campaign of 1891, a meeting was called in Caledonia, which I was invited to attend, together with Mr. Davies. We were both present, and at that meeting the people criticized Mr. Davies' plan for a branch railway. They said we want a branch railway, but a line from Peake's station to Wood Island Breakwater would be of no use to the great southern country. It was too distant from Charlottetown, would not run lengthwise through the country and would be useless. Mr. Davies frankly admitted that the road the people desired namely, from Southport to Murray Harbor tapping the P. E. I Railway near Peake's or Cardigan station would be a preferable route. He admitted that, and pledged himself at that meeting that, if returned, he would advocate the construction of that railway as the people then desired it. I was then, or likely to be, a candidate for Queen's County; and I was asked to pledge myself in the same way, and I did so. I did not forget that pledge, and I took the very first opportunity when I entered the Senate that presented itself of fulfilling the pledge I had made to the people of Caledonia and Belfast, that if I were elected to Parliament I would endeavor as far as I was able to support the construction of that branch railway to that part of the country. (applause.) My friend, Mr. Davies, was successful, and I was defeated. I did not reach the Senate until about three years later; but he spent four years in the House of Commons without ever saying a word, good, bad or indifferent about the Belfast railway. (applause.) And this same gentleman who criticized my friend Mr. Martin and Senator Prowse and others because during the autumn of 1894 and the winter of 1895 they advocated a branch railway to Belfast had advocated a road—not the same exactly but nevertheless a road from Peake's station to Wood Islands Breakwater,—and had solemnly promised the people of Caledonia that if elected to Parliament it would have his support. But this pledge, I believe, he forgot to carry out. It was not gotten up before an election. If it was, it was Mr. Davies who brought it up in 1890. I was pledged in 1891 to advocate it, and I embraced the first opportunity I had of doing so. Last year the Government were pledged at the very first time they undertook to vote aid to Railways to deal fairly and justly with P. E. Island. They were prepared to do that at this last session, and would have done so had they not been prevented by the obstructive tactics of the Opposition in Parliament. I don't intend, at this stage, to discuss this question of obstruction, but a little later I may have something more to say about it. But I want to draw your attention, Sir, to a statement made on this platform, and which I read in the Patriot newspaper to-day—a statement made by my friend, Mr. Davies, to the effect that these branch railways are only

ELECTION DODGES

and that there is no sincerity in them. That the motion which was submitted to Parliament by the Hon. Mr Haggart. (I am not sure that I am giving his exact words as I had but a hasty glance at the paper) was not a bodafide motion from the fact that it had not obtained the sanction of the Governor General before it was submitted to the House. Now I have seen the letter written by Mr. Davies in which he explains this. He says that Mr. Haggart did not make any reference to the Governer General's assent, and that "Hansard" does contain this statement by Mr. Haggart. Well, Hansard may not contain it, and Mr. Haggart may not have used the exact formula in all respects. I think he did not; for I have only to look at the motion made before it in Hansard—a motion with regard to railway subsidies—and in this as well as in the other there does not appear the statement that Mr. Haggart submitted the motion with the sanction and concurrance of the Governor General. But the fact remains that the official proceedings of the House, the document that is really binding, that forms the record, and determines the constitutionality of it, in this record the very words are used (applause). I am surprised that my friend Mr. Davies should have made so rash a statement on such very imperfect evidence when the records of the proceedings of Parliament were available, and when he could easily have corrected his mistake. And I am also surprised that in this microscopic examination which he gave to every proceeding with regard to the P. E. Island branch railways, he did not cast his eye a little further up on the page of Hansard and discover that the same formula was missing in another motion that Mr. Haggart made as well as in this. I am also greatly astonished that Mr. Davies should be so entirely deficient (as he seems to be) in constitutional knowledge as to imagine for a moment that any sworn minister under the Earl of Aberdeen would venture to go to Parliament with any proposition of this nature without the proper sanction. We know very well that British statesmen stand upon the constitution, and Mr. Haggart would never dare to go to Parliament with any proposition for which he had not the sanction of the Governor-General as well as that of his colleagues. I think Mr. Davies also made the statement that this motion was neglected and the Government passed it over. Why, gentlemen,—the Government pass it over! He might as well tell us the Government did not want to pass the main estimates of 1896–97. They were placed on the order paper on the 24th of January and one item was passed on the 31st of January; and from that day up to the prorogation of Parliament the Government were never able to go into committee on the estimates. They were passed over, not once, but a score of times, for the plain reason, which everyone here knows, that the Opposition caused such obstruction that it was impossible to give that consideration to the business of the country which it deserved and the interests of the Dominion demanded. I notice the statement is made that this proposition to build branch railways in P. E. Island should be received and treated as a bribe to the people. It is strange that Mr. Davies, did not look at it in that light in 1890 when he made that speech in favor of branch railways, in the House of Commons. It is singularly strange that it did not dawn on any of his friends that that was an immoral kind of business for public men to be undertaking and carrying on. But, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, you remember that history repeats itself. In the year 1886, my worthy colleague, the then Premier, now the Chief Justice of this Province, and myself, were sent to England to present the claims of the Province with regard to winter communication; and as a result of the discussions which we had with Sir Charles Tupper and the Earl of Granville on this matter, in the summer of that year (1886) we secured for this Province $20,000 a year for all time, equivalent to half a million of dollars. (Applause.) Of course parliamentary sanction could not be got. The arrangement was made between Mr. Sullivan and myself, acting for the Government of P. E. Island, and the Government of Sir John Macdonald. The arrangement had been made. An order in council was passed. But it could not be carried into law until the sanction of the Parliament of Canada had been obtained for that purpose. During that time an election unfortunately came on, and from one end of P. E. Island to the other we found our Liberal friends denouncing us for offering a bribe to the people, for raising an election dodge, an election cry. The truth is we thought we were two clear years away from an election when we took that matter up. We took it up in 1885, In 1886 we advanced it to a conclusion so far as our dealings with the Government were concerned. The elections, as you know, ladies and gentlemen, were sprung upon the country that year, at the end of the fourth year, and a year earlier than we expected. Our opponents declared, and they got the people from one end of the country to the other to believe, that they were being imposed on, and that we were only raising this matter as an election dodge. I believe the stand Mr. Sullivan and myself took in 1886—representing our colleagues in the government, representing the Conservative Party in the Province—the stand we took in going to England to advocate the claims of the Province—had no small effect, on account of the way it was viewed by our opponents, in causing the Province to go for the Liberal Party at the election of 1887. I believe our action on that occasion, although we acted in the truest and best interests of the Province, owing to the manner in which our opponents treated us, owing to the use they made of the advocacy we had presented in England and to the half million dollar arrangement we made, actually resulted in a very large number of people believing we were fooling them and not acting fairly with the people, and ended by the Province recording a vote against us in 1887. You remember, after the elections were over, that arrangement was

CARRIED OUT TO THE LETTER,

and twenty thousand dollars a year has been paid to P. E. Island ever since on account of the arrangement made then. (Applause.) The Honorable Mr. Peters, finds that but as a drop in the bucket of his extravagance. He has not even got the common gratitude to say on any occasion that he is indebted to Sullivan and Ferguson for that twenty thousand dollars a year, which he knows so well how to spend. (laughter and cheers)

As a result of our efforts in 1886 the steamer Stanley was built. It was due to the vigorous protest which we made at that time. It was due to the earnest efforts which we had put forth that the Dominion Government addressed itself so manfully to this question, and it is a credit to the Dominion Government which has done so much to remove the grievances of which the people of this province have so long and justly complained. (applause.)

A FEW WORDS ON THE TUNNEL.

Now, gentlemen, I want to say a few words on the subject of the tunnel before I undertake to discuss some questions of great concern and importance which may be in your minds on the present occasion. I understand that my friend Mr. Davies stated the other evening that the Liberal Conservative party had gone to the country in 1891 pledging that, if they were successful, they would build the tunnel between the Island and the mainland. My friend must have a very short memory. If he merely recalled what took place during the election of 1891 he would find that a man, for whom he has a high respect and veneration, the Honorable Wilfred Laurier, and Mr. Davies himself made very much stronger promises than Sir John McDonald or his supporters. In a meeting held in this hall on the 11th of February, 1891, Mr. Davies made a speech, and owing to the limited time at his disposal he said: "I am just going to take up two planks in the platform of the Liberal party—the construction of the tunnel and unrestricted reciprocity with the United States." These were two planks in the Liberal policy on that occasion—the construction of the tunnel and unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. I would ask you, gentlemen, where are these two great planks in the platform of the Liberal party to-day? Mr. Davies said: · · · · "I will show you that the Government are not in sympathy with the tunnel project. They will not go one dollar over $1,650.00. We have the promise of the Government that they will incur an expense of $1650.00 and that they will not go one cent over that. That is all the Government are willing to pay. I believe the Liberal party are coming into power on the 5th of March next, and I wrote Mr. Laurier and told him I was in full accord with the project and asked him if he was ready to approve it, and received this reply:

"'I am in favor of the tunnel providing the surveyors show the scheme is reasonable and practicable.

'W. LAURIER.'"

He was not satisfied with this; but at the same time he wrote a letter to the editor of the Guardian, who had written asking for an expression of his opinion. In it he says:

"I have your favor of the 2nd of February, inst. I hardly would have thought that an expression of opinion as to the construction of a tunnel between the Island of Prince Edward and the mainland should be required of me. Every man who has given any attention to the condition of things and the necessities involved by the entering of the Island into confederation must admit that such a tunnel must be constructed if the thing is reasonably practicable. The first requisite is to have an accurate survey and reliable estimates. I am only sorry that these were not obtained long ago."

W. LAURIER.

Mr. Davies forgot to tell the people of this speech of his in 1891 on the tunnel question. He forgot to tell the people of this telegram. He entirely forgot that Mr. Laurier had written that letter to the editor of the Guardian pledging himself to the construction of the tunnel, if at all reasonable and practicable. What were the expressions of opinion on the question on that occasion? The Patriot newspaper says:

"We have the Honorable Mr. Laurier's telegram signed by himself. It is clear and without equivocation. It is stronger than anything from Sir John. Again on the 17th of February the Patriot says:

"If the Conservative party are in earnest on the question, and Sir John McDonald' Government are in sympathy with them, as they allege, let us have a statement to that effect over Sir John's signature, at least equally binding as that of the Honorable Mr. Laurier."

Sir John McDonald also wrote a letter. I will read the letter, so that I may not be charged with keeping anything back. I daresay it has been presented to you before:

MY DEAR HOWLAN,—

In response to your pressing request with respect to the tunnel across the Straits, I desire to repeat that under the present circumstances the Cabinet are not in a position to deal with that question. If, as I believe, the country will continue to give us their confidence, the ministry will, under my guidance, take the matter up without delay. I understand that Sir Douglas Fox is of opinion that the scheme is a feasible one. The chief thing still unknown is the cost of construction. I fully appreciate the nature and extent of the obligation incurred by the Dominion to maintain continuous connection between the Island and the main land. We have tried to carry this out by the Stanley, but of course she cannot fight against the elements; so if the cost comes within a reasonable amount, such as Parliament feels itself justified in incurring, I shall be prepared to submit the question for their favorable consideration.

I am,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. McDONALD.

Here we find that Sir John McDonald and Mr. Laurier had placed themselves on record in, to some extent, the same way in 1891. But we were told, and told on every platform in Queen's County, that Sir John's letter was so vaguely written that it amounted to nothing at all, while Mr. Laurier's was a square and definite promise that the tunnel would be constructed. Now, you would at least expect that the Liberal Party, through their representatives from this Province, and through their Leader in the House of Commons, would have taken at least some interest in that question from that time forward. They were pledged more strongly than we were, to take up that question. But we find, instead of doing that, that Mr. Davies especially commenced to throw difficulties in the way from the very time he gained his election. In order to prove the statement I am making to you I will read some extracts from a speech made by him in the House of Commons in the years 1892 and 1894. You may remember that, immediately after the last election, the Government of Sir John McDonald undertook to have borings of the Strait made under the direction of Sir Douglas Fox. The contract was let to a Mr. Palmer, who made a considerable number of borings, but who failed to fulfil his contract. He got into a number of difficulties, financial and otherwise, which prevented him from carrying on the work.

The Government, in the following year, made a contract with the gentlemen who owned the diamond drill used by Mr. Palmer; but these men, though they labored hard and spent a large amount of money, were not successful in boring any holes. The next year they were still allowed to go on. They were to be paid for the work actually done, and were not to receive any money unless they made a certain number of borings. They completely failed in boring one hole. They spent $4,000. They never earned a cent, and never received a cent. The Government felt those men had made such strenuous efforts that they were entitled to fair consideration, but, having failed, they received nothing. The next year they made a contract with another company, after having called tenders from nine companies owning diamond drills. They made a contract with a company who engaged to work a certain period of time for $6,000, for, after the experience already acquired by the others, no company could be found to enter into a contract on the same basis. After working eighty-two days, they received $6,000. They worked all this time and sunk four holes very successfully. A few still remain to be sunk in the very exposed and deepest part of the strait, where the difficulties to be contended with in making the borings would be very great. While the Government was doing this they were continuously accused by the Opposition of doing nothing in the matter. I find no fault with that. It is the work of an Opposition to pick flaws. But I do find fault with the representatives from this Province who showed their unfaithfulness to this tunnel question altogether.

Sir Douglas Fox made a very elaborate report. He reported that a small tunnel which would admit cars such as would be possible to use on the railway, not such cars as are used now, but cars suitable for connection with the tunnel could be constructed for five and a quarter millions, that a tunnel which would accommodate cars such as are used on the Intercolonial would cost nine millions, and a still larger one would cost eleven millions.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, whenever I saw that report I made up my mind at once that it was a question of having a small tunnel or none at all. I knew that these engineers' estimates always have to have a margin allowed for contingencies, and I felt that we might talk about a five million tunnel, but when it came to a nine, ten or eleven million dollar tunnel, with such reasonable additions as have to be made for contingencies, we would be advocating a work which would not be reasonable for the people of P. E. Island to expect from the Government, and I had partly made up my mind that it was worth our while to press for the small tunnel because if we got it we would have a very reasonable system of communication.

What did we find Mr. Davies doing in the House of Commons. In 1892, almost as soon as this report came out, he said: "I believe nothing short of the largest tunnel will be of any service at all to the people. I do not think the small tunnel would be worth considering. If the cost of the tunnel is too much," he said, "in Heaven's name let us know it. I don't want to urge, year after year, a scheme which is impracticable. Will not the Government say it is impracticable and drop the matter forever."

Again in 1894 Mr. Davies discussed it in this way: "I think two or three things are pretty well established. A tunnel to be of any service at all would require an expenditure of fifteen or twenty millions at least" (Here he was doubling the largest estimates of Sir Douglas Fox.) I do not think that any practical person outside of a few who seem to be tunnel mad, are prepared to advise the Government to go into the construction of a small toy tunnel which several men contend could be constructed at the cost of one half the sum I have mentioned, but when constructed would be of very little use.

This attitude of Mr. Davies was an indication of his hostility to the tunnel scheme. His view was hostile to the smaller tunnel, whose cost would be reasonable, and it was asking for an expenditure which the people of P. E. Island would not feel justified in pressing on the Dominion Government, at all events with the information we had at this time in regard to the question. I have made this statement somewhat fully, because we will hear a good many statements on this question during the coming campaign that will be calculated to mislead the people with regard to the tunnel scheme.

Before leaving this question of public works for the province, I wish to say that I do not deem that the people of P. E. Island are going to be deprived, or have any right to be debarred from presenting, either during the pendency of an election or at any other time, their claims for public improvements such as the people of other parts are not slow in pressing on the attention of the Government. I do not see any reason why we should be, and I feel that the Dominion of Canada have a right, where public works are needed in a province, to take them up and consider them either before, during or after an election just as at any other time. I believe, for my part, that a number of

USEFUL BRANCHES

added to our railway system would do a good deal to remedy that complaint which we hear so much of from the other provinces, that our railway is not paying. At the present time our railway runs through the centre of the Island. We have good harbors on our coasts and good facilities for shipping, and the railway is not in a position to compete with sailing craft, as it would be if there were feeders running out to the coast. An other addition of 100 or 120 miles of railway to the railway mileage of our province could be made without at all increasing the working expenses of our road in anything like the proportion required for the miles already in existence. Some of these branches could be operated without any additional hands and without an additional engine. Take, for instance, the Stanley branch. The engine that runs to Cape Traverse lies idle at Emerald for the greater part of almost every day in the year. This engine could be run on the proposed branch without entailing the expense of a simple additional hand or an additional engine; and there would only need to be considered the cost of the few tons of coal per year to run that engine. It is the same with some of the other branches. A train to Rustico could be run out from Charlottetown without very much increase of expenditure, and the same with the Elmira branch and some others. But I feel that while these all are important that great section of the country south of the Hillsborough is still more to be considered, for when our Railway was built it tapped every political district in the Island except Belfast and Murray Harbor, and while these people have contributed their share to the building of the P. E. Island Railway, together with all the other great railways, they have not participated in the benefits in any way. Thus their claim is particularly strong in this matter of railway construction. (Cheers).

My friend, Mr. Davies, in speaking from this platform made a strong point because there were a large number of branches proposed, and said this reduced it to an absurdity. Has he forgotten that he declared on the floor of the House of Commons that the Island was entitled to two millions on public works; and yet all these branches are only estimated to cost a little over one million. If he believes his own figures to be true how then can he consider the matter to be a farce? (applause)

To show the weakness of the argument of the hon. gentleman, I have only to mention the fact that the very first thing he did was to saddle the Government with the expense of building a bridge across the Hillsborough River; and the men, who, in the advocacy of this question put this forward, are not trying to help the railway and are not working in the interests of the people. He is reported as saying that if the bridge was pledged he would give his support, and not without it, or something to that effect. Well, gentlemen, all I have to say in regard to that is that I do not think there is a rational or sensible man in the east riding of Queen's, or anywhere else, who will say that the chances of a bridge are going to be lessened by building a branch railway to Murray Harbor. I believe and believe strongly that if the railway is constructed it will be an important factor in pushing forward the construction of the bridge at an early date to a successful conclusion. Nor do I believe or agree with the man who will say that the Railway to Belfast and Murray Harbor is going to be no benefit at all without the bridge. (Cheers).

There are gentlemen in this meeting who know very well that the railway came to the city of St. John from the American side for twenty or thirty years before a bridge was built. Did the people hesitate about going on with the railway, and say "we will not build the railway until we get a bridge?" (Cheers.) No, they got their railway, and the railway and other things forced the construction of the bridge on the government and it was built. So it would be in the present case. (Applause.) We have a

DISTINCT ISSUE IN THIS ELECTION.

The Premier of this Province, the Hon. Mr. Peters, in delivering his budget speech, a week or two ago, having announced his usual deficit, and a pretty big one, too notwithstanding his old story. It is not so bad after all as it is not so big as the deficit he incurred in the year 1893, in which he was running his election, when he had a deficit of $119,000. Notwithstanding the taxes, he still announces a deficit of over $30,000 for the past year. But he wound up with hope. Mr. Laurier, he says, is likely to get into power, and when he does there will be an increase in the Provincial subsidies, and when when Mr. Laurier came in there would be plenty of money to keep his machine running.

I would say to the people of P. E Island who are interested in the public welfare, make your choice whether you will secure useful public works, or whether you will support a party whose every object is to get a large amount of money distributed among the provinces for increased Provincial subsidies, and which, as I said before, some of them know so well how to spend.

As I said before, the people of this Island are giving great attention to this matter, and the people who are crying out against branch railways take just the other side of the question as Mr. Peters presented it. The one party says we go for the building of useful branch railways. The other party says we want to increase Provincial subsidies for all the provinces; and I want you to remember that when P. E. Island gets one dollar, forty-five dollars go somewhere else. But, when you get the claims of the Island to public works considered and entertained, it is so much to P. E Island, without necessarily one dollar going anywhere else. (applause)

My friend, Mr. Davies, did not forget to tell you that during the last hours of the last session of Parliament four and one-half million dollars was proposed to be voted for railway subsidies, and that this was submitted with the sanction of the Governor-General. Although the formula was missing in this case, as well as in the other, he did not have the slightest doubt about this—did not doubt it for one moment—and its enormity he tried to impress upon your minds. The fact is that not one dollar of that money is a new vote at all. It was only a proposition to ratify something that had already been voted—amounts that had been previously voted and had lapsed, or were about to lapse, and which it was necessary for Parliament to retain. There was not submitted during the last session one dollar of an expenditure for new railways, except for the Province of P. E. Island.

I have seen some discussion over another feature of this matter; that is the appropriation which it was proposed to make of $250,000 for the purpose of constructing two of these branches during the present summer. In that connection I am in a position to read a letter from the the Honorable Mr. Haggart in answer to a letter of mine:

MY DEAR FERGUSON,—

In reply to your letter respecting the branch railways in P. E. Island I beg to remind you that on Saturday last I moved that on Tuesday then following the House should go into committee of the whole upon the resolution regarding these railways, which under the instructions of the Government I had previously placed on the order paper. As you are aware the deliberate and systematic obstruction of the Opposition rendered it out of the question to proceed further with this resolution, and made it entirely useless to bring down, as had been determined, a sum of $250,000 towards the constructing during this year, of the Belfast and Elmira branches. The Opposition, therefore, have by their unwarrantable conduct been able to thwart for the moment the policy of the Government as to those branches. The Government, however, will be prepared to take the matter up at the next session and submit the whole proposition above referred to for the sanction of Parliament.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN HAGGART.

(Applause.) To authorize the construction of these short branches one quarter of the amount necessary for their construction was to be voted in the first fiscal year and to go on year after year paying about an equal amount until these branches were constructed. As a member of the Government I come before you explaining its views and policies, and without any desire or without being fairly open to the charge in any way of bringing in this matter as an election cry. It was brought up years and years ago, and worked up when there was not an election imminent. I distinctly repeat this assertion that these branches are not raised or advocated as an election cry. They were pressed by our representatives year after year until the Government finally adopted them as its policy. Speaking for that Government, I pledge to you it is the policy of the Government to build these branches. (Applause)

MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

We have, in this contest, a question unfortunately forced upon us which is calculated to disturb the public mind to a considerable degree all over this Dominion. It is most regrettable that this question should have been forced on the people of Canada. I have no hesitation in saying, and I think I am not speaking too strongly when I say that a crime has been committed against the people of Canada by forcing this question of Manitoba schools into Dominion politics. The people of the Red River district entered the confederation in 1870 with a solemn treaty and compact by which their rights in the matter of education were to be preserved to them. The solemn compact entered into in 1870 between the Parliament of Canada and the Red River settlers was intended, as the Hon. Mr. McDougall said, to be on the same lines, but more comprehensive, than the compact made in 1865, concerning Ontario and Quebec. The very men who had arranged these terms of union with Canada were, in many cases, the men who met in the Legislature of Manitoba and passing the first Manitoba School Act. That Act provided that there should be Catholic and Protestant schools, specifically carrying out the conditions of the union. In all the years which intervened from 1870 to 1890 the compact was faithfully preserved. The school laws of the province were maintained up to the year 1890, a short time after the Liberal party of Manitoba got hold of the reins of power. Mr. Norquay, the Conservative Leader, resigned in 1888, and the administration that followed him was not a strong one. Greenway and Martin were vigorously fighting to drive them from power. The Provincial Secretary, the Hon. Mr. Burke, went back for election, and was opposed by Dr. Francis, a gentleman in the interests of the Liberal party. The French people were getting disaffected to the Harrison administration, but feared that if the Liberals obtained power their schools and language would be taken from them. On this account, Mr. Martin and Mr. Greenway were not receiving favor in the constituency and stood a poor chance of electing their candidate. It was on that occasion that the Hon. Mr. Fisher, now a member of the Manitoba Legislature, and at that time the President of the Liberal party in Manitoba, Mr. Joseph Martin, and some other gentlemen went down to this St. Francis Xavier district, and speaking on the platform in the presence of Mr. Burke the Conservative candidate, Mr. Martin, solemnly pledged Mr. Greenway and the Liberal Party to retain for the people their schools if they would but support the Liberal candidate. It was on these pledges that the people gave Dr. Francis their support, and his election led to the fall of the Harrison administration. This is proved by the affidavits of Mr. Burke, the Conservative candidate, it is proved by the affidavit of Dr. Francis, the Liberal candidate, and by the affidavit of Mr. Alphonse Martin, all of whom have left the Liberal Party on this question. But they have made their affidavits that Mr. Joseph Martin made this pledge, and it was on the strength of this pledge that the people supported his candidate. I am going into these details because it is important that you should understand them, that you should understand that it was the Liberal Party in Manitoba that introduced this question, and that they did it by a

GROSS BREACH OF FAITH,

by the violation of a solemn promise that these men made binding the Liberal Party, but which they afterwards treacherously broke, deceiving the people. In speaking in the House of Commons last year Mr. Weldon, the representative of Albert County, N. B.,—and you know he has not been in sympathy with the Government on this question—said he was bound to say that at the bar of history these men who had made these promises and violated them would be held guilty of a gross breach of faith and honor. He said that "The Manitoba acts of 1890 was born in perfidy, and in breach of faith and honor." (Applause).

My friend, Mr. Davies, speaking the other evening from this platform, made a very strong reference to the publication in the official blue books of those affidavits to which I have referred, and with regard to this I want to say that Mr. Davies is very incorrect in some of these statements. It is quite true, I believe, these affidavits were submitted before the Privy Council, that they were submitted and afterwards withdrawn and were subsequently published in the blue books. I believe that their publication in the blue books was not exactly regular, and it would have been better if they had not appeared in that form at all; but as far as their appearance is concerned, as far as the publication of any statements in these affidavits is concerned, there is really no room for complaint at all. Years before similar affidavits were used before the Supreme Court of Manitoba and they were never contradicted or proved to be untrue. They have been referred to from time to time on the floor of the House of Commons, and the men whose honor has been affected by the allegations contained in these affidavits have never said anything about them with the exception of Mr. Martin. I believe he did deny them. He did on one occasion say they were not true, but he did not go into any statement or give any substantial reason for his declaration. Mr. Fisher, who made the most important of these affidavits, is a man standing as high as any man in Manitoba. He is a Presbyterian and a Liberal. He is not a believer in separate schools, but he believes that this is a question whether the people of Canada, the people of Manitoba, shall preserve faith among the nations of the earth. Mr. Davies' memory was singularly at fault in discussing this question the other evening. He said that when attention was called to these affidavits which had been published in the blue books, Mr. Dickey got up and explained that he had been the cause of it and that he was sorry for it. His memory is at fault. Mr. Dickey had nothing to do with this blue book. He was not a Minister of Justice at the time. He became so afterwards. But he could have had nothing to do with it then. If there was any statement made it would be Sir Charles H. Tupper, and not Mr. Dickey, who made it. Mr. Davies goes on and says, notwithstanding this a second edition was published with these same affidavits, and ten thousand copies were scattered broadcast all over the country. Now, gentlemen, I know better than that. I had applications from some friends on P. E. Island who wanted these papers. I found they were out of print. There were only a few hundred copies printed in the first place for the judges and the members, and they were now out of print. I brought this question before the Council, and urged that another edition be made, and the order was made for the publication of five hundred copies—not ten thousand. (Cheers.) I mention this to show you how much my friend draws on his imagination for facts. At the time I asked for the publication of another lot these affidavits were entirely forgotten and slipped the memory of the whole of us, and the work went to the Queen's Printer, and that is the matter Mr. Davies makes so much handle of when discussing this question. He went further and said that if these affidavits were true they had certainly established the fact that these people had claims which should not be ignored. These affidavits only touched the question of faith, they only touched the honor of the men who passed the Manitoba School Act. Dr. Weldon said the School Act was born in perfidy and cradled in dishonor.

CONSERVATIVES NOT IN IT.

Now I lay the charge against the Liberal Party in the Province of Manitoba of having violated their faith, and having deceived these people, and having in this way thrust this vexed question on the Dominion of Canada. But the statement has been made, I have heard it made from platforms and in the Senate and House of Commons, that the Conservatives of Manitoba were a party to the violation of this faith as well as the Liberals. I deny it. I will submit evidence to this meeting which will be accepted by every man in it. The Conservative party in the Province of Manitoba were so far from having anything to do with the breach of faith that they fought against it. The statement which I will submit to you is the evidence of Archbishop Tache, the venerable Archbishop Tache, who lived and died amongst his people there, and who took such a great interest in everything that pertained to the welfare not only of the half-breeds and French people, but of every man and child in the country. In a pamphlet published by him in 1894 speaking on the discussion which took place in the Parliament of Manitoba, on the question of the Manitoba schools he said:

"Mr. Pendergast placed himself in the foremost position, being endowed with a superior order of literary, historical, political and social knowledge. The five Protestant members of the Opposition (Conservatives) joined them in the very heat of the battle, but numbers, that ultimate resource of constitutional regime, crushed every effort."

Therefore, the facts stand out that it was the Liberal party in Manitoba that thrust this question into the arena of politics and the Conservatives had nothing to do with it. My friend, Mr. Davies, speaking on this question said he was amused at the view put forward by

THE EXAMINER NEWSPAPER

to the effect that the decision of the Privy Council of England on the last appeal had established a duty on the Government of Canada to deal in a special way with regard to this question. He declared that the Privy Council decided that the minority had a right to appeal, assuming that certain facts were true as alleged, and at that point the effect of the Privy Council decision ended. In regard to that position I want to point out to you the views of three men. For the first of the three Mr. Davies entertains a great respect, and I think he has a very considerable opinion of the other two gentlemen. The first is that of Mr. Laurier, who, speaking in the Parliament of Canada in 1893, made use of these words:

"I affirm this at the outset, as I read the constitution of this country, as I read the British North America Act, and the Manitoba School Act, I say that there is within the provisions of the Constitution an appeal given to the minority in Manitoba wherever they feel oppressed by local legislation in the matter of education."

Mr. Laurier takes the ground that the appeal is given within the bounds of the Constitution. The next authority is a gentleman Mr. Davies will give some respect to. It is that of a gentleman by the name of Mr. L. H. Davies. (cheers) He said, "I have not heard any lawyer who valued his reputation, any lawyer of standing or any constitutional authority ever express the doubt that there is a power constitutionally vested in the Government of Canada to hear an appeal, and that after they have heard and allowed the appeal there is power on the part of this Parliament to intervene and enact a remedial order, if it chose."

I will now quote you the opinion of the Hon. David Mills. He says:

"It is also a well settled rule that where there is a right by law in the suppliant to seek for relief there is a corresponding duty to hear his complaint, and if a substantial right or privilege be injuriously affected or destroyed, to redress the grievance and restore the privilege taken away. This legal and constitutional obligation rests upon every state functionary from the Sovereign down to the humblest officer to whom any portion of state authority is entrusted."

I ask you does not the statement of the Hon. Wilfred Laurier and those of Mr. L. H. Davies and the Hon. David Mills prove that the ground taken by THE EXAMINER is right?

PROTESTANT SCHOOLS RETAINED.

My friend, Mr. Davies, speaking the other day said that the Archbishop and the Catholic minority had alleged in their memorials that schools had been taken from them and Protestant schools retained and the Catholics were obliged to send their children to Protestant schools. Mr. Davies says that statement has been contradicted. Mr. Laurier says it was never contradicted. He said that in 1893 he had carefully looked over the documents in Parliament and he never saw it contradicted. The schools established for Protestants remain there to this day. Hon. Joseph Martin, the author of the Manitoba School Act, declared that if he had his own way he would sweep every vestige of religion from the schools,—and every person who knows Mr. Martin believes him. (Laughter.)

NOT A QUESTION OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

I am aware that a great effort is being made in some parts of the Dominion to make the people believe that the election is being fought out on the ground as to whether we shall have separate schools or not. You are asked to choose between those two. I deny that statement altogether. There is no truth in it. I will refer you again to the Hon. David Mills. This is what he says:

"The policy of the country in respect to separate schools is already decided. That decision is incorporated in the Constitution as much so as the principle of representation between the provinces in the House of Commons. It is only because of this that the question can come before Parliament at all. The law grants to the minority, whose rights and privileges can be effected, an appeal to the Governor-General in Council, not to decide whether it is good or bad policy to have Separate Schools, the constitution settles that, but for the purpose of ascertaining whether a right or privilege in a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education has been affected by any Provincial law or any Provincial authority. Parliament is not called upon to decide whether, as a matter of policy, separate schools ought or ought not to exist. If they have not been created in the province, no matter how favorable the opinion of the House might be to them, it cannot create them; and if they do exist, no matter how hostile its opinions may be, it cannot abolish them. These two facts stand like walls of adamant on either side of the narrow way which is open to us of that narrow field of jurisdiction under our control."

This is the opinion of a man who enjoys the respect of every member of the House of Commons. So you see that this cry of Separate Schools is not the policy the Government are going to the country on. My own views on this question may not be worth a great deal, but as my views and the position taken by me twenty years ago when there was considerable discussion and controversy on the matter, may be drawn into this discussion before the controversy is over, I think I am right in calling attention to some expressions of opinion which I gave on this question at that time—opinions that I have not materially changed to this day. In 1876, I was a candidate for the Fort Augustus district in what was called the "school election." Many of the young generation, and some of the older ones, have been industriously taught to believe that I and my friends at that time endeavored to foist a separate school system on the people of Prince Edward Island. I will read my address to the electors on that occasion, in order that my position may be correctly understood:

"Gentlemen,—I beg leave to inform you that I am a candidate for the representation of this, my native district, in the House of Assembly. Believing that separate schools are wholly unsuited to this colony, I will, if elected, assist in passing an education law based on the free school system already in existence. In Charlottetown the public school system has never been efficient, making no provision for the division of the city into districts for school purposes, and giving the inhabitants no power to assess themselves for the erection of schoolhouses. As might have been expected, the public schools—ill supported and inefficient—have been largely superseded by schools provided at great expense by religious bodies. (Particularly by the Roman Catholic, Methodist and Church of England people. While these schools are maintained independent of the state, it would be unjust, in my opinion, to tax denominations who have thus provided ample school accommodation for themselves to build and maintain schools for the benefit of others. Admitting the principle that public money should only be paid for secular instruction, the difficulty may be met in the towns of the Island as it has been in the cities of Scotland, where denominational schools receive Government support on condition of their being so far placed under government control as to ensure the imparting of a good, sound secular education."

That was my card, and in 1894, when I entered the Senate, it was my lot to take some part in the discussion of this question, which had assumed its present form for the first time in many years. I had been called upon to put my views on record, and I did so; and before entering into a general discussion of the Manitoba School question, I made use of these observations:

"In a mixed community, such as we have in almost every part of Canada, we have to fight the battles of life side by side, whether we are Roman Catholics, and as we have to do that, on my own part I think it is desirable that our children shall learn to know each other and to trust each other and to appreciate each other in the classroom and on the play ground, as well as when they have chosen their employments and assumed the more responsible duties of life. I myself have had my children educated in the public schools. Of course we look carefully after our schools, look after the tone of morality in them, and I have still to learn that the fundamental principles of our common Christianity have been eliminated from those schools. They do not go into details. My creed is not taught there as distinct from the creed of any other denomination, but the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are not eliminated from the instruction. While I hold the view and hold it warmly, and assert it here as I have on many previous occasions asserted it elsewhere, that a public schools system is best for a mixed community, I have taken this further ground: I recognize the fact that there is a very large proportion of my fellow subjects in this country who believe differently from me, with whom it is a matter of conscience that their children should receive a denominational education; and, therefore, more than twenty years ago I took the stand that when the assertion of that right, or when the granting of that privilege to them touches upon no right or privilege which I or my fellow Protestant citizens value or esteem, I am willing to let them adopt the system of education which they conscientiously believe to be the best."

This question of schools in Manitoba is a different one altogether from that with which we have to deal here in the Lower Provinces. It conforms more nearly to the state of affairs in Quebec than in the other provinces. The Catholics and Protestants of Manitoba are not merely separated by religion, but by race and language. There is a wide gulf between them; and it is next to impossible, at the present time, at all events, without doing grievous injustice to the minority, to attempt to force them to adopt the common school system in Manitoba. And whether wise or not, the highest court in the realm, and the Constitution have decided that this

MINORITY HAD A GRIEVANCE,

which the Government had a right to redress. The Hon. Mr. Mills said that, with this fact established, "the duty devolves upon the Government to whom that appeal is addressed to give the necessary relief." And if that faith should be broken in Manitoba, and if the men who have broken that faith are to be upheld in that course by others in the Province of Manitoba, we shall have troublesome questions in the Province of Quebec. If the majority in Quebec would establish separate schools to suit themselves and their own conscientious convictions, and if we forced the schools of that majority upon the Protestant minority, speaking another language, there would have to be a reckoning with every man speaking the English language and having the blood of an Englishman in his veins. The British and Scotch of Canada and elsewhere would come to the relief of that minority and help them. Why should we as British subjects be less willing to stand up for the rights of one thousand French Halfbreed and Roman Catholic people in Manitoba than for the Protestants of Quebec if their rights were infringed upon. It is not a question of whether separate or public schools are the better. Is is a question whether the constitution of Manitoba shall be maintained in its integrity. If the constitution is not, confederation can never be maintained. I could take all the time you could possibly give me this evening in quoting most eminent authorities to show that Confederation was only brought about by compromise on this question of education. The Protestants of Quebec would never have entered confederation and thrown themselves into the power of the French majority in Quebec until their rights had been solemnly guaranteed by Act of Parliament. History, sir, tells us that, and no one will deny it. Sir Alexander Galt, the leader of the English minority in Quebec, resigned his seat in the Government of Sir John McDonald because guarantees in this connection were not carried out as promised. Neither were Mr. Holton, Sir John Rose and other leaders, both Liberals and Conservatives, satisfied until guarantees were formally placed in the British North American Act and confirmed by the Legislature of the province of Quebec. I would like to deal with some other phases of the school question. But, sir, I cannot take up too much of your time.

THE TRADE QUESTION.

I therefore, must address myself to a question which is a most important one, complicated as it is, to every man, woman and child all over this "Canada of Ours." That is the trade question. My friend Mr. Davies made a very important announcement on this platform the other night with regard to this question. I had the pleasure of seeing a report of his speech as it appeared in the Patriot newspaper, and I will venture to read a few words from it to show the position which he has taken upon the trade question in that speech. He says:

"If we were starting out afresh in the Dominion, the Liberal party would go for practical free trade. They would not have, I believe, more than a 12 or 15 per cent tariff; but the Liberal party know that today, with an expenditure of $38,000,000 a year, it is impossible to have free trade. You must raise sufficient revenue to meet necessary expenditures, and do what you will you must recognize the fact that for 15 years certain manufacturing industries have been fostered and protected in this country, and there is not a man in the Liberal party who would desire, at one fell swoop, suddenly to adopt a policy which would destroy these manufacturing industries. We will wage war to the knife against all trusts and trade monopolies, against all excessive taxation, against that portion of the tariff which exacts undue protection in favor of one class of the community and takes it out of the mass."

I have read a pretty lengthy extract in order to show, as announced by Mr. Davies, in opening his speech on this platform the other night, what his present views on the Trade Question are. Now I will just turn for a moment to a speech delivered by Mr. Davies at Middleton, N. S., in 1893, to show that he held very different views then from what he now entertains, to show the wobbling policy the Liberal Party are pursuing on this great question. Speaking at Middleton, then, in September of 1893, Mr. Davies said:

"But there come times when both party issues disappear, and the great historical parties of the country divide upon some vital issue, which affects not only the present but the future interests of the people. To-day the people of Canada stand face to face with an issue, and the next contest is to be one between free trade and protection."

Mr. Davies, speaking of this very contest in which we are now engaged, said the issue was to be distinctly between Free Trade and Protection, and he went further:—

"The policy of the Liberal Party on the contrary, is the reform of the tariff by the elimination from it of every vestige of protection. In our convention platform we denounced the protective system as unfair, unjust and burdensome."

He now declares that they will take care that there will not be undue protection. A 12 or 15 per cent tariff, remember, will not be sufficient. Certain industries have grown up during the past fifteen years of Protection, and they would not

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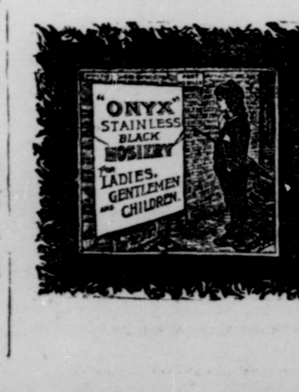

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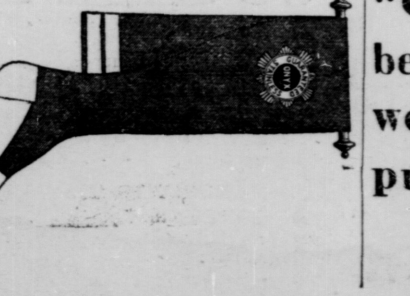

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