

MR. FIELDING ANSWERS SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

Finance Minister Shows Weakness of Ex-Premier's Criticisms.

The following letter has been sent by Hon W S Fielding to Sir Charles Tupper in answer to the latter's published criticism of Mr Fielding's remarks at his meeting in Montreal recently:—

Ottawa, May 25, 1911.
Sir,—I have received your letter of April 20th, with surprise and regret—surprise that you should have found any occasion for complaint in my recent Montreal speech, but regret that at the moment when you were claiming consideration for your great age and retired position you should have so sadly lacked the courtesy which is due even from age to others. If you desired to condemn reciprocity, and thus reverse the record of your whole public life on the question, you certainly were free to do so. But it was hardly necessary that you should do so in the manner which characterizes your letter.

I must be pardoned for declining to follow you through all the parts of your discursive letter touching events of the very long ago. There are, however, several statements which have such a direct bearing on the issues of to-day that they should not be allowed to pass unchallenged.

That your advanced age and your retirement from the activities of public life should exempt you from political attack I very readily admit, and if I could see that I had unintentionally—for it could not possibly be otherwise—done you any injustice, or given you any reasonable cause of complaint, I should now, even in the face of your letter, hasten to make amends. But after a careful examination of the report of my address at Montreal, I can find no word that in any way reflects on you. You have played a large part in the affairs of this country during the last half century. That public men discussing the affairs of to-day should occasionally refer to the utterances of those who have preceded them is natural and proper. If, in such references, facts are stated and quotations correctly and fairly given, there can be no cause of complaint. That my statements concerning you were absolutely correct in every respect and that my quotation was correctly and fairly given I shall proceed to prove conclusively.

THAT MONTREAL MEETING.

The report of the Montreal meeting shows that at two points in my address I made reference to you. Let me examine these references and see what they were.

I was speaking to an audience which included many opponents, and I was interrupted many times. In one of these interruptions it was stated that our government had "continued the National Policy," that being the name commonly given to the tariff policy of your party. In replying I claimed that our tariff could not be the old National Policy, because when we brought it down in the House of Commons it was warmly attacked by you, then occupying the position of leader of the Conservative party. In proof of that, I quoted the following passage from your speech of that time:—

"The result is that this tariff goes into operation, and the honorable gentleman knows that the industries of this country are already paralyzed in consequence. While honorable members gloat, vindictively gloat, over the destruction of Canadian industries, I was reading the wail, the sorrowful wail, of those industries in the Montreal Gazette, where one manufacturer after another declared that their industries were ruined, that their mills must close, and that they saw staring them in the face a return to the deplorable state of things that existed when the honorable gentleman who last addressed the House was in charge of the fiscal policy of this country. I feel that far from rejoicing at it from a party standpoint, I deplore from my heart the ruin that is going to be inflicted upon the best interests of Canada and upon its great industries."

This, you say, was on my part "a wilful misstatement." My only statement concerning you in this connection was that you had used the words that I quoted. If you did use them, then there was no misstatement, wilful or otherwise, on my part. That you did use the words is beyond all doubt. They are from the official report of your speech, in the House of Commons of Hansard. You claim that at a later stage we made a number of changes in the tariff, and you apparently

wish it to be understood that with these changes the tariff became a continuation of the old National Policy, and therefore was no longer open to objection from your party. The new tariff, including the amendments referred to, provided for a great many changes and on the whole was substantially lower than that of your day.

THE NATIONAL POLICY.

How that could be a continuation of the National Policy is not easily understood. How a policy which was so monstrously wrong when introduced could be made right and proper by the comparatively few amendments referred to is equally mysterious. But we are not left to wonder how these things could be. If you thought that the Liberal tariff in 1837, after the introduction of the amendments mentioned, became a good policy, substantially the same as the Conservative tariff policy, and therefore no longer open to attack from you, it is a pity that you failed to say so at the time. Unfortunately for your present contention, the public records show that you and your associates, after the introduction of those amendments to the original resolutions, continued to warmly condemn the new tariff. You declared that "the proposed tariff,"—not the original new tariff, but the amended one,—"exposing the industries of Canada to competition with all the world, and the reduction of twenty-five per cent below the general tariff which is adopted, will be fatal to Canadian industries." So you will see that if I had taken my quotation from your speech after the introduction of the amendments it would have been quite as effective for my purpose as the extract from your earlier speech. The two passages are quite in harmony. They prove that the tariff policy of the Liberals in 1837, both before and after the introduction of the amendments to the original resolutions, was treated by you as a very bad policy, fraught with disaster to the industries of Canada. Now, after long trial, all your predictions of evil are shown to have been foolish. Our opponents generally acknowledge the splendid success of that policy. They picture the condition of the country as so prosperous and happy that we should now have no change of tariff policy, but should "let well enough alone."

SIR CHARLES AT WASHINGTON.

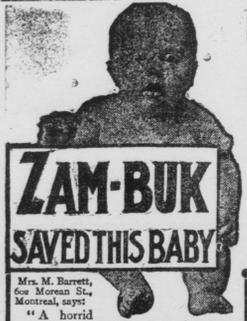
The second point at which I referred to you at the Montreal meeting was in relation to the Washington negotiations of 1887 and 1888, in which you had a prominent part, resulting in the making of the treaty of 1888 which the United States Senate failed to ratify. You accuse me of speaking in depreciatory terms of that treaty and of your part in the negotiation of it. There is no foundation for this accusation. I have no reason to doubt that you did the best that you could for Canada under the conditions then existing.—There is not a word in my speech that reflects on the character of the treaty or on your work in relation to it. I had stated at an earlier stage of the reciprocity discussion that the leading public men of all political parties in Canada had been agreed to in the desire to obtain a large measure of reciprocal trade in natural products with the United States. This statement, strange to say, was questioned in some quarters, and I undertook to support it by numerous references to the reciprocity negotiations of former years. It was in this way that I alluded to the negotiations of 1887-8, concerning which I said:—

"I find that at that time so anxious was Sir Charles for reciprocity that he made an offer to give the Americans, in addition to the ordinary exchanges of trade, free access to the fishing privileges of the Dominion of Canada. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we come to you today with an arrangement which gives to Canada everything that Sir Charles Tupper wanted and we have not given away a single fish of the Dominion of Canada. We have maintained the rights of the people of Canada as owners of their fishing grounds. The Americans when they come must come in for trading privileges and they must take out licenses and they shall not have the right to fish in the waters of Canada."

You speak of the terms of the treaty of 1888, and the *modus vivendi* in connection with it, and then you say:—"Neither under the treaty or the *modus vivendi* could a fish be caught in Canadian waters by Americans, as Mr Chamberlain and I refused the urgent appeal for that privilege by the American plenipotentiaries."

AN OLD DEVICE.

You endeavor to make it appear that I was describing the terms of the treaty, and then, with much boldness, you declare that the treaty contained no grant of fishing privileges. The device of raising a man of straw and then proceeding to knock him down—attributing to an opponent something which he did not say and then proceeding to demolish it—is a



ZAM-BUK SAVED THIS BABY

Mrs. M. Barrett, 656 Moran St., Montreal, says:—
"A horrid rash came out all over my baby's face and spread until it had totally covered his scalp. It was irritating and painful, and caused the little one hours of suffering. We tried soaps and powders and salves, but he got no better. He refused his food, got quite thin and worn, and was reduced to a very serious condition. I was advised to try Zam-Buk, and did so. It was wonderful how it seemed to cool and ease the child's burning, painful skin. Zam-Buk from the very commencement seemed to go right to the spot, and the pimples and sores and the irritation grew less and less. Within a few weeks my baby's skin was healed completely. He has now not a trace of rash, or eruption, or eczema, or burning sore. Not only so, but cured of the tormenting skin trouble, he has improved in general health."

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very old one in public discussion. The question I have given shows that I did not say the treaty of 1888 granted fishing privileges to the Americans. My reference was not to the treaty itself, but to negotiations which preceded it and to an offer made by you which the Americans rejected. My statement was that at that time so anxious were you for reciprocity that you made an offer to give the Americans, in addition to the ordinary exchanges of trade, free access to the fishing privileges of the Dominion of Canada. You have, by your device to which I have referred, appeared to deny this. I shall now prove out of your own mouth the correctness of my statement. Speaking in the House of Commons in the session of 1888, in giving an account of your negotiations at Washington, you used the following language:—

"After the statement of the President of the United States in his message of 1885, asking for a commission, after the letters which passed between Mr Bayard and myself, you will readily understand that I went there expecting and looking forward to a settlement of this question on very much the same lines as those upon which it has been settled in 1854 and, to some extent, in 1871. I am right in saying that the instructions with which I was charged by this Government were to obtain, if it was possible, as near an approach to the reciprocity treaty of 1854 as I could obtain, that is, the policy of carrying out free exchange in the natural products of the two countries. I was to urge that policy, and I think you will have no doubt as to the course pursued by me after reading the proposition that I made in the conference on the 3rd December, 1887."

"Sir Charles Tupper begged leave to submit a note containing the following proposal from the British plenipotentiaries: that with a view of removing all causes of differences in connection with the fisheries, it is proposed by Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries that the fishermen of both countries shall have all the privileges enjoyed during the existence of the fishery articles of the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington, in consideration of mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada and Newfoundland."

CONSERVATIVES OFFERED FREE FISHING

Here we have, from your own lips, the acknowledgment that at the time referred to you went to Washington under instructions "to obtain, if it was possible, as near an approach to the reciprocity treaty of 1854" as could be obtained, and that you, in a formal note, proposed to the American negotiators that the American fishermen should have "all the privileges enjoyed during the existence of the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington."

Both the Treaty of 1854 and the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington include the concession to the Americans of the right to take fish in Canadian waters.

Article I of the Treaty of 1854 and Article XVIII of the Treaty of Washington, 1871, are in substance the same and the wording is almost exactly the same. I quote Article XVIII of the Treaty of 1871:

"It is agreed by the High Contracting Parties that, in addition to the liberty secured to the United States fishermen by the convention between Great Britain and the United States, signed at London on the 20th day of October, 1818 of taking, curing, and drying fish on certain coasts of the British North American Colonies therein defined, the inhabitants of the United States shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, to take fish of every kind,

except shell fish, on the sea coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors and creeks, of the provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the colony of Prince Edward Island, and of the several islands thereto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the said coasts and shores and islands, and also upon the Magdalen Islands, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish; provided that, in so doing, they do not interfere with the rights of private property, or with British fishermen, in the peaceable use of any part of the said coasts in their occupancy of the same purpose.

"It is understood that the above mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea fisheries, and that the salmon and shad fisheries, and all other fisheries in rivers and mouths of rivers, are hereby reserved exclusively for British fishermen."

You state in your present letter that the fishing privilege was sought by American plenipotentiaries and refused by Mr Chamberlain and you. There is no purpose in dragging Mr Chamberlain into the discussion. It is your part in the negotiations that is under consideration. You say you refused the urgent appeal of the American plenipotentiaries for the fishing privilege. I have proved out of your own mouth the correctness of my statement that so anxious were you for reciprocity "that you made an offer to give the Americans, in addition to the ordinary exchanges of trade, free access to the fishing privileges of the Dominion of Canada." The Americans rejected your offer. You then entered into a treaty which certainly did not give the Americans the right to fish in our waters, but neither did it give Canadians the main concession which you sought, viz; free exchange of natural products.

A COMPARISON.

By the agreement which we have now made, if it be adopted by the American Senate, we secure not only the advantages proposed in your unsuccessful treaty of 1888, but also the free admission into the American market of many of the natural products of Canada concerning which you labored unsuccessfully at that time. In these respects, Canada obtains substantially all that you vainly sought in 1888, and she still retains exclusively the rights to the fisheries which, as I have shown, you at that time offered to hand over to the Americans.

I have, I trust, made it quite clear that my reference to your action and my quotation from your speech, used not to make any point against you, but to defend myself against attacks that had been made, were in every respect absolutely true, and that consequently your accusation of misrepresentation is entirely without foundation.

With reference to the fact that the reciprocity agreement provides for the admission of only Canadian products into the United States, I observe that you quote from Lord Selborne the statement that "this was the first time that any part of the British Empire would enjoy preferential treatment in a foreign country to the rest of the Empire, and it was impossible to regard this precedent with satisfaction. Without dwelling on this, I remark that both Lord Selborne and you are mistaken. The reciprocity agreement makes no preceding in this respect. It is by no means an unusual thing for one portion of the British Empire to enjoy commercial advantages in a foreign country which are not enjoyed by the Empire generally. The Canadian government subject to the approval of Parliament, have the right to determine the tariff policy of Canada, and they have done so. They have no right to make any tariff arrangements on behalf of any other part of the Empire and they have not had the presumption to attempt anything of the kind.

Your present zeal in the interests of British trade and the British preference will be amusing to those who know the part you and your friends have played in these things. In the fourteen years before 1897, under the trade policy of your party, Canadian imports from Great Britain actually decreased by eighteen million dollars. In the following fourteen years, under the tariff policy of the Liberals which you have attacked, imports from the United Kingdom increased by seventy one and a half million dollars.

In 1895, your trade policy taxed British goods coming into Canada nearly twenty two and a half per cent. In 1910, under the Liberal tariff policy, British imports were taxed less than nineteen per cent.

WHITTLED THE PREFERENCE.

You appropriate the words of Lord Selborne that our commercial arrangements with France, Holland, Belgium, Italy and Germany have "whittled away the preference." Well, if these arrangements were had, how does it happen that not one of them was ever challenged to a vote in the House of Commons by your party? In all but one case, the arrangements were deemed so satisfactory that they were allowed to stand unchallenged. The one exception was that of the French treaty. True, there was a division on that, but the leading Conservatives supported the Government in confirming the treaty. When the supplementary treaty was submitted only five members opposed it. In view of these facts, what do you hope to gain for your friends by presenting these agreements as improper measures, adverse to the interests of British trade.

If there has been any whittling away of the British preference one thing is very plain, and that is that if you and your friends had had their way there would have been no British preference to whittle away. When you and your associates had the power to grant a British preference, you refused to do it. In all your discussions of the preferential trade question in those days you made the demand that before Canada should do anything Great Britain must change her whole fiscal system and put a duty on foreign products, in order that there might be a preference to the colonies. Down to the day of the retirement of your party in 1896, you maintained this huckstering policy. Many years have since passed, Great Britain has not yet, after all these years of discussion, agreed to adopt that policy. I do not stop to consider whether her people have been right or wrong in the course they have taken. It is the fact that I have to deal with and the fact is that the people of the United Kingdom never were, and are not now, prepared to accept the condition which you laid down.

LIBERALS AND PREFERENCE.

The Canadian Liberals coming into power, took up the question in earnest and created the British preference, which has now been in operation for many years. This we did in the face of your opposition. At a later stage after the preference had been in operation a considerable time, with a view to having a clear statement of the view of Parliament on this important question, a Liberal member of the House of Commons moved the following resolution on going into Committee of Supply:

"That this House regards the principle of British preference in the Canadian customs tariff as one which in its application has already resulted, and will in an increasing measure, continue to result, in material benefit to the Mother Country and to Canada, and which has already aided in welding, and still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind them and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the Parliament of Canada."

You and your associates are on record in Hansard as opposing that motion—you being "paired" against it and your principal associates, including the Conservative leaders of today, voting against it. Yet today you undertake to arraign the Liberals for "whittling away the preference." If, for so many years now, we have had a British preference in Canada, which has increased British trade and strengthened the bonds of union between the Dominion and the Mother Country it is due entirely to the policy of the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The policy which gave this preference to the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire, even if some of it is "whittled away," will probably strike the average citizen of the Mother Country as better than the policy adopted by you and your associates, who were always attached shout for preference, but always attached conditions which, as you well knew at the time, no party in British politics was prepared to accept.

Yours faithfully,
W. S. FIELDING,
The Right Honourable,
Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.,
"The Mount,"
Bexley Heath, England.

Do You Feel This Way?

Do you feel all tired out? Do you sometimes think you just can't work away at your profession or trade any longer? Do you have a poor appetite, and lay awake at nights unable to sleep? Are your nerves all gone, and your stomach too? Has ambition to forge ahead in the world left you? If so, you might as well put a stop to your misery. You can do it if you will. Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery will make you a different individual. It will set your lazy liver to work. It will set things right in your stomach, and your appetite will come back. It will purify your blood. If there is any tendency in your family toward consumption, it will keep that dread destroyer away. Even after consumption has almost gained a foothold in the form of a lingering cough, bronchitis, or bleeding at the lungs, it will bring about a cure in 98 per cent. of all cases. It is a remedy prepared by Dr. R. V. Pierce, of Buffalo, N. Y., whose advice is given free to all who wish to write him. His great success has come from his wide experience and varied practice. Don't be wheedled by a penny-grabbing dealer into taking inferior substitutes for Dr. Pierce's medicines, recommended to be "just as good." Dr. Pierce's medicines are of known composition. Their every ingredient printed on their wrappers. Made from roots without alcohol. Contain no habit-forming drugs. World's Dispensary Medical Association, Buffalo, N. Y.

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