

CARLETON'S MEMBER DISCUSSES NAVAL QUESTION

(Continued from page five)

selves. The hon. leader of the opposition went on to talk about the Monroe doctrine, showing in what an unenviable position we should be placed if we relied upon the Monroe doctrine for our defence. Then he added:—

We desire that this resolution should go out as the unanimous resolution of the parliament of Canada to the whole world, and I believe it may go out as a message which will do much to keep the peace of the world in these days of uncertainty. It should go in such terms as would entitle the Canadian people to the gratitude of the empire and do much to restore to the people of this country that self-respect in which, it seems to me, we have been somewhat lacking in these days when others have done so much, and we so little, for naval defence so absolutely essential to the integrity and the maintenance of our great empire.

I can only say that I concur with that sentiment in every particular. I only wish that I could say that my hon. friend (Mr. R. L. Borden) and his friends had continued in the manly course which they marked out in March 1909. Had they done so we should not have and this long discussion, but the matter would have been settled and out of sight long ago.

THE LOYALTY CRY

But these hon. gentlemen did not want it out of sight. There was a time, I believe, when they would have been glad to have it buried. I do not wish to intimate that there are not dozens of men on that side of the House as loyal as those on this side. If there is anything I have particularly disliked in what I have heard since coming to this House it has been the periodical shout of 'disloyalty' on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite. I am not impeaching their loyalty, but I do find fault with the means they are adopting to get into power. I believe that when the resolution of March, 1909, was introduced, practically every member on the other side was in entire accord with the sentiments expressed. And, as was pointed out by the Prime Minister last night, members went away from that session believing that all were a unit on this question. But something happened. The first thing that happened was that the Tory leaders in Manitoba and in Ontario saw that it would never do to have their party fall in line with anything proposed by the Prime Minister. So, some means had to be found to get out of it. The means found were very simple. The Tory bosses of Manitoba came down to Toronto and set up a cry that there was an emergency, and so we must not create a navy, but must contribute money to the navy of Great Britain. That was taken up by the Conservative leaders all over Ontario, and when my friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden) reached Toronto he found that his position depended upon going back on the alliance he had made with the government—a manly alliance I call it—and trying to do something else. He said: All right; we will go back on what we said a year ago and come out with a policy of contribution because there is an emergency. Of course, I am not to judge whether they believed at that time that there was an emergency or not. If they were honest about it and believed that the Germans were likely to attack Great Britain and be likely that it was necessary to send \$20,000,000, or \$5,000,000 to the old country, I give them credit for being logical. But there was a little trouble starting them in the face. The hon. member for Jacques Cartier is reported to have kicked over the traces. He says: No, I don't believe in having any navy. But I believe we ought to do something, we ought to consult the people about this thing. Mr. Borden says: Oh, that is very easy, we will put both planks in our platform and we will make a new platform; we will say we believe there is an emergency today, and we will give \$25,000,000. Then we will say that it is not constitutional to build this navy, and we will go to the people and find out what they want to do about it. Now, I want to read to you what the leader of the opposition proposed in 1910, on the 20th of April, as found in volume 5 of the debates, starting at column 7535. After arguing the matter to some extent, he says:

This is the principle I stand for, and

the principle I desire to see carried out. It is desirable, in the first place that if the conditions of the empire at the present time are emergent, we should bear some immediate and effective aid to the empire as a whole. I still maintain, notwithstanding all the arguments that have been advanced to the contrary, that the proposals I submitted to the House involved the true principle in that regard; and that the true solution, the wise solution, of the great problem that is before the people of Canada today would be, in the first place, to bring immediate and effective aid in the manner I have already indicated to the House on the second reading of the Bill, and in the second place to mature more carefully and wisely the proposal for permanent co-operation by Canada in the naval defence of the empire, to bring those proposals into parliament and discuss them, then to submit them to the people at a general election, and after that to have them carried into force according to the mandate and the direction of the free people of Canada.

Well, Sir, there is nothing in that declaration which says that we must have imperial federation before we can have a navy; but he simply declares that we should make a cash contribution first, then mature our plans and bring them forward. Now, let us see what he says today. I quote to you the words of my hon. friend in this House on the 24th of November instant.

I do not know whether I have made my position clear, but I have done so according to my humble capacity. I think the question of Canada's co-operation upon a permanent basis in imperial defence involves very large and wise considerations. If Canada and the other dominions of the empire are to take their part as nations of the empire in the defence of the empire as a whole, shall it be that we, contributing to that defence of the whole empire, shall have absolutely, as citizens of this country, no voice whatever in the councils of the empire relating to the choice of peace or war throughout the empire? I do not think that would be a tolerable condition. I do not think the people of Canada would for one moment submit to such a condition. Should members of this House, representative men, representing 220 constituencies of this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, no one of them have the same voice with regard to those enormous imperial issues that the humblest taxpayer in the British Isles has at this moment. It does not seem to me that a condition of that kind would stand for the integrity of the empire for closer co-operation of the empire. These issues would have to be taken into consideration, and a permanent policy would have to be worked out and explained to the people of Canada; to every citizen in this country, then I would say it would be the right of any government to go to the people of Canada and get them to pronounce their mandate and their disapproval or approval of that policy.

Now, Sir, if you will analyse these three propositions for one moment, you will see whether there is any relation between them. The first proposition was, build a Canadian navy make a start at once and do it speedily. The second proposition was, contribute a sum of money, then mature a plan, bring it to parliament at the next general election, and submit it to the people. He comes down now, after the Drummond-Arthabaska election, and after a resolution passed at a Nationalist meeting in Montreal to which I will soon refer, he comes down to this House with a third policy, and that policy is—not a contribution, because he admits he was wrong last year, but that there was no emergency—he abandons that proposition he no longer says: we should not touch this thing until we have imperial federation, until we get the whole empire together. He says it is unreasonable to expect the self-governing colonies of this country to be asked to do such things until they have had a chance to discuss them, or until we have imperial federation. I would like to ask my hon. friend from Victoria-Haliburton (Mr. Hughes) if he will tell us how many generations it is going to be before that comes about.

Mr. LENNOX. Who says that?

Mr. Carvell. I have just been reading the words of the opposition who says it. Any hon. member who will read his speech in the debates of the 24th of November will see that he was deliberately playing into the hands of the Nationalists. He says we cannot do this thing until we have imperial federation. He knows that is generations hence, and therefore it will be generations before we are called on to do anything. Now the hon. member for Jacques Cartier introduced an amendment to this House. He was consistent for he says: We ought not to do anything, especially until we have consulted the people. But the leader of the opposition says: That won't do, it won't do for us to show that we are working hand in glove with the Nationalists, it won't do to accept all the amendment, we must put up something else. And so they have prepared the amendment which has been read so many times in the House. The amendment throws in a lot of flag-waving, it omits a sentence or two at the end of the amendment of the member for Jacques Cartier, because that condemns the free contribution policy which they voted for last year; they don't want to do that, therefore they omit it. You have all read the amendment of the leader of the opposition, now I want to read you a resolution passed at a Nationalist meeting held in the city of Montreal on the 9th of November, a sort of congratulatory meeting on the part of the Nationalists over their great victory in Drummond-Arthabaska. At this meeting, at which were present the member from Jacques Cartier and the member from Drummond-Arthabaska, Mr. Bourassa, I believe it was moved the following resolution, which was seconded by the member for Jacques Cartier, and was unanimously adopted:

This meeting approves and ratifies the verdict rendered by the electoral division of Drummond and Arthabaska, reaffirms the will of the Canadian people to uphold the rights of the British Crown in Canada—

No Tory ever forgets that. —declares itself ready to approve all necessary and efficient measures to make sure the defence of Canadian territory but it considers as contrary to the principle of Canadian autonomy and to the real unity of the empire, any policy tending to impose upon Canada that has no voice in the government of the empire, any share in its external responsibilities and its military defence outside of the Canadian territory, the only portion of the empire upon which the Canadian people can exercise any political or constitutional action.

Why, Sir, one would almost think that my hon. friend had drafted his amendment from, the amendment of the Nationalists themselves. They are as like as it is possible for one set of ideas to be alike and yet differ in being not exactly verbatim.

The hon. member for west Elgin has attempted to draw upon our imaginations and has asked us to say that the Liberal party is advocating independence and everything else but what they call loyalty. He has quoted statements alleged to have been uttered by my right hon. friend the leader of the government twenty years ago in Boston. He has 'travelled through every book of the library of parliament' and every speech of every Liberal member which he could find in the last twenty years in order to give some evidence of this being the attitude of the Liberal party. I do not care what the leader of the government said twenty years ago in Boston, and I do not think the people of this country are bothering their heads very much about it. The people know the record of the right hon. leader of the government, they have pronounced upon it many times and they will have another chance in the not very distant future to pronounce upon it, and I have no fear what their judgment will be. But the people are concerned and very deeply concerned to do with the unholy alliance that exists between the Conservative party and the Nationalists of Quebec. They may say that I have no right to make that statement in view of the denial of the leader of the opposition. But, I want to point out that it has not been denied by any member of the Conservative party from Quebec in this debate. I want to point out that on every possible occasion since the night of the election in Drummond and Arthabaska every Conservative who has ever spoken on the question and the Conservative press all over Canada, have made no attempt to conceal their joy and jubilation over the result. My hon. friend from South Grey, (Mr. Miller) pointed to a few of the evidences of this alliance. He quoted the telegram of the hon. member for North Toron-

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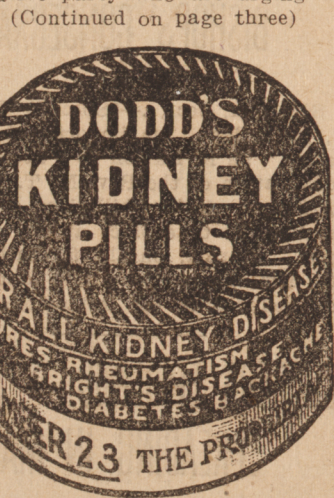
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to, (Mr. Foster). The hon. member for North Toronto says: Vote against Laurier; it is your Christian duty. any man in this country is performing his Christian duty when he votes against Laurier. And my hon. friend goes further—I can forgive him for that because that is part of his religion—and says: Do not be too hard upon this Bourassa; there is good stuff in him. Of course there is good stuff in him when he is working for the Conservative party. I do not believe that my hon. friend, who I understand is going to follow me will deny that Bourassa is working for the Conservative party and working with the knowledge and consent of the Conservative party.

Then, we have the telegram from the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) in which he so heartily congratulates the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) for the great victory which he and his friends achieved in Drummond and Arthabaska. That has been referred to before. And, we have the telegram of the virtual leader of the Manitoba government, who, I think, is one of the most active and militant Conservatives in Canada today and he congratulates them and endorses everything that they have said. But, we have something that, I think, is better evidence than that. We have the evidence of the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Blondin) who has taken a very active part in this debate, a gentleman who has had two or three opportunities of expressing himself and defending his position, and a gentleman who has absolutely failed to deny the fact and who glories in the fact that there is an alliance between the Nationalists and the Conservative party. I want to read to you what the hon. gentlemen says. You will find it recorded in the debates of November 23. This hon. gentleman is, I should judge a scholar of no mean pretensions. He certainly has an excellent command of the English language and I imagine that he must be a very fluent speaker in the French language, a gentleman who evidently knows what he is talking about, and hon. gentlemen opposite cannot say that the hon. gentleman did not understand the true significance of the words when he was speaking because he was speaking in a foreign language. There is no doubt in the world that from the standpoint of the hon. member for Champlain he feels that he is perfectly justified in taking the course which he has taken. I am not blaming the hon. member for Champlain. I am concerned with the Conservative party who are urging him



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No. 303—Mixed for Loggieville, 5.45.
No. 317—Suburban for Gibson and Marysville, 6.15.
No. 321—Suburban for Gibson and Marysville, 11.15.
No. 323—Suburban for Gibson and Marysville, 16.20.
No. 301—Express for Loggieville, Chatham, Campbellton, Quebec, Montreal, etc., 18.30.
No. 327—Suburban for Gibson and Marysville, 18.40.
No. 329—Suburban for Gibson and Marysville, 22.00.

ARRIVALS

No. 318—Suburban from Marysville 8.15.
No. 302—Express from Loggieville, Chatham Junction, 13.20.
No. 322—Suburban from Marysville 13.45.
No. 304—Mixed from Loggieville and Chatham Junction, 18.50.
No. 326—Suburban from Marysville, 18.20.
No. 328—Suburban from Marysville, 19.15.
No. 330—Suburban from Marysville, 22.35.

CANADIAN PACIFIC

DEPARTURES.

6:20 a. m.—Express for St. John, Portland, Boston, Woodstock, etc.
8:15 a. m.—Mixed for Woodstock and points North. Leaves St. Marys at 8:35.
9:45 a. m.—Express for St. John and points east.
4:30 p. m.—Mixed for Woodstock, via Gibson branch. (Daily.)
5:45 p. m.—Express for Montreal, and Boston, Woodstock, St. Stephen, etc.
9:00 p. m.—Express for St. John and points east.

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9:10 a. m.—Express from St. John and points east.
11:40 a. m.—Mixed from Woodstock via Gibson branch. (Daily.)
11:50 a. m.—Express from Montreal, Boston, etc.
7:50 p. m.—Express from St. John and points east.
9:20 p. m.—Mixed from Woodstock, and points North.
10:40 p. m.—Express from Boston, Portland, Woodstock, St. Stephen, etc.

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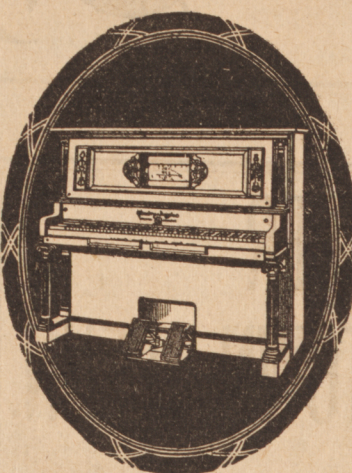
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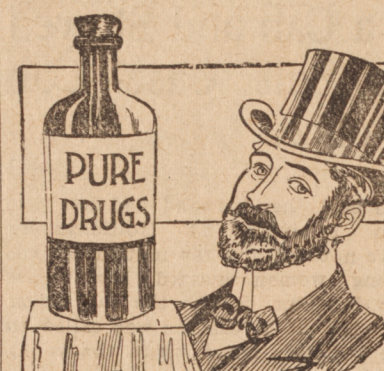
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Deputy Minister of the Naval Service, Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa, October 25th, 1910.

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