create any important inter-Provincial trade. That is a question which requires a little more discussion than it suits me to enter upon at the present moment, and here again I ask my friends from the Maritime Provinces when the time comes to contribute for the information of the House their views as to the success which has attended our efforts to create an important trade in that direction. Nor, sir, will I dwell just now further on the lamentable failure of that expenditure of over 100 millions of public money to produce any adequate settlements in the Northwest. But I will say a word or two as to the failure to obtain any adequate return for the expenditure on

OUR GREAT PUBLIC WORKS.

Sir, the people of this country have expended 200 millions of dollars in the construction of railways and canals and divers other improvements. Time was when we hoped this expenditure would bring an adequate return, but those expectations have been very bitterly disappointed. Now, how stands the case? I take the Public Accounts for 1887. I find, all told, a charge of $3,970,000 for the expenses of operating those public works, and that, sir, is the nominal charge. The real charge, if our accounts were kept as in every other country on earth accounts are kept, would be nearer four and a half millions. What do we get in return? We get a total income of $3,270,000. Not only do we not receive one farthing of interest for the outlay of $200,000,000, but there is a loss on capital account at the least of $700,000, not to speak of various other items which under our most vicious system of book-keeping are charged to capital account. Again I pass from the question of our failure to keep emigrants and from the question why it is that we in Canada cannot keep our own people in our country, but I have the right, and the House and the country have the right, to ask why is this? Is it because of the fault of our climate? I think not. The climate of the country in parts may be vigorous, but it is eminently capable of developing a vigorous and thrifty offspring. Is it the fault of our soil? Why, is not the House familiar with the declaration of the learned gentleman opposite, that no country on earth possessed such unexampled, such unexhaustible fertility as we in Canada possess? (Opposition cheers.) I agree with them in this to a very large extent, and I ask is it the fault of the people? Well, sir, in part it is the fault of the people in being too credulous and trusting to promises of repentance on the part of the Government which were never carried out, (Opposition cheers.) Anybody who knows how our people conduct themselves when they leave our shores, who knows what distinguished position an immense percentage of the millions of Canadians whose absence I deplore have obtained in the neighboring Republic, who knows what they have done—that they have been able to fight and beat the Americans with their own weapons—will say it is

HARDLY THE FAULT OF THE PEOPLE

of Canada if these things are so. I think, then, if it is not the fault of the climate, the soil or the people, we may ask whose fault can it be? (Hear, hear.) What am I to say of the threatened collapse of our Federal constitution which has been made potent and manifest in these later years? Have we not seen almost within early date, the very fundamental agreements upon which Federation depends torn into fragments and afterwards pinned together with bribes, as in the case of Nova Scotia? (Hear, hear.) Do we not know, and does the First Minister not know, that at this very moment he runs a most imminent risk if he persists in the course he has hitherto pursued towards the young and rising Province of Manitoba? He has the choice offered to him to recede from that tyranny and to see that Manitobans assert their just rights at any cost, or he will probably

HAVE ANOTHER REBELLION

there. Sir I trust and hope and believe that whatever his fault may be, the First Minister will avoid that terrible and mostfatal mistake. (Cheers.) Sir, to a very great extent, as the enormous increase of our debt shows, we have, during all this time, been living on our capital, and a most mischievous policy it is. You may get temporary advantage and assistance from it, but every man knows, and more than all, men who have studied the history of the United States know, a young country in our position can commit no more vital fault than to allow its debt to be increased with unexampled rapidity, as ours has been during the period I have alluded to. (Cheers.) Now, what shall I say of the condition of that great interest on which all other interests, or almost all other interests, depends? Who does not know there has been within the last four years an immense fall in the profits of our farmers and at the same time a very great increase in the burdens laid upon our farmers? (Hear, hear.) And who does not know—who has studied the history of the world—that at the self-same moment you are heaping burdens upon burdens upon them, they are subjected to a wholly unexpected and intense competition in the market they have hitherto controlled? I do not believe this system can last very long. In twenty years we have trebled our debt and our taxes and added 30 per cent. to our population. Suppose we go on for another twenty years, or for ten. Why, sir, in twenty years, with the same increase of population, the same increase in debt and taxes, we would find ourselves with a population of six millions and an annual taxation of 90 millions of dollars, and if we did that we would have done nothing more than we succeeded in doing in the twenty years between 1867 and 1887. Even were the Government honestly disposed to mend their ways, it is scarcely possible for them under ordinary circumstances to put a stop to

THIS PRACTICE OF INSANE EXPENDITURE.

More than that, they will do well to remember that if I am correct in the statements I have made—and challenge the strictest scrutiny—that if millions or thereabouts of the native population of Canada have sought homes elsewhere, they must remember the tendency of that is to go on increasing evermore. Who are the men who have left us? Any one who has paid attention to the character of that emigration knows I am stating simply a literal fact when I say that in a most unusual proportion they contain the very pick and flower of our population and the kind of men states men desire to retain in Canada. Were our position such as that which formerly used to obtain between Scotland and England, I would not complain so much, because if the same rule applied between ourselves and the United States as between England and Scotland we would still have the satisfaction of knowing that when our friends left us they went to swell the strength of the Dominion, or otherwise, as the case might be, in some other part; but here they are totally lost to us because they go to swell the strength of our nearest rival, neighbor and competitor. (Cheers.) That brings me to a consideration which perhaps is more important than all. What possible remedies are there for such a state of things? As far as I can see

THESE REMEDIES ARE FOUR.

In the first place, I think that a very great improvement might be effected by reforming our present and most oppressive and unjust system of taxation. Another immense improvement might be made by revising our constitution, as the members on this side of the House have pressed time and again, and altering the constitution that all the constant intermeddling on the part of Federal authorities with the rights and privileges of Local Legislatures should be put an end to forever. (Cheers.) And on the other hand it is equally important that the system of bribes, of perpetual and incessant forages by the Provincial Governments on the Dominion treasury, whenever they have been extravagant and got into a scrape, may be likewise put a stop to. In the third place it is necessary that the mischievous system of railway monopoly, which, up to the present time has barred settlement and prosperity in the Northwest Territories, and Manitoba should likewise be ended. (Cheers.) Last and most important of all, I believe the successful remedy would be the carrying into effect of the change which I ask the Government to try to obtain in the resolution in your hands providing for

PERFECT FREE TRADE

with the people of the United States. (Cheers.) Give us that and railway monopolies will cease to vex and harass. Give us that and the Federal relations will speedily adjust themselves, as Federal relations ought to do. Give us that and the sting will be taken from the combines, more especially if the United States, as there is good hope they will do, emancipate themselves from the trade fetters in which they have been most foolishly bound up. It may be said that is a heroic remedy. If it be so, never in the history of the county was a heroic remedy more needed. (Cheers.) I am not disposed to become godfather, if I may say so, for this resolution without being prepared to show that it is in the highest degree advantageous to both countries. I am very sorry for many reasons that the Minister of Finance is not in his place to-day, but I dare say the House will remember how, after a short but patriotic enthusiasm, the hon. gentleman about a year ago went to the length of declaring that, if we only saw, we in Canada possessed the finest country in the world. I do not mean to go that length, but I will go the length of saying we are able man for man and dollar for dollar to give

A FULL AND PERFECT EQUIVALENT

to the United States for all we get. We develop hollow and for ourselves and for posterity. Confederation, when there was no question of the Intercolonial railway, there were 7,600 souls of the Maritime Provinces who had taken up their residence in Ontario, but in 1881, after fifteen years of Confederation, after knowing more about us, I suppose, there were but 7,200 found there. The number,

HAD POSITIVELY BEEN REDUCED.

Take these census returns. Turn to the Province of Quebec and you will see that in '81 there were large and populous counties in which not one representative of my friends from the Maritime Provinces seemed to be able to make a living. (Cheers and laughter.) It is almost phenomenal. A curious fact is that it appears from the census that there was far more immigration in the decade from 1851 to '61 than in the twenty years from '61 to '81. Is it not idle to deny such facts as these? Is it not idle to fight against them? Must we not admit that no matter how the people may strive, no matter how the Government may strive, you cannot establish any great inter-Provincial trade from which any great profit can redound to the people to the country. What is the history of the Intercolonial railway? It is worth noting. On the 30th June, 1887, the Intercolonial stood as an asset in the books of the Dominion for $46,431,000. The total expenses of the road for the year were $2,828,000 and the receipts $2,596,000. Not only did the Intercolonial not pay interest on its cost, but there was an admitted loss of $231,000, or a real loss, if the amounts had been properly charged, of $400,000 or $500,000. And, in addition to that, every year a million or so is added on to the capital expenditure. Remember that for this current year the Intercolonial has cost $340,000 more than we received from it. And as if this were not enough, we have recently been compelled to subsidise a so-called short line for the express purpose of cutting the throat and destroying the value of this same Intercolonial railway, which has cost us nearly fifty millions, and thus probably double the huge deficit which now exists. (Cheers.) I think every hon. gentleman will admit that I have shown conclusively that, do what you will, trade will seek its natural market. Who does not know, who dares deny, that the trade of Halifax naturally seeks Boston, the trade of Toronto seeks New York, that of Winnipeg St Paul and the country to the south of it, and that of Victoria San Francesco and the rest of the Pacific Coast, and to their mutual profit too? (Cheers.) There is an old and true saying that trade follows the flag, but it is still more true that it follows the people, and we have unhappily sent out about

TWO MILLIONS OF MISSIONARIES

to cultivate friendly trade relations with the United States. (Laughter.) More than that, sir, it is well to remember, as I have said that great economic changes are in progress, that there has been a very material alteration in our position as regards the markets of the world. It is quite clear, in older Canada at any rate, that grain production is, to say the least of it, on the wane. The only cereal we can depend upon as likely to continue to be raised in large quantities is barley, for which we have no market except in the United States. But what is true of barley is true in a higher degree of the more important of our other agricultural productions, with perhaps the solitary exception of the important article of cheese. Now, sir, I contend that for almost everything which our farmers have to sell, the United States, if we had unrestricted trade, is absolutely the best market. I contend, further, that besides being the best, it is literally the only market for a great many very important articles which we produce. (Cheers.) In spite of all artificial obstacles, a huge percentage of our total trade is transacted with the United States. Of a total volume of 202 millions, the United States supplied 83 millions. Out of 81 millions of exports of our own produce, we sold to the United States last year over 30 millions, or nearly one-half. Of those goods entered for consumption, amounting to 105 millions, we bought 45 millions from the United States. And, sir, to come to details which it is necessary I should give in order to lay the case fairly before the House, what do we find as to the vast majority of articles produced by the agriculturists! Sir, these figures are instructive in a very high degree. Of 18,779 horses which we sold, the United States bought 18,225. We find that of 443,000 sheep the United States bought 363,000. Of 116,000 cattle, in spite of tariff restrictions, the United States bought 45,000 head. Of $167,000 worth of poultry, the United States bought $99,000. Of $1,822,900 worth of eggs, the United States bought all. Of $527,000 worth of coal, the United States bought $404,000. Of $148,000 worth of gypsum, the United States bought all. Of iron ore, the United States bought all; of salt, the United States bought all; of stone and marble, the United States bought all; and, in spite of fishery disputes and taxes, of $6,875,000 worth of fish, the United States were

BY FAR OUR BEST CUSTOMERS,

and bought $2,717,000 worth. Of $20,500,000 of lumber, the United States bought as nearly as possible one-half, $9,353,000. Of $1,416,000 of wool, the United States bought $1,300,000. Of 9½ millions of barley, the United States bought all. Of $743,000 of hay the United States bought $670,000 worth. Of $439,000 worth of potatoes the United States bought $328,000. Of $254,000 of miscellaneous agricultural products the United States bought $249,000. And, speaking of the great cereal, wheat, if the duty were removed no man who has been in Manitoba could doubt that the United States would be our best customs for high class wheat. In articles of manufacture out of $3,079,000 the United States bought $1,289,000 worth. Of miscellaneous articles they bought $569,000 worth out of a total of $644,000. There are two things to which I desire to call the attention of the House. One is that for obvious reasons our exports to the United States are largely undervalued. The figures do not accurately represent the amount we sell. So long as they maintain a high tariff it is obviously the interest of the Canadian seller to underestimate the value of the articles, and this everybody knows is constantly done. In another respect, it is well-known that in the case of an enormous number of the articles to which I have called specific attention, there is room for almost unlimited expansion of trade, were the duties removed. These it would be well to bear in mind when considering the benefit of our American trade. Now, not only have I shown that, as it is, our trade with the United States forms an immense proportion of our total trade, but I ask the House to consider what sort of a market that country is for us. Why, sir, look at the host of great and growing cities which stud the southern frontier alone. Look at Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston, New York. These cities alone, with their environs, contain a population of something like five millions, the very best customers on the face of the earth. And consider how well they are situated to be our market. Not one of these is more than twelve hours from a Canadian source of supply. The Canadian seller might literally

TALK OVER THE TELEPHONE

to his American buyer in almost every city I have named. Look at our railway system—I speak more particularly of the railway system of Ontario and Quebec. Look at the huge sums we have expended and the small return that our outlay has brought. I have here the returns which show that we have two thousand miles of railway all over the Dominion, of which a very large percentage is in Ontario and Quebec. These are alleged to have cost $653,000,000, and although I believe a considerable part of that is "water," as it is technically called. I believe our system of railways represents an outlay, or would be worth, at any rate, about $500,000,000. The gross earnings of the roads last year were $33,000,000, the expenses of operating $24,000,000. and it is well known that the amount given as the cost of operating does not include many items which it should include. So on the $653,000,000 which the roads nominally cost the return was only 1½ per cent. Give us unrestricted trade with the United States and so far as the central Provinces are concerned you will

DOUBLE THE GROSS EARNINGS

of the railways and quadruple their profits, benefitting not only those who have invested their capital in these enterprises, but the people of Canada as well. Another point. Let us consider how population is distributed. We all know the impediments which arise to inter-Provincial trade. We know how conveniently the people in the Maritime Provinces, in Manitoba and in British Columbia are situated for trade with the United States, and how inconveniently they are placed for trade with the Central Provinces and I apprehend that no gentleman on either side will dispute my position, that to the Maritime Provinces, Manitoba and the North-west unrestricted trade would be of the greatest benefit. But, Mr. Speaker, I am going to take the country I know best. Old Canada, from Quebec to Sarnia. How is the population distributed? It is known to every man that nineteen-twentieths of the population of these two Provinces is literally within five hours' ride, on the average, from the American frontier. Then consider the advantages of such a market. Remember that this is one of the most rapidly growing markets in the world. Within the last twenty-five years the American market has grown from thirty millions to over sixty millions of consumers, and it has not stopped growing. In all human probability, before the next census is taken it 1890 the American population will have grown to something like sixty-four or sixty-five million of people. More than that, the population, and especially the population of the great cities to which I have referred, is one of the richest populations on the earth. There is no population in the world with which it is so desirable to establish trade relations for the agriculturists of a country as with the population of the great American cities. It is well known to those who are familiar with those cities that there is no place on earth in which the man with a first-class article to sell is half so sure of obtaining

A FIRST-CLASS MARKET

as in the United States. Nowhere have I known men who spend so lavishly on their personal comfort as the great millionaries, and for that matter the great bulk of the people of the American cities. That is one reason that makes it more desirable for us to obtain free trade intercourse with them, so that we may use the great facilities which our position gives us for trading with these great centres. Then, sir, they are at our very door. We do not require to make long journeys to become acquainted with our American customers. A few hours' journey by rail will bring us face to face with them. We have no middle men, to face in dealing with them. We can understand the market, or it is our own fault if we don't. Any man of business knows the enormous advantage it is to any country that the men selling should understand thoroughly what the purchaser wants to buy. I do not know that it would be necessary for our people to give themselves the slightest trouble. I remember, and I daresay many other gentlemen here remember, what ordinarily took place under the old reciprocity treaty, when Canada prospered more than she has ever done since. There was this peculiarity, that the buyer was the seeker and not the seller. It was a matter of every day occurrence, especially in Ontario, for our farmers during that treaty to be interviewed daily and almost hourly by American purchasers who were ready to buy the apples on the tree—the crop in the field—even the unborn foal—if the farmer was willing to sell. Sir, I have been taken to task upon more than one occasion for venturing to say, as I have said, and as I now repeat, that in my judgment one native-born Canadian was worth more to this country than any half-dozen imported immigrants, and I said that without any desire to reflect on the many industrious men who have cast in their lot with us. But my opinion always has been that, as essential to the development of our country, one native born Canadian was worth half a dozen of any other nationality. In the same way I say one United States customer is worth to us in Canada half a dozen English customers and half a dozen of any other nationality, and what is true of them to us is true of us to them. Sir, I say that to the United States

THE TRADE OF CANADA

is worth a great deal more than the mere present numbers would indicate. It is worth the trade of many times such a population as that which the Americans are trying to open up trade relations with in Mexico, South America or other countries which stand below them, more especially so if we prosper largely. It is a curious thing—I don't know whether it has attracted the attention of members of this House—that after all we have said about the desirability of extending our trade with foreign countries, that same trade remains so small that it may be fairly said we have practically only two customers. One of these customers is the people of England and her Colonies and the other the people of the United States. Sir, I don't know that hon. gentlemen have looked into the matter quite as much as it is desirable, but if they will look at the returns for 1887 they will see that of our own produce Canada exported $80,960,000 worth, and of this $35,250,000 went to Great Britain, $38,750,000 worth to the United States, three millions to the British Colonies and to all the rest of the world only $3,800,000. That is to say, seventy-seven millions to the United States, Great Britain and British Colonies and less than four millions to all the rest of the world put together. And in 1873, to show that this is not a mere accident, I found that an almost identical state of things prevailed. Then our total exports amounted to 76½ millions, of which the United States bought $36,735,000, Great Britain $31,421,000, the British Colonies $3,953,000 and all the rest of the world together $4,500,000. So that we see that for fifteen years we have almost literally

HAD ONLY TWO CUSTOMERS,

one the United States and the other the people of Great Britain and her Colonies. And what is true of the exports is likewise true of the imports. Take 1887. We imported a total for consumption of $105,639,000. We got from the United States $45,107,000, from Great Britain $44,962,000, or out of the $105,000,000, $60,000,000 from our two chief customers. In 1873, of $127,000,000 we bought $47,750,000 from the United States and from Great Britain $68,500,000. That is to say, from our chief customers we bought nearly $117,000,000. To one of these our products are sent without the slightest let or hindrance. We, with the rest of the world, have perfectly free access to the English markets. In the other case, partly by our own doing, partly by the action of the United States, the most

FORMIDABLE ARTIFICIAL RESTRICTIONS

are imposed upon the trade which is likely to be the most important to us. Let one fact be considered; twenty years ago the British population was thirty millions; to-day it is thirty-five millions. Twenty or twenty-five years ago the American population was but thirty millions; to-day it is sixty or sixty-one millions. Judge, then, for yourselves which of these two countries, especially as they are situated, is likely to be of the greatest benefit for Canadian trade.

RECESS.

Though it still lacked fifteen minutes of six o'clock, as Sir Richard Cartwright had to speak for another hour longer and was about to begin a new subject, the Speaker called six o'clock and left the chair.

After recess Sir Richard Cartwright proceeded to point out that Unrestricted Reciprocity would necessitate greater economy in the Administration of public affairs. A summary of his remarks follows and the full report will be given hereafter. He admitted that Free Trade would

INTERFERE SERIOUSLY

with trusts and combines, would hurt the business of the practical politician and would reduce the manufacturers' contributions to Tory election funds. He said it would have been easy for an intelligent Administration to keep down the annual expenditure to $26,000,000. He emphasized the success of the Mackenzie Government in keeping down taxation, and showed there was great room for reducing the expenses of Government. He argued that it would not be necessary to resort to direct taxation, which, after all, however, was the fairest system of taxation, but simply to practice a reasonable economy. He showed that the poor and industrious were enormously overtaxed, and the well-to-do classes relieved of a good deal of what they should pay. He showed, amid great applause, how free trade with the United States would benefit the farmers, the lumbermen, the miners, the fishermen and

ALL THE GREAT PRODUCING CLASSES

of the country. He argued that we could not do England a greater service than by forming a close alliance with the United States, and for the reason that she has not a fast friend among the first-class powers of Europe. He ridiculed the loyalty cry and claimed to be as loyal as the occupants of the Government benches, but he did not know that we were under any great obligation to England. He thought rather that the obligation was on the other side. He pointed out that in the Fisheries Treaty we had sacrificed our admitted legal rights for the benefit of England and that this is a case in which we can fairly ask England to sacrifice some of her admitted legal rights for the benefit of Canada. He quoted President Cleveland, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Hill to prove the willingness of the United States to enter into negotiations for Free Trade relations between the two countries. He said he wanted simply a fair and just arrangement that would be mutually beneficial to both countries. He quoted from the municipal statistics of Ontario to show how unsatisfactory was our growth in population, and argued at length the importance of the proposed trade alliance and our right to make our own treaties and

TO MANAGE OUR OWN AFFAIRS.

He said he was not an Annexationist and had no desire that this country should become part of the United States. He did not believe the United States had any such desire. He said he admired and respected genuine loyalty, but he had little regard for 35 per cent. protected loyalty or 35 per cent. protected loyalists. He closed with a strong appeal to the House to accept the proposal he was about to make, which would give prosperity to the masses of our people and would knit in a closer alliance the people of Canada, of the United States and of England, and closed by moving the resolution of which he had given notice. Sir Richard resumed his seat amid tumultuous Opposition cheering.

A Postmaster's Opinion.

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