

Sir Richard Cartwright, Mr. Fielding, and Mr. Clifford Sifton were free traders then. Mr. Sifton came out to Winnipeg and told us: "We are going to give you free agricultural implements, free coal oil," etc. I believe that Mr. Fielding was sincere. I have always had the highest respect for him. He is a man of wonderful ability, and I have always listened to him with the greatest pleasure. But when Mr. Fielding was entrusted with the responsibility of administering this great country, he burned the midnight oil trying to apply the principle of free trade, but he found it could not be done. And that is what Mr. Drury's government or any other government in Canada will find. There is a vast difference between a platform on which to attain to power and a platform on which the country can be successfully governed.

Before closing I desire to discuss the question of direct taxation. The farmer seems to believe in that. He says he does not believe in having a tariff to raise a revenue when it puts only one dollar into the treasury while putting three dollars into the manufacturer's pocket. That is his argument, and it is the old one. I have frequently asked for an explanation. Not long ago I asked a very prominent protectionist in the House if he would kindly explain that to me, but when you ask men such a question they become peevish. They are either unable or unwilling to explain.

Our Government and the Finance Minister were slow and reluctant in adopting direct taxation, and after five years of war, indirect taxation in the shape of customs and excise continues to provide the greater proportion of the revenue of the Dominion. Not so in the United States; not so in England; not so in Australia or in New Zealand. Practically the total cost of the war has been defrayed from borrowing, and the proceeds of new direct taxes have scarce been sufficient to meet the increase in consolidated account expenditures due to added interest, pension charges, and the increased cost of administration; for the cost of administration did increase very considerably during the war. It was the boast of the former Minister of Finance, Sir Thomas White, that Canada had the highest excess profits tax in the world. I do not know how he made that out. It was his further boast that Canada had received tremendous orders for war materials, and that the greater porportion of her own war expenditure was spent in Canada. That is true; and let me say here, before I forget it, that the position of Canada was very different from that of New Zealand and Australia, which are so far away from Europe. Shipping in Australia and New Zealand was so scarce, and the difficulty of transporting munitions or any other products from those countries to England was so great that Canada was placed in an advantageous position. In spite of those boasts, the surprising fact remains that from the beginning of the war until the end of the fiscal year 1918-19, Canada, in income tax and excess profits taxes, mulcted the war-made wealth of the country to the insignificant total of about eighty million dollars, or an amount scarce sufficient to defray the expenses of the war for three months.

Hon. Mr. CASGRAIN: How much?

Hon. Mr. SCHAFFNER: Eighty million dollars. Less than \$100,000,000 out of the big interests for taxes.

Let us for a moment consider Australia and New Zealand for the purpose of making a little comparison. I have obtained some figures from a reliable source and I think that they are practically correct. Owing to their distance from the theatre of war and the shortage of shipping, Australia and New Zealand were probably worse off, instead of being better off, financially for the war. Yet those two countries took advantage of the war to adopt direct taxation to a far greater extent than did Canada. Now, I am not going to quote all the figures I have. In New Zealand, for 1914, the customs and excise amounted to £3,500,000, and the income tax to £554,000. The total from these and other revenues, such as death duties, amounted to nearly £6,000,000. I have here a table showing the figures for the years 1914 to 1918, but I will not detain the House with them. In 1918 the customs and excise revenue amounted to £3,601,000. There is not much difference. But the income tax, which in 1914 was £554,271, had increased in 1918 to £5,600,000, or \$28,000,000. That was a pretty good increase for New Zealand.

Hon. Mr. CASGRAIN: That is more than in Canada.

Hon. Mr. SCHAFFNER: Yes, more than in Canada.

Hon. Mr. CASGRAIN: And New Zealand has only one-eighth of the population of Canada.

Hon. Mr. SCHAFFNER: It will be seen from the figures that during the four years of the war (from 1914 to 1918, inclusive), New Zealand collected in income taxes a total of nearly £12,000,000, or \$55,000,000.

Hon. Mr. SCHAFFNER.