

have been to these men to find themselves completely ignored; and could any one have been surprised at the alarm and hatred of the population, which had been evoked by the arrogance and folly of Dominion officials, or that the old officials did nothing to allay the discontent? I need not speak of the rebellion which followed, or of the extraordinary concessions made to conciliate the population. From being a Crown colony, without a representative, they were changed to a full-blown Province, weighed down with powers and privileges which they had neither the wealth nor the numbers needed to exercise them with advantage; 1,400,000 acres of land, in the neighborhood of Winnipeg, were set aside for the children of the half-breed population. More than half these people were hunters of the plain, who, at that time, attached no value to the lands reserved to their use. Hundreds of them left the place. As the buffalo retreated further westward, they ceased to return to the Red River in the winter season. Their numbers could not be ascertained. The division of the land was, in consequence, delayed. The great majority of them were minors, whose interest in their allotments could not be utilised for settlement; and so the district which it was most necessary to occupy first was one from which white settlers were practically excluded. When the half-breed districts became known, and the adjacent lands were set out for settlement, many of those who first went into the country found it impossible to secure an entry for the lands which they desired to select. It was said that the first land agents were interested with other parties in land speculations, and they profited by the labors of those who explored the country, with a view to becoming settlers. Those desiring to obtain entry for lands could not obtain it for the lands which they had visited and selected. Hundreds of those who, in 1872 and 1873, went from the older Provinces to the Red River district, with the view to settlement, finding the obstacles in the way so serious, they withdrew, discouraged and disgusted, and settled south of the international boundary. They became the founders of rival settlements in the United States. The country along the Red River, from Fargo to Pembina, is occupied chiefly by Canadians, who went thither from Manitoba before 1874. The populous and prosperous settlement at the Grand Forks, is Canadian. The Government of Canada has spent not a little in advertising the country and in seeking to secure immigration from abroad. Recently the Minister of Agriculture, failing to secure Europeans, has undertaken to do what has never been done in the neighboring Republic—to send out immigration agents into the Provinces, with the view of securing settlers for the North-West. I am not going to enter into a criticism of this policy now, but it certainly discloses an extraordinary state of things, when the Government finds itself driven to such a proceeding. The people of Canada ought to be able to decide for themselves the question of settling in the North-West, without Government interference and without Government pressure. But we have already lost a fifth of our population. They reside on the American side of the border. When once any of our people resolve to look for new homes they are attracted to the neighborhood where their friends and acquaintances have gone before, whether it be in Dakota or in the North-West, if there are no words of discouragement and no events happening dissuading them against such a course. The people who first settled between Fargo and Pembina have been of far more consequence to Dakota in securing settlers from Canada than any number of pamphlets and immigration agents. These settlers were formerly residents of Ontario. They have drawn thither ten times their numbers. As they receive new accessions they become an attractive force of increasing power, so long as there are fertile lands to occupy. Now, what must not be forgotten is, that the whole of these people, with ordinary care and prudence on the part of the Government, might have been retained

or secured as settlers of Manitoba and the North-West. The original settlers went to Manitoba. They withdrew for the reasons which I have stated, and they have since attracted thousands of their friends and neighbors. It is a calumny to say these people were wanting in patriotism, or that they would not have preferred remaining in their own country, other things being equal. Now, Sir, it is all very well to talk about newspapers advising men to go abroad and about their decrying the country. Why, Sir, these hon. gentlemen decried the country from 1875 to 1878. What was the resolution proposed by the right hon. gentleman, and which was supported by his followers, when in Opposition, in 1878? Has the hon. member for the city of Ottawa (Mr. Mackintosh), who spoke to-night about the unpatriotic conduct of the members of the Opposition, forgotten all about that resolution? Does he not remember that it said that thousands were leaving Canada every year for want of employment?

Mr. MACKINTOSH. What resolution does the hon. gentleman allude to?

Mr. MILLS. To the resolution which the right hon. gentleman proposed, introducing his National Policy, and in which he declared there was no employment for the people of Canada, and that there were thousands leaving Canada every year, for the want of employment?

Mr. MACKINTOSH. Yes; I remember that. He said there was poison in the policy of the Government, and he propounded an antidote for it.

Mr. MILLS. The hon. gentleman did not consider such statements unpatriotic just then. But there is this very important difference: that there is now, and has been for the last five years, a very large emigration from Canada, and there was not a very large emigration at that time. I simply state this, Mr. Speaker, by the way. Now, I contend that the first condition necessary to secure a brisk immigration into our North-West Territories is to satisfy the population that are already there. So long as they are discontented, just so long will the residents of the country be a repellent and not an attractive body. If the policy of the Government had been at all satisfactory it would not have been necessary to have sent out immigration agents through the Province of Quebec and into the other Provinces. The people who are already there would have been far more efficient for that purpose; and no more conclusive evidence could have been furnished of the failure of the Government than the confession of the Minister of Agriculture, that his agents were scouring the old Provinces, in order to secure settlers for the North-West. In the settlement of our North-West it was of great consequence that the first settlers should be satisfied with the rules and regulations adopted by the Government; for, if the views I have expressed are correct, it is by satisfying those who are the pioneers of every settlement that its future progress is to be best promoted. There is, too, a great advantage in continuous settlement—in the establishment of schools, in the building of churches, in the improvement of roads, in the construction of bridges, and in the establishment of markets. It is of great consequence to the population that large tracts of lands in private hands should not intervene; for, beside the disadvantages which I have indicated, there is a want of mutuality in the enhanced value given to property by labor; for the vacant land is increased in value by the industry of the settler, for which the settler receives nothing in return. It is also of consequence, in the colonisation of a country, that facilities should be given for egress and ingress. There must be either railway or water communication. The want of the one or the other makes it impossible to secure settlers. The products of the farm will not bear the expense of carriage by an ordinary vehicle for many miles,