

remedy just as much as the evil of industrial emancipation.

But one thing we must achieve. We must see to it that the course we take is such that to the whole community of Canada, composed of nine provinces and our territories, to the grand total the result is the maximum of benefit. If for any reason we fall away from this course then every section suffers, and is bound to suffer. I therefore propose that those sections of this Dominion which derive less immediate result from a protective tariff than do others, those which labour under particular transportation disabilities, shall be assisted by the Dominion as a whole. Speaking a year ago last January in the city of Ottawa I used these words—I have here the full text of what I said just as it was given to the press:

I have always admitted that the advantages to be gathered from a sound tariff policy are not equally felt by all portions of this broad Dominion. Indeed, it must be admitted, too, that the problem of distributing the incidence of any policy we adopt—in a word of bearing the weight of Canada as she marches on—is a very difficult one in such a Dominion as ours, but if we get right in matters that are basic we can meet the sectional questions that arise. Given a healthful expanding trade situation in our country, we can set to work to make the access to our central provinces easier both from the Maritimes and from the prairie west. I believe the united strength of Canada should be devoted to helping transport from the more distant parts of the Dominion.

Mr. FORKE: How would you propose to do it?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Maritime provinces are separated from the mass of our population by a very considerable stretch of territory along which little or no business is done. The western provinces are likewise separated from the same central provinces of Canada. These are two wide chasms fixed by nature, against the incidence of which Canada has had to struggle through the whole course of her history. These are the chasms which in my judgment come especially hard on the remoter parts of the country. It is true the central provinces have to bear a share of the transport to these outer territories, but I think it is an inevitable conclusion that the burden of transport chiefly comes upon those further removed from the centres of population. It would in my judgment be good national policy for the whole Dominion to bear a share of that transport cost. It could be done in more ways than one. One method is suggested in the resolution. It is to take certain basic productions in the Maritimes, on the one hand, and in the west on the other, and on the transport from those territories to the great central provinces, or say

on the transport from the west to the port of Montreal, for the Dominion to carry a percentage of the necessary rail tariff. I do not mean to interfere with the jurisdiction of the railway commission in the least. I want to leave the railway commission free to fix such tariffs as the commission believes to be just as between the shipper and the transportation company, and to fix them without favouritism to any part of Canada. Let the commission do its work unhampered. For that principle I have fought in office and out of office. But there is no reason why the whole Dominion, not just the shippers along the lines of our roads, but the Dominion as a whole, should not carry whatever percentage seems fair of the cost of bridging these two great chasms between the extremities of our land.

After all, the main problem of Canada is a spiritual problem. It is a problem of getting all our people to see that we have only one country, that we have not a collection of unrelated sections. It is a problem of getting our people to see that the object of all is to help each, and that the success of one does not mean the failure of another. There are far too many in this Dominion who are of opinion that it is a great mistake if anybody is allowed to make money, that if a city is prosperous it is at the expense of the country, that if the industrial sections of Canada are making money it is a burden on the back of the farmer. A more false conception it is impossible for anyone to realize. This country is competing with other countries. It is the whole country that is competing. It is not any section with any section of the same country; it is the whole Dominion that is fighting a great commercial battle and must fight it, whether we like it or not, with all the great industrial countries of the world. Therefore, we ought to adopt a course which gains the maximum advantage for the whole; and then, having gained such advantage we will be in a position to afford special assistance, carried by the entire country, for the benefit of those who have special burdens to bear. This seems to me to be the right line to pursue, and this is the spirit of the resolution which I have moved.

We have heard throughout our history sectional appeals. This was bound to be our experience in the very nature of things. We took vast territories, empires in themselves, stretching across a great continent and we undertook the task of welding them into one under a central government with the same general laws, the same rules of trade, the same fiscal system. These divisions which exist among us have been accentuated by the

fact that for political purposes frankness has not always prevailed over the great distances which divide. But we were bound anyway to encounter years of strain and trial testing to the utmost our powers of patience and resolve. Our one essential creed should have been to pursue that course which offered most to the aggregate whole, to gain the maximum national advance at all costs—and after that proceed to adjust advantages among ourselves in a spirit of equity and union.

This sectionalism or whatever you like to call it we can never ameliorate by following a policy which weakens the strength of the entire unit. Such a course we have experimented on now for three years—and the malady is worse than when we began. We have sapped the virility of our industry, we have drained out much of the best of our population, we have diminished our national estate. But the experience of these years will not have been in vain if it teaches us in every part of this Dominion the folly of such a plan.

We still have a great people, a great country, and a latent power for progress unequalled in this world. I believe unreservedly and unwaveringly in the destiny of Canada—the destiny our fathers decreed, the destiny which already many generations of Canadians have

striven nobly to attain—that of a great free nation endowed with an abundant heritage, conserving that heritage, never dissipating it, never casting it away, never weakly surrendering it to make great any country but our own, making the most of our possessions, turning them ourselves to the uses of mankind and in the end finding our natural riches reflected in a grander and more varied civilization, in a larger national stature, in increasing millions of Canadian homes. I believe in the destiny of Canada as a British nation, as the strong son, the elder brother, in this commonwealth—to my mind, to my heart no other future is thinkable. And without questioning in the least degree the fidelity to that future of any member of this House, believing as I do that beside such a destiny there is for us only one alternative, I submit the great article of policy which my words to-day seek to expound as the firmest safeguard against drifting that other way. But apart altogether from every question of our relationship to the empire or to the world and thinking only of the people of Canada I present the principles embodied in this resolution as the best for ourselves, best for every interest, best for every province, the principles surest to lead to the union and progress of all.