

entire justification of all that has been said by the Opposition in reference to this question from the mouth of the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Dawson) to-day. His views were directly contradicted by the hon. First Minister, and the committee now are made aware from the mouth of the First Minister how the case stands. They cannot any further allege it is not the intention of the Government to give a vote to the unenfranchised tribal Indians. They cannot say that this Bill will not give to the unenfranchised tribal Indians a vote, who, after they have been given this right, will still remain the wards of the Government, absolutely and entirely under the control of the Government. In the *Gazette* article we read that the Indians, who very often are dissatisfied with the Government, can show their dissatisfaction because the ballot is in force, and the Indian can cast his vote by ballot. How many of the wild Indians of Manitoba would be capable of marking their ballot? How many of the Indians of British Columbia who, the Superintendent-General has told us by the mouth of his own agents, are living in a state that is almost worse than savagery, who, we are given to understand by inference in one of the reports, actually traffic in the virtue of their wives and daughters, will be able to exercise this right intelligently? They are given a vote under this Bill, but remain in the same condition as before. There is in this proposition nothing to distinguish between the intelligent and unintelligent Indian, the moral and the immoral. They are all brought in. I would venture even now to suggest to the First Minister whether he himself, having given mature consideration to the question not having heard the debate out it is true and not having fully considered the question whether the Indians could serve as jurors, and whether the Government have the power to order them to do military service. I would ask the First Minister to consider whether it would not be the proper thing for him, when the next clauses are up, to consider the question, and see whether the amendment which the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Mills) has introduced—an amendment giving the enfranchised Indian who has acquired the same civil capacities as other subjects, in other words the Indian standing in the same position as any other citizen, the right to vote, but keeping that right from those who are in a totally different position, who are held and proposed to be held by the Government in the position of minors—should not be adopted. Of course those Indians are not on the assessment roll and cannot serve on a jury, for none but tax payers can serve on a jury, and I do not suppose that the First Minister seriously considers that they can.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I desire in the first place to point out to the committee, speaking for myself, and I believe in that I speak also for my friends on this side, there is not one man among us who desires that the Indian who is really a free agent, who is living under the same conditions as the white man, who is subject to the same laws in the same way as is the white man, and who is qualified as the white man is, should not have a vote. We are perfectly ready and perfectly prepared that all our red allies and brethren who come up to those conditions should have votes. It has been one of the most honorable traditions in Canadian history that we have endeavored, I believe, up to the present time, to deal justly and fairly with the red men who live within our borders. It is a thing I hope we will always continue to do. I hope that, under no circumstances, will we be found depriving our Indian allies who have come into communion with us in any way of the reserves or other privileges which we have formally accorded to them, but what we do object to is that Indians who are not free agents, who are not living under the same conditions or subject to the same laws as white people are, while they still continue to be more under the power and influence of a particular department of Government than any other

class of the community, should be presented with votes. We say that that is mockery, that it does no good to the Indians, that it is only designed for the purpose of injuring certain white constituencies in which these men reside. That is our position clearly and distinctly, and we will not permit any hon. gentleman of that side, without contradiction, to allege that we are in the least degree opposed to giving the franchise to any Indian who fulfils the conditions to which I have referred. There is one aspect of this question to which I want to direct the attention of my hon. friends from the Province of Quebec. They may rest assured that, if they introduce a uniform franchise here, and in particular if they choose to give the votes to the tribal Indians, subject as they are to a particular Department of Government, subject as they are, as my hon. friend behind me pointed out, to be dealt with in a way in which no white men are dealt with, they put into the hands of all those gentlemen who desire to establish universal suffrage a most potent argument, as they will very soon find. There is very little doubt that the drift of public opinion throughout very large sections of this Dominion is now towards universal or manhood suffrage, and I say to hon. gentlemen from Quebec in particular that they may rely upon it that, if the Indian franchise, as intended by this Bill to be established, is established, it will add a very great impetus to the drift which is already setting in in that direction. That is for them to consider. I invite them to consider it seriously, because there is no doubt whatever in my mind that, whether they like it or not, they will find that they have supplied a very powerful lever to those of us who desire to see that alteration brought about. I have another thing to say to the First Minister. If his object is to give a vote to the Indians, if he desires to see Indians, as Indians, represented in this Parliament, he had better do it, if he sees fit to do it at all, by segregating the various Indian bands and allowing them, by modes which I will not pause to dwell upon, throughout the various Provinces where their numbers are sufficient, to send an Indian representative here. I could understand, under certain circumstances and in certain conditions, that it might be in consonance with the spirit of British institutions that the 130,000 Indians in Canada, who undoubtedly have interest not precisely similar to those of white men, should be allowed to send delegates, or even representatives, here. I am willing, if the First Minister chooses, to debate that question, on which a good deal may be said pro and con, and on which I now offer no opinion; but I say, if his view is to provide special representation for Indians, that, and not the way which he proposes in this Bill, is the way to do it. The First Minister now proposes to import into certain constituencies, for reasons best known to himself, a class of voters who shall be absolutely and entirely at the disposal of the Government of the day. That, as far as I can understand it, is the motive which has led to the introduction of these words and to the proposition to enfranchise tribal Indians to which my hon. friend is justly so much opposed. One word more. What grounds have we for segregating the Indians, and compelling them under severe penalties to live upon their reserves? Does not everyone know that the infirmities of the Indian character are such that it is dangerous to allow white men to mingle with them, that the free mixture of white men with them is to apt to tempt them into intemperance and other vices from which our Government have justly attempted to protect them heretofore? If the First Minister gives votes to a considerable number of the Indians living on their reserves, he is going to subject them, whenever an election comes on, to just that particular kind of temptation which they are least able to resist. I do not believe it will be for the moral benefit of the Indians, while living in bands on their reserves, to be subject to those solicitations, those