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DEBATES

OF THE

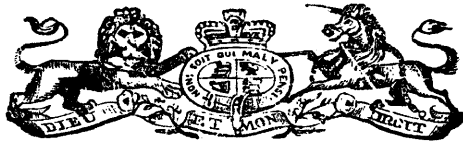
HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA.

REPORTED AND EDITED BY A. M. BURGESS.

THIRD SESSION—THIRD PARLIAMENT,



OTTAWA:

PRINTED BY MACLEAN, ROGER & CO., WELLINGTON STREET.

1876.

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“ That the Honourable Hector Louis Langevin, the Member representing the electoral district of Charlevoix in this House, having stated from his place in this House that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence that the Honorable Joseph Edouard Cauchon, the Member representing in this House the electoral district of Quebec Centre, and the President of the Privy Council of Canada, was instrumental in hiring, or causing to be hired, a number of men who are employed in summer as members of the River Police at Quebec, and in sending them or causing them to be sent to the electoral district of Charlevoix during the recent election of a Member to represent that district in the House of Commons; and that the said men were headed or accompanied by one Edmond Trudelle, an officer or employé of the Customs Department at Quebec, and that the whole or a large portion of said body of men were conveyed to said district in vehicles, the cost of such hire being charged to the said Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon, who has promised to pay, or directed or caused the same to be paid, the said men so headed or accompanied being sent to said electoral district to interfere illegally in said election, to disturb said election, and thus to deprive the electors or a portion of the electors of said district of their freedom as such electors; and the said Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon having denied these charges; it is ordered that the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections do enquire into all the circumstances connected with the above charges, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before them, and the proceedings of said Committee on the subject.”—*Hon. Mr. Langevin*.....

737

Motion in amendment—

“That all the words between ‘charge and enquired’ be struck out, and that the following words be substituted:—‘A select Committee be appointed to.’” (*Mr. Fréchette*.)

738

Amendment adopted, and Committee struck.....

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- "2. That in the conduct of the Government surveys and explorations, Government employes should be enjoined to abstain from the prosecution of labour on the Lord's Day.
- "3. That in the opinion of this House there should be an entire closing and cessation of labour on all canals, railways and other public works which are under the control of the Dominion Government, during the twenty-four hours comprehended in the Lord's Day—save and except only such services as may be of absolute and unavoidable necessity."—*Mr. Gordon*.....

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“ That owing to divers causes the construction of the said railway was not commenced in British Columbia or elsewhere at the time agreed upon.	
“ That in 1874 the Government of Canada applied to British Columbia for and afterward secured and accepted, through the intervention and upon the recommendation of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, an agreement for the relaxation of the railway clauses of the terms of Union; and the public faith and honour of Canada now stand pledged to carry the said agreement respecting the said relaxation of the railway clause of the terms of Union, forthwith into operation.	
“ That notwithstanding the public faith and honour of Canada stand twice solemnly pledged to construct the said railway and commence the actual construction thereof in British Columbia and elsewhere, and notwithstanding nearly five years have passed since the date of Union, and nearly three years have elapsed from the date at which Canada agreed first that the actual construction should be commenced, and nearly eighteen months since she agreed the second time to commence the construction, yet the Government have not, up to the present moment, commenced the actual construction of the said railway in the said Province.	
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ERRATUM.

In the Proceedings of Tuesday, February 29th, Page xii of this Table, the motion of Mr. Workman in amendment to the motion of Mr. Cartwright that the House go into Committee of Supply, is represented as having been negatived by 174 to 3. Mr. Workman's amendment was ruled out of order, and the following was that upon which the division took place:—

Page.

“ *Resolved*, That this House in maintaining the policy adopted by the present and past Governments in limiting the rate of duties upon the importation of these classes of articles which are produced in the country, to the extent required to meet the wants of the revenue, fully appreciates the national benefits arising from the degree of protection to the existing manufacturing industries of the Dominion afforded under that system, but observes with regret that the fluctuations in price, resulting from the uncertain condition of foreign markets, affecting the Canadian markets, and incapable of being foreseen by the Canadian manufacturers, exposed our manufacturing interests to unfair competition, and this House, while now ready to record its approval of the general policy of the present Administration, is nevertheless of opinion, that the said manufacturing interests deserve the continued fostering care of Parliament, and that the time has arrived when the Government of the Dominion should inform the Imperial Government that the Parliament of Canada deems it necessary to revive some of the features of a former policy by imposing differential duties; and to indicate, further, that in order to meet the difficulties against which Canadian manufactures are struggling, and in the general interests of the Canadian public, and to bring the British and foreign manufacturer on nearer terms of equality in the Canadian market, this House would be prepared to approve of any measure to be submitted to them by the Administration whereby a rate of not less than ten per cent. should be added to the existing importation tariff against such articles of foreign manufacture, of which the same classes are manufactured in the Dominion by way of difference to that extent in favour of like classes of productions of the Mother Country.”—*Mr. Irving*.....

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CANADA.

DEBATES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

FOR THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE 3RD PARLIAMENT OF THE DOMINION
OF CANADA CALLED FOR THE DESPATCH OF BUSINESS
ON THE 10TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1876.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, February 10.

The Parliament which had been prorogued from the 8th day of April, 1875, and thence from time to time to the 10th day of February, 1876, met this day for the despatch of business at three p.m.

A Message from His Excellency the Governor General, by R. E. Kimber, Jr., Esq., Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, was received commanding this honourable House to attend immediately in the Chamber of the Senate. Accordingly Mr. Speaker with the House went up to His Excellency, and having returned,

REPORTS RELATING TO ELECTIONS.

Mr. SPEAKER read certificates from Judges relating to Elections in the following constituencies:—

For the Electoral District of Gaspé; for the Electoral District of Centre Toronto; for the Electoral District of Hamilton; for the Electoral District of the County of Monk; for the Electoral District of Napierville; for the Electoral District of the North Riding of the County of York; for the Electoral District of the North Riding of the County of Perth; for the Electoral District of Dorchester; for the Electoral District of Montreal West; for the Electoral District of Montreal Centre; for the Electoral District of Argenteuil; for the Electoral District of Chambly; for the Electoral District of the North Riding of the County of Renfrew.

INTRODUCTION OF MEMBERS.

Mr. SPEAKER then referred to the practice inaugurated at the opening of the present Parliament with regard to the introduction of members. He thought at the time that at ensuing Sessions that practice would create unnecessary confusion, and, as all were aware, very serious inconvenience had arisen from its adoption. Nothing had been done in regard to the matter, but he presumed there would be no difficulty in determining what ought to be done. His own impression was that it would be better to revert to the old practice; at all events hon. gentlemen who had been a Session out of the House must be introduced. Hon. gentlemen who were members during the last Session, and who had since been unseated and re-elected might take their seats without the formality of an introduction. But any gentleman who had been one Session out of the House must be regarded as a new member and ought to be introduced. It would be better, however, to revert to the old practice and have everybody introduced.

The new members were then introduced and took their seats.

THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

Mr. SPEAKER reported that the House had this day attended his Excellency the Governor General in the Chamber of the Senate, when His

Excellency was pleased to make a most gracious speech from the Throne, of which he had for greater accuracy obtained a copy, as follows:—

Honorable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

I have much pleasure in again calling you together to attend to the business of the country.

Since you last assembled it has been my happiness to visit the Mother Country, and to have had the opportunity while there of calling public attention to the remarkable progress of the Dominion, and of giving expression to the feelings of attachment to the person of Her Majesty and the interests of the Empire which animate the Canadian people.

The great depression which has prevailed throughout the neighboring countries for several years, and which has more recently been felt in the old world, causing a general stagnation of business, has extended to Canada and has seriously affected our trade. At the same time, we have reason to be grateful for an abundant harvest; and while I deeply regret the suffering which exists among certain classes and in particular localities, I believe nevertheless that the great bulk of our people continue to enjoy a condition of reasonable prosperity.

I am happy to be able to congratulate you on the fact that the great railway undertaking, connecting the former Province of Canada with the Maritime Provinces, provided for by the Act of 1867, is approaching completion. Early in the coming summer, the small portion of the Intercolonial line not already in operation will be opened, when the connection with other systems of railway will be formed, so as to enable passengers and traffic to pass over continuous lines of railway from Halifax or St. John to the extreme Western railways of Ontario.

The opening of the Prince Edward Island Railway during the past year marks an epoch in the history of that Island, and cannot but exert a beneficial influence on the people, and add to their material prosperity.

Every effort has been made to obtain an early settlement of the claims of Canada for compensation for the use of her Fisheries by the United States, as provided by the Treaty of Washington. Her Majesty's Government in the early part of last summer, at the instance of my advisers, appointed the British Commissioner, but I regret to have to state that the United States Government have not yet appointed a Commissioner, and that consequently no progress has been made.

I have given effect to the Supreme and Exchequer Court Act of last Session by issuing the proclamations, and by appointing the Judges and officers of the Court.

A Bill to simplify and amend the law relating to Common Carriers will be submitted for your consideration.

Mr. SPRAKER.

A Bill will be brought before you containing provisions for affording greater security to policy holders in Life Assurance Companies.

The want of reliable and systematised information relating to the several classes of crime and the importance of collecting and classifying criminal statistics have engaged my attention. A Bill will be introduced to provide for what is most essential in this direction.

You will be asked to make provision for the commencement of the work of consolidating the Statute Law.

The Acts relating to the enfranchisement of Indians and the management of Indian affairs have been fully considered, and steps have been taken to ascertain the views of the Indians themselves. A measure on this subject will be submitted for your approval.

A measure will be introduced to provide for the better administration of the estates of insolvent Banks.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

The accounts for the past and the Estimates for the next financial year will be laid before you. The Estimates have been framed with every possible economy consistent with the public interests. I regret that the depression in trade to which I have alluded, has seriously affected the revenue. It will be necessary in view of this circumstance to curtail the expenditures in the several branches of the public service.

Honorable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

Correspondence, Reports, and other Papers regarding the construction of the Pacific Railway will be laid before you.

During the recess, a deputation from the Government of Manitoba visited Ottawa to invite the attention of the Government of the Dominion to the circumstances of that Province. They represented that the income of the Province was insufficient to provide for its ordinary governmental expenses. The papers on this subject will be laid before you, and certain propositions will be submitted for your consideration. The Legislature of Manitoba has in the meantime adopted some measures to reduce the expenditures of the Province.

I invite your earnest attention to the several subjects mentioned, and to the general business which will come before you, and I trust that your deliberations may be guided by wisdom and moderation.

On motion of Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE it was resolved that the Speech of His Excellency be taken into consideration to-morrow.

PRINTING OF VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved:
That the Votes and Proceedings of the House be printed, being first perused by

Mr. Speaker, and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same. Carried.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved:

That Select Standing Committees of this House for the present Session, be appointed for the following purposes:—1. On Privileges and Elections.—2. On Expiring Laws.—3. On Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.—4. On Miscellaneous Private Bills.—5. On Standing Orders.—6. On Printing.—7. On Public Accounts.—8. On Banking and Commerce.—9. On Immigration and Colonization, —which said Committees shall severally be empowered to examine and enquire into all such matters and things as may be referred to them by the House; and to report from time to time their observations and opinions thereon; with power to send for persons, papers and records.

Mr. MACKENZIE said—I would mention to the House, with reference to this motion, that the matter of reporting the Debates should be assigned to the Printing Committee as part of their duties, and that they should be named the Standing Committee on Reporting and Printing. I mention this at present as I find it will be necessary immediately to refer the reporting of the Debates to them.

The motion was carried.

INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the following:—

That if anything shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in Debate; and all Members returned upon double Returns are to withdraw until their Returns are determined.

That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or hath endeavoured so to be, by bribery or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

That the offer of any money or other advantage to any Member of the House of Commons, for the promoting of any matter whatsoever, depending or to be transacted in the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, is a high crime and misdemeanor, and tends to the subversion of the Constitution.

Mr. MACKENZIE said it might be more convenient, if, instead of moving these resolutions at the commencement

of every Session, they were made a standing order of the House and incorporated in the Rules.

The motion was carried.

DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE laid on the Table the Report of the Department of Public Works; also the Report of the special commission appointed to investigate the nature and extent of the Baie Verte Canal.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE presented the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1876.

Hon. Mr. VAIL brought down the Report of the Militia Department.

On motion of Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, February 11.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

NEW MEMBERS.

Mr. John Short, the Member elect for Gaspé, was introduced by Hon. Mr. Robitaille and Mr. Caron.

Mr. John Beverly Robinson, Member elect for West Toronto, was introduced by Sir John Macdonald and Hon. Dr. Tupper.

INLAND REVENUE REPORT.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE laid on the Table the Report of the Inland Revenue Department.

THE ADDRESS.

Mr. CASEY—I rise to propose the adoption of the Address which has been placed in your hands, and which is the customary answer to His Excellency's speech from the Throne. In doing so, I feel that I have a right to claim, as is frequently done in such a case, the indulgence of the House. The member to whom this task is allotted can very generally plead inexperience in Parliamentary speaking. He has also other difficulties to contend with. His functions, which are chiefly those of an echo, are not of such a nature as to excite any lively

enthusiasm either in his own mind or in the minds of his audience. However, I consider that on the present occasion I am very fortunate in some of the topics I have to speak upon. This is particularly so with the one which first catches your eye, namely, that relating to His Excellency's visit to the Mother Country, and the manner in which he brought before the British public the resources of Canada. Not only did he on that occasion picture our material resources and the feelings of loyalty which he found to exist here, in the brightest colors, but he paid us a number of compliments which I fear we cannot at all times feel that we deserve. In his speech at the dinner given by the Canada Club in July last he used language which I hope it is not amiss to quote. He referred to us as "that noble community, their kinsmen and fellow citizens, who on the other side of the Atlantic are engaged in building up a nationality cognate to their own, instinct with the same high spirit of constitutional freedom, and determined to prove itself a worthy member of the British Empire." We can endorse all this, but when he goes on to pay a high compliment to us for the invariable moderation, wisdom, and good feeling which characterizes political warfare in this country, we cannot, I am afraid, receive it without a feeling of modesty. That modesty, however, cannot make us less grateful for the kindly spirit which prompted the expression. But, Sir, His Excellency is careful to repudiate in very strong terms the idea that our loyal attachment to the Mother Country arises from an unworthy feeling of dependence. He says:—"So far from this being the case, no characteristic of the national feeling is more strongly marked than their exuberant confidence in their ability to shape their own destinies to their appointed issue, their jealous pride of the legislative autonomy with which they have been endowed, and their patriotic and personal devotion to the land within whose ample bosom they have been nurtured, and which they justly regard as more largely dowered with all that can endear a country to its sons than any other in the world." These are

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manly words, and though they would have sounded strangely enough from the mouth of a Governor General not so long ago, they now find an echo in every heart. It is felt by all that without a love for our native land and its free institutions, and without that determination to preserve our legislative autonomy to which His Excellency refers with so much approval, we can never be worthy the name of a nation, or attain to that grand destiny which awaits us, if we have not the courage, self-reliance, and patriotism to deserve it. It is well then that this national feeling should be encouraged, and it is a happy omen that this encouragement should come from a quarter where there can be no suspicion of disloyalty. It is well that the Governor General should be one of the first to take a public occasion in the Old Country to encourage a national feeling among us and point out that we have a destiny not only as a colony but as a nation. His Excellency, however, has been careful to guard against any suspicion of a wish on our part to separate from the Empire, by assuring his hearers of the desire of Canadians to remain a part of the great British Empire, to share its destiny, and to fulfil all the obligations that such a position may imply. There is no use denying that as part of the British Empire we will be under certain obligations; that as a part of the British Empire we will have to make concessions and sacrifices, and will have to undergo a certain amount of inconvenience that we would not otherwise have to undergo. But I think this House and the country are unanimously of the opinion that these obligations are such as we can sustain, and that the advantages which we derive from the connection will counterbalance anything we may suffer on account of it. His Excellency no doubt had in his mind some great scheme of individuality combined with union. He has considered it his duty to assist in developing such an idea amongst us, and I have no doubt it will be his privilege to assist in carrying it out—to assist in carrying off the idea of a Canadian nationality, combined with a wider and more comprehensive nationality as members of

the British Empire. His Excellency has touched upon this subject, not with the cold reasoning of the political economist, but rather with the sympathetic insight and hopeful warmth of imagination which are often more correct in predicting the destiny of nations than mere logic ever can be. I am sure the House will join in thanking His Excellency for these expressions and in hoping that his aspirations may be realized, and that the people of Canada may long remain as in his own words, "not only the kinsmen, but the fellow citizens" of those from whom on the other side we derive our political existence. But a picture cannot be bright all over. We cannot look at the state of business in the country since last year without very serious thoughts; the wonderful prosperity we have had for years has led us, perhaps, into extravagance in living, over production in some lines and over importation in others. This has brought about an inevitable depression in trade, and although the depression has been sufficient to cause difficulties, it is hardly sufficient to cause anxiety, much less alarm. The evil is producing its own cure. Those who have spent or produced too much have been obliged to curtail their expenditure and production. The result will be an accumulation of money in the country and a stoppage of that waste of our productive powers that has been going on too largely for the good of the country: The depression of trade will be only temporary. The country is not poor, it is only in such a position that it is not able to realize and employ all its capital. Another reaction must soon take place and set the wheels of commerce again in motion; and probably by the time His Excellency favors us with another speech, he will be able to tell us that this state of things has passed away, and prosperity again prevails throughout the country. This depression in trade has naturally caused a decrease in the national income as pointed out in the speech. The decrease like its cause must be only temporary. With increased imports the revenue must become again elastic, and it is highly creditable to His Excellency's advisers that, instead of recom-

mending any rash attempts to force on the prosperity of the country or artificially increase the revenue, they have recommended a course of economy in public expenditure that will be acceptable to the country at large. If this remedy proves good in the commercial world there is no reason to suppose that it will not also be successful in that of politics, and if commerce be restored to its ordinary condition the same will take place with regard to revenue. It is also noted in the speech that this depression has not prevailed to such a great extent in the agricultural districts. This is quite correct; the crops have been unusually good throughout the country, and the markets have been very fair also. Even where this has not been the case, the abundant crop has prevented any possibility of hardship or suffering among the agricultural classes. The next item of importance that requires our attention is the reference to the completion of the Dominion railways in the east. It is a cause for congratulation that the final opening of the Intercolonial Railway will next summer mark the completion of an undertaking which we commenced at Confederation for the purpose of binding ourselves somewhat more closely to the people of the Eastern Provinces. It is to be hoped the railway will have that effect. We must also hope, and hope strongly, that although its route was not chosen for commercial purposes, it will secure sufficient communication between ourselves and the Eastern Provinces to accomplish fully its political object. The railway on Prince Edward Island is also a great boon to the people of that Province, and will enable them to start afresh as members of the Dominion with the prospect of a prosperity which they never had in other days. It is only to be hoped that some link may be provided between that railway and the mainland so that communication may be uninterrupted all the year round. Another subject of importance naturally connected with this is the production of the papers and correspondence in reference to the Pacific Railway. I think I would not be far astray in supposing that the correspondence will refer to the negotiations between our Government and that of

British Columbia, with regard to the building of the railway on Vancouver Island. A Bill for the construction of such a railway passed this House last Session. The building of that road was part of a proposal from our Government in consideration of the inevitable delays in carrying out the bargain which the late Government entered upon. This Bill did not pass the Senate, and it remained for the Government to consider what was to be substituted. The offer of a lump sum instead of a railway on the Island was decided on. With regard to the remainder of the proposal, for the work on the mainland, the obligation of the Government remains the same as ever, and there is no reason to judge that they have given up their intention of going on with the road. But it must be remembered that the former proposal, as well as the latter, was subject to the resolution adopted by this House that we should not be bound to increase the rate of taxation for the completion of this railway. It appears then that we were never bound, nor are we now bound, to lay additional burthens on the country for the building of this railway, but only to go on with it as rapidly as possible. Other reports by the engineers engaged in the survey of the Pacific Railway will, I understand, show that very considerable progress has been made during the recess. They will show that in the Cascade and Rocky Mountain ranges explorations have been made in hitherto unexplored districts, and more favorable routes have been discovered. They will show also that there are still large unexplored regions in that country which it will perhaps be well to look into before finally adopting a route for some parts of the road. However, considerable progress has already been made in the location of the railway, and it is understood that further explorations will be made next year. Mr. Selwyn, Director of the Geological Survey, has visited a portion of the country known as the Peace River district, considerably north of the first place chosen as the route of the Pacific Railway. He reports that where the river cuts through the Rocky Mountain region the mountains practically disappear, and only a

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district of rolling country covered for the most part with prairie soil appears. On the Pine River there is a pass whose elevation is not more than two thousand feet above the sea, scarcely half the altitude of the Tête Jaune Cache, which was considered formerly so favorable. This extends not only through the Rocky Mountain Range but up to the very edge of the Cascade Mountains. Through this an outlet could probably be obtained to some point on the Pacific Coast—to Bute Inlet or Gardener Channel, for example. The climate of this country Mr. Selwyn reports on very favorably. Even as far north as Lake Arthabaska, he obtained specimens of wheat of fine quality which were produced there from grain sown in May and reaped in August of this year. When the House remembers that this point is over 600 miles north of Fort Garry, it will be seen that the country there is better than we ever expected to find it. Mr. Selwyn's reports point to the conclusion that the country is well worthy of consideration. We are also called upon in the Address to note that the Government has taken all necessary steps to secure the settlement of our claims in regard to the Fisheries under the Washington Treaty. It is well-known to the House that the settlement of these claims was postponed simply on account of negotiations with regard to reciprocity. Now it appears that our Government has taken the necessary steps by appointing a Commissioner, and we may hope the matter will soon be brought to an issue. I cannot help, on behalf of myself, and perhaps some other Members who feel as I do, expressing a wish that some more definite basis might have been established for the settlement of this matter. We all remember that it was in order to ascertain the extent of our claims in regard to those Fisheries that the High Joint Commission was first asked for by our Government. It is also known that this Commission broke up without having come to any decision on that matter, so that the question of the extent of our as well as of the American claims remains exactly as it was before the Commission sat. There are, consequently, certain embarrassments.

in regard to those claims which would never have existed if the Washington Commission had fulfilled its original design and given an authoritative expression of opinion thereon. I have every confidence, however, that the present Government will use its best efforts to obtain justice for us, but the House will remember that the Government is subject to embarrassments and difficulties which it would not have experienced if affairs had turned out differently at the time the Washington Treaty was arranged. We can join very heartily in his Excellency's congratulation on the subject of the establishment of the Supreme Court for this Dominion. It is a Court representative of all parts of the Dominion—a Court composed of Judges of great authority, which by its *personnel*, by its representative character, will be able to give decisions which will meet with general acceptance throughout the country. It is also worthy of notice that it was intended to be, and is, a Court of final decision. It was felt by the Government, no doubt, at the time of the passage of the Bill, that the right of unlimited appeal was unjust to poor suitors as compared with wealthy ones in great cases, and that some means ought to be provided by which final decision might be obtained without leaving our own country. This was no doubt one of the objects intended by the establishment of the Supreme Court, and we have every reason to suppose, from its composition that its decisions will be willingly accepted as final by all who have occasion to come before it. It has been asserted that there was an intention in the establishment of this Court to take away one of the innate rights of British subjects—that of final appeal to the foot of the Throne. This, the House knows, is a right which no Act of ours can take away, and it is not attempted to take it away by this Bill. The Bill merely provides that those who choose to ask the judgment of the Supreme Court on their cases must accept that judgment as final. They have still, as before, the right to appeal to the Privy Council, or to the foot of the Throne, as it is called, instead of to our

Supreme Court; but those who appeal to that Court are asked to accept its decision. That was the understanding when the Bill was introduced, and I think the House and the country are in no different frame of mind concerning it this Session. The attempt to represent this clause of the Bill as an attack upon the close relations which exist between us and the Mother Country, I think the House will feel to be unpatriotic, and calculated to arouse ill feeling between us and the Mother Country, and not to realize the prospects alluded to in the early part of the Address. We have further to consider the application of our friends in Manitoba for better terms, and the action of the Government connected therewith. The circumstances of that Province have been from the beginning rather peculiar. To use a common phrase, they have never had "a fair start." Their increase in population has been great, the expenses of government have naturally increased along with it, and there seems to be no impropriety in their asking for some better terms than they formerly had. Their case is further strengthened by the fact that they have shown a disposition to economise in local expenditure and not to waste the subsidies they have received from us. There are several other Bills in the Address which I might refer to at greater length had I not already spoken so long. The Bill to regulate the responsibilities of Common Carriers; the Bill in regard to Life Assurance Companies; the Bill in regard to Criminal Statistics, and that in regard to the enfranchisement of Indians, are all subjects which the House must feel to be of very great importance. If I were even to speak on those subjects at considerable length I could probably give few details which would enlighten the House. I therefore pass them over with this brief reference. Perhaps in regard to some of these and other matters in the Address, the House may be favored with some remarks from the gentleman who is to second the Address, and who will probably make up for any omissions of mine. I will conclude by saying that I believe the bill of fare laid before us contains quite enough work for a busy session

of moderate length, and I believe the House cordially joins with His Excellency in hoping that our deliberations may be guided by prudence and moderation, and that his compliments to us may be well deserved during the session. Mr. Casey concluded by moving the following resolutions :

1. That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, to thank His Excellency for his gracious speech at the opening of the present Session; and further to assure His Excellency,—

2. That we are grateful to His Excellency for calling us together to attend to the business of the country at this early and convenient season.

3. That we learn with the greatest satisfaction, that since we last assembled it has been His Excellency's happiness to visit the Mother Country, to have had the opportunity while there of calling public attention to the remarkable progress of the Dominion, and of giving expression to the feelings of attachment to the person of Her Majesty and the interests of the Empire which animate the Canadian people.

4. That we have been grieved to observe that the great depression which has prevailed throughout neighbouring countries for several years, and which has more recently been felt in the Old World, causing a general stagnation of business, has extended to Canada and has seriously affected our trade. But, at the same time, we feel with His Excellency, that we have reason to be grateful for an abundant harvest; and while we deeply regret the suffering which exists among certain classes and particular localities, we believe, nevertheless, that the great bulk of our people enjoy a condition of reasonable prosperity.

5. That we receive with much pleasure His Excellency's congratulations on the fact that the great railway undertaking, connecting the former Province of Canada with the Maritime Provinces, provided for by the Act of 1867, is approaching completion, and his assurance that early in the coming summer, the small portion of the Intercolonial line not already in operation will be opened, when the connection with other systems of Railway

will be formed, so as to enable passengers and traffic to pass over continuous lines of Railway from Halifax or St. John to the extreme Western Railways of Ontario.

6. That we agree with His Excellency, that the opening of the Prince Edward Island Railway during the past year marks an epoch in the history of that Island, and cannot but exert a beneficial influence on the people, and add to their material prosperity.

7. That we are well assured, that every effort has been made to obtain an early settlement of the claims of Canada for compensation for the use of her Fisheries by the United States, as provided by the Treaty of Washington; and we are sorry to learn that although Her Majesty's Government in the early part of last summer, at the instance of His Excellency's advisers, appointed the British Commissioner, His Excellency has to state with regret that the United States Government have not yet appointed a Commissioner, and that consequently no progress has been made.

8. That we have seen with great satisfaction that His Excellency has given effect to the Supreme and Exchequer Court Act of last Session by issuing the proclamations, and by appointing the Judges and officers of the Court.

9. That we shall give our most careful consideration to any Bill to simplify and amend the law relating to Common Carriers which may be submitted to us, as well as to any Bill that may be brought before us containing provisions for affording greater security to policy holders in Life Assurance Companies.

10. That we thank His Excellency for informing us that the want of reliable and systematized information relating to the several classes of crime and the importance of collecting and classifying criminal statistics have engaged his attention; and we shall willingly consider any Bill which may be introduced to provide for what is most essential in this direction.

11. That we shall cheerfully make such provision as may be found necessary for the commencement of the work of consolidating the Statute Law.

MR. CASEY.

12. That we are glad to learn that the Acts relating to the enfranchisement of Indians and the management of Indian affairs have been fully considered; that steps have been taken to ascertain the views of the Indians themselves, and that a measure on this subject will be submitted for our approval.

13. That any measure which may be introduced to provide for the better administration of the estates of insolvent Banks will receive our earnest attention.

14. That we thank His Excellency for the assurance that the accounts for the past and the Estimates for the next financial year will be laid before us; and that the Estimates have been framed with every possible economy consistent with the public interests. That we regret to learn that the depression in trade to which he has alluded has seriously affected the revenue; and that it will be necessary, in view of this circumstance, to curtail the expenditures in the several branches of the public service.

15. That we shall consider with the deepest interest the correspondence, reports, and other papers regarding the construction of the Pacific Railway which may be laid before us.

16. That we thank His Excellency for informing us that during the recess, a deputation from the Government of Manitoba visited Ottawa to invite the attention of the Government of the Dominion to the circumstances of that Province; and represented that the income of the Province was insufficient to provide for its ordinary governmental expenses. That His Excellency may be sure that any papers on this subject which may be laid before us, and any propositions submitted to us on the subject, shall receive our most serious consideration; and that we are well pleased to know that the Legislature of Manitoba has in the meantime adopted some measures to reduce the expenditures of the Province.

17. That His Excellency may rest assured that we shall give our earnest attention to the several subjects he has been pleased to mention, and to the general business which will come before us, and we trust, with His

Excellency, that our deliberations may be guided by wisdom and moderation.

Mr. TASCHEREAU—(in French)
—I rise to second the motion of my hon. friend, the member for Elgin West, requesting this House to present to His Excellency the Governor General an Address in reply to his gracious speech from the Throne. If I had only to lend my name to this proposition and only to give to it the silent assent of the seconder, I would have an agreeable duty to perform, which I would be most happy to assume at the present moment; but constitutional usage exacts from a member in my position something more, and at this point my hesitation begins, and I crave the indulgence of this House to supplement the weakness of the appreciation with which I may offer it. Further, I may remark that I will only occupy the attention of the House for a few moments. His Excellency makes allusion in the opening of the Speech from the Throne to the visit which he has made to the Mother Country since the last Session of Parliament, and to the opportunities he has had of drawing public attention to the remarkable progress of Canada, and of making known the sentiments of attachment entertained by the Canadian people for the person of Her Majesty and the interests of the Empire. Mr. Speaker, the Canadian people could not have a more faithful interpreter of their sentiments near Her Majesty than her worthy representative, our popular Governor General, whose presence has been coveted by each city, each town, and each part of the Dominion since his arrival in our midst, and who has known how to make himself beloved simultaneously by all races, all creeds, and I may add, all the political parties of our country. Our feelings, as well as our needs, our aspirations and our regrets, could not be expressed by lips more eloquent, more sympathetic, or more just in our regard, than the lips of the representative of Her Majesty here. Lord Dufferin has, so to speak, changed his role on the other side of the Atlantic, in making himself the representative, the advocate, the defender, and almost the panegyrist of the people confided to his administration; and in order to fulfil more

fitly this role, and do so with a full knowledge of the circumstances, he has prudently visited all parts of the Canadian Empire, familiarizing himself with our history, and with the past of our public men. He has studied thoroughly the genius of the Canadian people, noting its peculiarities, and he made this study in the quality of a savant, man of letters, philosopher, and statesman. For my part, Mr. Speaker, as a French Canadian, and as a member of this House, I cannot forget or pass without special mention what he has done for my countrymen in one of his speeches delivered on the other side of the Atlantic, in pointing out to the admiration of the English people all the qualities which he observed amongst us; and in particular our aptitude for thoroughly comprehending and understanding, as well as assisting in the proper working of the magnificent political institutions which we have inherited from England—our disposition for enjoying, as loyal and enlightened citizens, the constitutional *regime* so long refused to our fathers. I have only one wish to express, and that is, that my countrymen will continue to merit so flattering a eulogy, and that by their loyalty, as well as by their moderation, their conciliatory spirit in their relations with other races and other creeds, and their respect for the civil authority and the State, they may ever be known as models to be followed by the different nationalities of which, with them, the people of Canada is composed. A commercial depression such as has seldom been felt, has visited the New World as well as the Old, and has not spared Canada, having seriously affected her commerce. It is a cloud that darkens for a moment the sun of our prosperity. Mention of this trying period could not be omitted in the speech from the Throne. Let us hope with His Excellency, that the omens which we now witness are but the forerunners of a great commercial revival—of a salutary and lasting activity in business; and let us thank Providence for having saved us from the extreme consequences of this crisis, which fortunately has left the germs of our national prosperity intact. The approaching comple-

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tion of the colossal enterprise which, according to the Act of 1867, is destined to unite the Old Province of Canada with the Maritime Provinces, is an event which we shall all welcome with delight. We can all appreciate in anticipation the tremendous results which will follow for the whole Dominion by the completion of the Intercolonial. By going back less than 20 years, when ordinary communication was so long and difficult between the Province of Quebec and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, when the commercial relations were almost *nil*, we can better understand the importance of this great railway when it shall be open for traffic, and when, with the assistance of other branch roads, merchandise and produce will be transported without interruption from Halifax and St. John to the most distant railways in Ontario. This enterprise, which is the necessary complement of the work of Confederation, was long retarded by inevitable causes, or rather causes that were preventible, but in regard to which little trouble was taken to overcome. The activity and supervision of the Hon. Minister of Public Works since he has been in power have greatly contributed to hasten the day of inauguration, and I hope this day next year, our friends the Members for Halifax, St. John, Richmond, Inverness, Northumberland, Sunbury and other counties in the Maritime Provinces will be able to say that they are come to fulfil their legislative duties without having had to pass through our neighbours' territory, and that they have made the journey entirely on Canadian soil. Our young Province, the Island of Prince Edward, to which Heaven has denied nothing in respect of climate and natural beauty, had not until last year the advantage of an iron road throughout its length. Let us, with His Excellency, congratulate it on the opening of the Railway. I am told it is troubled with *détours* and caprices. But an alley too straight through a beautiful garden would spoil the garden's picturesqueness. Our lovely little Island of Prince Edward, which is nothing less than a garden surrounded by water, did not want a direct alley, which would have destroyed the poetry of the thing and suppressed the pic-

turesque. And this is why its little railway, which is hardly more than an unpebbled alley, is a little longer than other lines, and why it winds a little and—let us say the word—is a little more crooked than are generally the railways in countries which are not gardens. It costs me a pang to leave this little terrestrial paradise to speak of other questions which form the subject of the Speech from the Throne. But constitutional usage, of which I am the slave at this moment, does not leave me a choice. The House will be happy to learn that if there is some delay in the settlement of the compensation that we have a right to receive from the United States for the enjoyment of our Fisheries, in virtue of the Washington Treaty, this delay is not the work of our Government, which has already caused an Imperial Commissioner to be named. We shall probably know during the present Session the reason why the American Government holds back from naming its Commissioner. It is exceedingly to be regretted that such a delay should have occurred in the settlement of this international question, and in the interest of a good understanding, and of the harmony which should continue to exist between the Canadian and American people throughout these negotiations, resulting from the Treaty of Washington, it is important that such temporizing action should not be renewed. Good bargains make good friends, but, on condition that both parties to them are prompt in settlement, and that the time agreed upon is not allowed to pass by. Two of the most important events of the recess were the publication of the two proclamations giving effect to the Supreme Court and Court of Exchequer Act. The first of these proclamations, dated September last, puts this Act in force so far as relates to the appointment of the Judges and Officers of the Court, whose tenure of office in fact dates from the beginning of October. The second proclamation, dated the 11th January of this year, has allowed suitors to address themselves to this tribunal, which since then has commenced to exercise its jurisdiction in every way. The establishment of this High Federal Court has been

viewed favorably by the public, and the necessity of its existence understood. The most eminent men or both sides of the House have united together to achieve the triumph of this measure. The doubts which have been expressed by some members as to the constitutionality of some of the provisions of this law (and I must add I was one of them) were not shared by those hon. members who had for the moment agreed to a truce of their party quarrels with a view to come to an understanding as to the provisions of this measure. Thanks to this understanding, we were enabled yesterday to see ranged around His Excellency—draped in their robes of office, combining richness with severity, and which, had it not been for the ermine and scarlet, I might almost describe as monastical—those distinguished men, of whom some have passed through the successes, the storms and the reverses of political life. It is not my province to congratulate the Government upon the choice of those magistrates. I will content myself with saying that public opinion has been fully satisfied and has been struck with the strict impartiality shewn in making these appointments. As for the officers of the Court with whom I have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance, I can say that their talents, their character, and their position at the bar fully justify the choice made by the Government. Let us wait with confidence until the proceedings of this tribunal, which we can call *our Court par excellence*, shall have commenced, and hope that its decisions and decrees will meet the expectation of the public, and will give satisfaction to every Province, to every race, and to every creed. A work of the greatest importance, and one which is becoming imperative, is pressed in the speech from the Throne, to wit:—the consolidation of the Statutes. Scattered here, there and everywhere, rendered confusing by the mass of amendments accumulated during a number of years, these laws have become somewhat difficult of reference, and we require a classification and compilation which will facilitate researches and make the interpretation more certain. The enfranchisement of the Indians and the

equitable administration of their affairs are among the subjects to which the Government has given its attention, and the House will be happy to learn that, following on the steps that have been adopted among the Indians themselves to discover their sentiments, a measure will be brought before it for the purpose of defining and regulating the civil and political rights of the red race. It is a work of Christian charity and philanthropy which, if it had been accomplished in time in other countries, would have prevented terrible wars and unheard of cruelties. The Government, up to this time, has looked at the question in a proper light, and its policy of conciliation and patience towards our brethren of the woods has been such as to attract them to us and render comparatively easy the definition of their rights and privileges.—We must expect a diminution of our revenue. The commercial prostration which has affected all Governments cannot but affect us too. But I am happy to see that by a wise reduction in the expenses of the several departments of the public service — which the whole country will applaud—the Government hopes to re-establish the equilibrium of our finances. Anyhow, we shall not be long before we are able to render an account of the exact state of things; and it is probable that in a few days the Hon. Minister of Finance and the hon. member for Cumberland will have thrown across the Chamber a sufficient quantity of figures, that members of this House who, like myself, are not financiers, may not find themselves astray more than *three millions*.—The Province of Manitoba has attracted the attention of the Government in respect to its financial position. Whatever the nature of its wants and demands may be, we should, in any case, felicitate it on the manner, eminently practical, in which it has been able, before presenting its case to us, to reduce its ordinary expenses by the suppression of a part of its administrative machinery. The abolition of its Legislative Council is, under the circumstances actually existing, an act of the highest prudence and, at the same time, of the purest abnegation. To save one of its diseased arms it

has courageously amputated the other, and this latter has lent itself to the operation in the most gracious manner possible. Here is a good commencement, and one which permits us to take a favorable view of the case of Manitoba. I know a certain large Province where a similar amputation would be at the present moment impossible. It would prefer to lose the Federal subsidy rather than sacrifice the right arm of the local constitution, the immortal Legislative Council, the deliberations of which are the delight of the ancient capital. So let us speak of it no longer, that impotent arm will remain bandaged yet a long while, and will not be cut off if that depends on itself.—The House eagerly awaits the correspondence, reports and other documents relative to the construction of the Pacific Railway which are promised it. The Speech from the Throne does not announce to us any change in the policy of the Government in reference to this enterprise. I am glad, for my part, and I would say to the Government: continue to follow the tactics of Fabius, and take the council of the wise *Festinan Lente!* The other subjects which are mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, and which I have not touched, as I must keep myself within due limits, are of great importance, and the measures in connection with them will doubtless be pressed forward with all the diligence that the want of complete legislation in their regard warrants. In concluding, His Excellency hopes that wisdom and moderation will preside over our deliberations. Mr. Speaker, we will not disappoint that expectation. There are in this Chamber many conflicting principles, and, unfortunately, yet more prejudice in full ebullition. It cannot be otherwise in a House issuing from the popular will of seven distinct Provinces, which but a short while since had no common tie, and little or no points of resemblance with each other. But we have nothing to fear in the matter of excess of language, dangerous recriminations or appeals to passion in a Chamber such as ours, which has already shewn in the past so much moderation in its acts, and so much wisdom in the settlement of questions the most difficult. I thank

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you, Mr. Speaker, and I thank the House for the kind attention it has given me.

Mr. SPEAKER—Having read the motion, asked whether it was the pleasure of the House to adopt the Address *en bloc*, or to have it read paragraph by paragraph.

Hon. Members—Dispense! dispense!

Mr. SPEAKER—Having read the first paragraph, asked if it was the pleasure of the House to adopt it.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Mr. Speaker, my hon. friends, the mover and seconder of the Address, cannot claim exemption from criticism, for although they are young members they are not new members. We have the right to exercise stern criticism in our remarks to-day, and in the character of an appreciative but stern critic allow me to offer to both my felicitations on the happy and eloquent manner in which they have done their duty. As to the speech itself, to which they have moved a response, I can say that it is a most harmless and innocent printed document. I hope that there is no torpedo under it which will create an explosion before the Session is over. However, it looks so amiable on its face, that I certainly do not propose, nor do I suppose, that any of my friends on this side of the House will offer an amendment to it; and so the millenium of which my honorable friend has spoken, has happened already. This Address will, I hope, receive the unanimous assent of this House. In the first paragraph a very proper allusion has been made to His Excellency's late visit to the United Kingdom, and I cordially agree with everything that has been said by these two gentlemen respecting this paragraph, and in laudation of the illustrious individual who represents Her Majesty so well and so gracefully in this country. We can say here what they have said, and we can supply what he could not say in his speech, that his efforts in the way of explaining the position of Canada to the people of England, and in calling the attention of the people of England to the feeling prominent in Canada, was done with the view of benefitting this country, and with the

usual happy eloquence and excellent tact which have always distinguished His Excellency. My hon. friend the leader of the Government, after a review of his speeches in West Ontario on a former occasion, said that he would not want a better emigration agent than His Excellency the Governor General. That agreeable and useful duty he performed in a more marked manner while in England, and I have no doubt that his speeches and remarks, and the influence which those remarks will carry with them, from his high position and from the able and eloquent manner in which they have been presented to the English public, will go far to counteract the effects of the utterances of the official Agent-General. The next paragraph is one which we cannot afford to smite upon—that is, the stagnation which exists in this country. We must all deplore that this stagnation exists. It may be our duty to enquire whether it is created altogether by sympathy with the depression existing elsewhere, or whether there have not been causes, or there are not now causes, which will continue that depression unless by a ministrative or legislative action it is removed. I have no doubt it will be our duty to address ourselves calmly, seriously and zealously to the consideration of that subject. The completion of the Intercolonial Railway is a matter for congratulation in this House, and in this country. I believe when that road is in full operation we will have one of the best railways, if not the very best, on this continent, and, considering the excellence of the road and the high class of the work we have in that line, it will be one of the cheapest in America. I will not now, as we are resolved to have no dissension on this millennial occasion, enter into the question as to location. I have always contended, whether as a military work or as a railway which will have the effect of developing one of the great industries of the Maritime Provinces, the fishing interest, or as a road which will have the effect of encouraging and developing a great section of the Maritime Provinces, which without this Intercolonial Railway would continue comparatively in a state of stagnation,

that the location of this road cannot only be defended, but can be successfully justified. We were informed that in the early part of the coming summer the road will be not only completed but actually in running order. I hope—indeed, I am sure—my hon. friend at the head of the Government will early direct his attention (if he has not already done so) to the best mode of running that road, and that he will be in a position, before the conclusion of the Session, to inform this House and the country whether it is the intention of the Government to work it directly as a Government road, or to make running arrangements with other roads. Whether he does so or not, I will venture to call his attention now, as I have on a previous occasion privately done, to the necessity, when that road is in actual every-day use, of taking steps to protect water-borne freight coming from the West from undue competition by this line.—I have no doubt the Island of Prince Edward is already enjoying great advantages from the opening of the Prince Edward Island Railway. It is true we see in the newspapers that there are some faint grumblings in the Island regarding the manner in which the road has been constructed and is now being conducted; but I have no doubt the Minister of the Interior will cast oil on the troubled waters, and those murmurs will be confined to the Island and not extended to our quiet arena. With respect to the clause connected with the Fisheries and compensation for their use, I can only say I regret that any circumstances have prevented the appointment of an arbitrator by the United States, and retarded the progress of the reference and final settlement of the question. I presume the United States have reasons for the delay, and if so, that they will be submitted to this House. With respect to the establishment of a Supreme and Exchequer Court, all I can say is this—that I congratulate the country and give due praise to the Administration for the selection of the bench for that court. I believe on the whole it is a strong and efficient bench, that it has given confidence to the country, and as sometimes it may be our duty to

criticize, and perhaps animadvert strongly upon the conduct of the Administration, it is but due they should receive praise from my hands and from the hands of us all, when they are deserving of it. I was glad to see yesterday the lively proof of the consummation of that Act. It brought to my mind associations of Westminster Hall, and to use an old joke, I have no doubt experience will show that although the garb of the judges is bright scarlet they will show themselves to be "deep read." The measures that are propounded, so far as I have been able to understand the Address, are merely details of what has happened. There is no indication of what the action of the Government is to be for the present Session. The measures that are mentioned here are all of a practical character. They are not of overwhelming importance, and I think the country will not suffer much in prosperity, credit or happiness, if not one of them should be passed this Session. Still they are practical, and as we cannot always be in heroics, we must be satisfied with every-day business. The measures respecting Common Carriers, Life Insurance Companies—giving greater security to policy holders—and systematizing statistics about criminals, are all very well in their way, and I have no doubt they will occupy us but a short time. I think that gentlemen on this side—especially those belonging to the late Government—must thank most gratefully the present Administration for the testimony that they are about to give to the value of the legislation of past years. They do not speak of reforming that legislation. They are going to continue it, consolidate it, put it in wax, embalm it for the benefit of posterity. The legislation of the past, we are assured, is to be put into a volume and preserved as a monument of wisdom for future generations. The Acts relating to the Indians that are promised, will be of very great importance indeed. Of course, until we see them, we cannot say what their extent may be, or what their nature. From the manner in which they are to be introduced, and from the fact stated that the Indians themselves are to be consulted as to their

view of the legislation, I imagine the measures to be proposed are of considerable importance. The financial clause is not as *coulour de rose* as the beginning of the speech. We are told that the stagnation in trade has seriously affected the revenue, but we have the consolation of knowing it is only temporary, and that by due attention to economy the depression will be speedily removed. Whether the economies which are announced in this clause will affect the efficiency of the service or not, depends, of course, on the details, and we can only judge of that when we see them. I notice by the paragraph that it is proposed to curtail the expenditure in all branches of the Government. If so, there will be a most serious and extensive bill of economy. When we have these details we will be better able to judge the extent to which the economies are to be carried. I would deeply regret if this depression should induce the Government to impede or seriously obstruct or postpone the development of the country, as they believe that the depression is only temporary. We have already experienced some of the measures of economy. I presume that the abolition of the office of Agent-General is one of them. It is an economy which has been loudly called for in the country and has been at last completed. The Government deserve the credit of having stopped the leak, but at the same time they must remember they are chargeable with having made the auger-hole. At the time the Agent-General was appointed I think, from this side of the House, there were sundry warnings of what the result would be. In my place, standing where I do now, I predicted the disappearance of the Agent-General before long. He has gone, but I am not at all sure he has disappeared from motives of economy. We have it almost directly from him (because we see it in a Dundee newspaper with which he is connected) that it was the result of a diabolical plot of the Ultramontanes of Canada—that these Ultramontanes—who hate the introduction of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen if they are Protestants (and I am not sure

whether he says they would not object to them even if they were Catholics)—were resolved to have the Agent-General turned out of office, and although his hon. friend and my hon. friend the Premier stood by him as long as he could—and we all know how long he will stand by his friends when they are in the wrong—he was obliged by the Ultramontanes to sacrifice one friend and abolish the Agent-General of Canada. So while we must thank the Administration for this economy, we cannot at all applaud the motives to which their late employé attributes his removal. Another economy, I have no doubt, will be carried out, and if so, it will be in accordance with the suggestion of this side of the House. When the Bill for the inauguration of the North-West Government was proposed last Session, I said until there is a larger body of people to be ruled, the constitutional Governor of Manitoba might still be entrusted with the management of the North-West. As the constitutional Governor of Manitoba he has little to do, and he might very well have given his spare time—and he had plenty of it on his hands, and, as I understand, did not grumble at the labor—to the administration of the affairs of the North-West Territories. But my hon. friend the Premier, in his usual incisive way, said it was absolutely necessary that the Government should be established without delay, and stationed far away from Winnipeg and its influences. I was not convinced, but I was silenced, and the Bill passed; but we do not see that the Government has been established after all. I flatter myself in the calm consideration of the subject which my hon. friend gave it after the prorogation, and in his own chamber, that he began to feel there was no such imminent necessity as he at first thought for the immediate appointment of a second Governor. At all events no appointment has yet been made, and as we have no complaint from the North-West, and have saved a considerable amount from the delay, I presume the hon. gentleman will make the saving a permanent one by continuing the masterly inactivity which he has shown hitherto with respect to this Govern-

ment. We are told that correspondence, reports, and other papers regarding the construction of the Pacific Railway will be laid before us. We will, of course, be exceedingly happy to receive all this information, and to give it every consideration. No indication, however, is given in the speech, (and I must say it is a serious omission), as to the course to be taken by the Government either administratively or by means of additional legislation on this important subject. No intimation is given of any kind, but I presume it will be forthcoming when we get the ministerial explanations, which we may hope for at an early day, in relation to the reconstruction of the Government when it was thought necessary to add to its strength by the selection of my hon. friends the Minister of Justice and the President of the Council. When we receive this explanation, then, most likely, we will be informed in what manner the divergence between my hon. friends the Premier and the Minister of Justice on this important subject has been settled. I presume that they will give us some information as to what the future course of the Government will be. The last clause of the speech, which refers to Manitoba, shows that the hon. gentlemen opposite are falling into our mistake about better terms. There was a great deal of talk about the unconstitutionality, etc., of some of our legislation in that direction. But still, such is life; my hon. friend has fallen into our mistakes. Experience has shown him we were not so far wrong in our previous breaches of the constitution and assaults on the revenue as he then alleged we were. I think it is Benedict who says, "when I declared I would die a bachelor I did not think I would ever be married." The same with my hon. friends: they did not think when they were in opposition they would ever be ministers. I hope the longer their experience extends, and the more they feel the cares and responsibilities of government, the more sympathy they will have with their predecessors; and when the day will come when they return to this side of the House—

Mr. BLAKE—That will be the millenium.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

will be the millenium. I do not think he enjoys a millenium at the present time. I think that there are some thorns, some tares, whether sown by their own friends or by enemies I know not, and I think it is wrong for us to enquire; but my hon. friends will admit it is not a bed of roses. It is not proposed to move any amendment to this Address. Unless any hon. gentleman desires to move an amendment, perhaps it will not be necessary to move it paragraph by paragraph, and it can be carried *en bloc*.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am sure the Government have no reason to complain of the line of criticism or any of the criticisms of the hon. gentleman. He has indicated that in all probability beneath the smooth surface of the speech delivered by His Excellency, there is some terrible torpedo that will damage the country. The hon. gentleman has made allusion to the speech delivered by His Excellency in London. I can only say, as a Canadian then in England, his knowledge of the country, and the exertion he made to bring that knowledge prominently before other portions of the world, were of great service to Canada, and I have no doubt that the country at large appreciates the efforts of His Excellency in the speeches referred to, both in England and during his tour in Canada the previous year. As to the hon. gentleman's expression, that he hoped His Excellency's efforts in England would counteract the efforts of the Agent-General, I think it would be better not to have made that remark. Mr. Jenkins was a most zealous and devoted friend of Canada; and whatever fault may have been found by the hon. gentleman opposite, by newspapers in the interests of the Opposition, and by other public bodies and individuals, there can be no doubt whatever that he was extremely anxious and zealous in endeavouring to promote the interests of Canada, and I feel bound to bear testimony to the character of his efforts. The Government will not at present enter into explanations with regard to the course that they have pursued in connection with immigration matters, as the subject will come up at the proper time.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Quite right.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I would not have referred to the Agent General at all at present, but for the remarks of the right hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman's remarks with regard to the railway are quite to the point, and the subject has occupied my serious attention and the attention of the Government. The running of the railway is a matter of great consequence to the country and serious embarrassment to the revenue; but such measures must be adopted by the Government and this House as will utilize to the best advantage the great public work for the benefit of the Provinces and the country, and no former difference between the hon. gentleman and myself respecting the route can be considered for a moment as determining our action with regard to this road. The immediate question to which he has called my attention now has especial reference to the terminus of the road at the western end, and that also has occupied the attention of the Government. The hon. gentleman regrets, in common with all others, the delay which has taken place in connection with the Fisheries Arbitration at Washington; but he seems to think that it will be possible for us to give some information to the House and to the country concerning the reasons which prevent the United States Government from taking the only step necessary in order to insure some progress being made. With reference to that I can only say we have no such information to communicate, and the allusion to it in the Speech from the Throne covers all that we have to say at present. The hon. gentleman says, in looking over the Speech he finds in this and other Speeches since our accession to office, that we have borne testimony to the wisdom of the late Administration, as we have not repealed their acts. He forgets that many measures of the late Government were measures that were really modelled and fashioned by ourselves when sitting on that side of the House. The hon. gentleman asserts, however, that some of his measures are now embalmed. An hon. gentle-

man behind me suggests that they cannot be embalmed until they are dead, so if the gentleman's measures are not in such a state it is due to the present Government, as they only remained as printed documents until passed by us; but it is not for me to find fault with the statement of the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman points to the Speech from the Throne as a very innocent and harmless document. The hon. gentleman last Session also commented upon the meager bill of fare presented, but if he will observe the volume since printed he will find that the bill of fare was a large one, and an exceedingly important one, and I think if he compares our first volume with any of his own he will find that it was not exceeded in value by any volume during the time the hon. gentleman lead the House himself. I have anticipated some of the hon. gentleman's objections and have taken the trouble to look over former Speeches, and I find that there are very important, very remarkable things to be found therein. I find that the hon. gentleman during seven consecutive Sessions brought down a General Election Law; it never came up but once; then it disappeared like magic and never appeared again except in the Speech. As my hon. friend remembers, the Election Law was promised seven times in the Speech; the Court of Appeal was promised three times, the Insolvency Law was promised three times, the Inspection Laws were promised three times; a Dominion Board of Agriculture was promised three times; a measure on Banking was promised three times, and during the last Session of the hon. gentleman's Government he did not bring in a single new measure. They were all a mere repetition of former promises, and the hon. gentleman actually missed the only event of importance that took place during that Session. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman expresses the hope that the economy we have promised in controlling expenditures in every branch of the public service will not be of such a character as will retard the execution of works necessary for the prosperity of the country. The great public works commenced by the hon gentle-

man himself and his administration are in course of execution, and necessarily swells the interest on the public debt; and there will be a constant increase of taxation to meet that debt. But in all other matters I shall endeavor to see that no public interest shall suffer, although we are bound in a season like the present to avoid any expenditures that can be avoided and to curtail any expenditure where the revenue really fails, rather than impose taxation on the people in order to meet it. The hon. gentleman has referred to my remarks last Session regarding the latest Territorial Act, and he has expressed a hope to-day that having made a saving for this one year I need not put that Act into operation, or appoint a Governor to undertake the government of these Territories in the way provided by that Act. The right hon. gentleman would unfairly interfere; and implies that the Territory might remain in such a condition permanently, as it need require no supervision but that of the Government of Manitoba. But my impression of our duty is that we ought to have that country settled as fast as possible, with the great hope of making a transcontinental railway pass through there to throw in a large population into these Territories. We have been at a very great expense in maintaining British supremacy in these Territories, and we believe that it is absolutely necessary to have an authority within that section for the guidance of its affairs. Last season very nearly two thousand people settled outside the boundaries of the Province, and it is time we should consider how the Government of Manitoba can be relieved of the supervision of such a vast country. The seat of Government is too far distant, and in order to reach remote districts, it is necessary to have some supervision in the Territories. I may mention, for instance, in regard to these Territories, that we found a great deal of difficulty in preventing intoxicating liquors being introduced from the United States. We have succeeded, I believe, in that, and for the last six or nine months, we have reason to think that no liquor has been introduced by the Southern boundary.

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The Mounted Police have effectually checked that illicit trade, but, singular as it may seem, we have actually found that United States traders have reached the district of the Peace River with large quantities of intoxicating liquors from Alaska, and have succeeded in that way in turning our flank, and producing the usual demoralising effects among the Indian tribes. I think it is of the very greatest importance that the British authority should be formally recognised and established among all the tribes of that country, and that they should be assured of our thorough and efficient protection of them, and the justice and liberality of the Canadian or British authorities. Therefore, we have considered this act so desirable. The reason for not placing it in operation I shall give on a future occasion, when I have to address the House on matters connected with that subject. My right hon. friend was somewhat jocular in his remarks upon the Manitoba terms. He thinks that he was right on former occasions, and that we are wrong because we propose to make some alterations in the terms of union of that Province. Well, Sir, the circumstances are not the same. I never took the ground that it was not desirable to consider the circumstances of any Province in such cases. What I wanted to urge at that time was upon entirely different ground, which I need not enter upon now. Suffice it to say that the Government feel it necessary to bring before Parliament the representations of the ministry of that Province. I am happy to say that they have shown the utmost desire to meet the views of the administration here in curtailing the expenditures. Canada has made very large outlays in that Province and neighboring territories year after year, and it is impossible to consider the position of a small Province struggling under financial difficulties, and having little local revenue of own, without also considering what is necessary for us to do in order to enable them to conduct the government. Great abuses undoubtedly prevailed in that Province some years ago, but these abuses, we have reason to believe, are not carried on at the present time—I mean as to

expenditure; and if the Province will endeavor, as it seems inclined to do, to limit its disbursements to the smallest possible amount; and Parliament should be satisfied with their exertions, and that the representations they make are correct, then it is fair to consider what should be done under such circumstances. I don't know that I have anything further to add to-day. Upon all the measures of the Government I shall endeavor to be as explicit as possible in giving explanations; and while it may be quite true, as the right hon. gentleman remarked, that we are not lying upon a bed of roses, his statement, which of course he makes with the greatest possible regret, that troublesome thorns are causing us some uneasiness, will not hold. At any rate, I hope the right hon. gentleman's prediction will not seriously affect our peace, or seriously disturb the bed of roses which it seems, although his remarks would make it appear otherwise, he was very loth to leave when in power. I am very much obliged to the hon. gentleman for the terms of his speech, and hope we shall endeavor to conduct the business of the session with that moderation which the right hon. gentleman has initiated to-day.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON — Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of my honorable friend, the First Minister, to a matter of very grave importance which has stirred the public mind, in the Province from which I come, to its very depths during the last two weeks; and before the first step in the business of legislation is taken in response to the speech, I think it but fair to him and to those who support him on the floor of this House, that he should be given an opportunity of making the explanation, which I am satisfied in my own mind he will be able to give, and which will be received by the country, or, at all events, by his friends, with the utmost satisfaction. I allude to the speech, which I cannot but characterize as an unfortunate one, made by the Postmaster-General in a neighbouring county not many weeks ago. The Postmaster-General was undoubtedly, and it was quite proper, detailed by my

hon. friend, the First Minister, to explain the policy of the Government and to promote the interests of the Government in an important election then pending in the County of Argenteuil. Nothing can be more proper, Sir, than that a prominent public man should go into a county on an occasion of that kind to explain the policy of the Administration. It is perfectly consistent with the whole course of politics in this country and in other countries enjoying constitutional government. Well, if the Hon. Postmaster-General had defined or explained the general policy of the country (I had not the good fortune to hear him), we have never been made aware of it. But a passage of his speech was carefully reported and sent to the press of the country, by telegraph, in which he is represented to have made a very offensive attack upon the dignitaries of the Church of the great majority of the people of the Province of Quebec, and constituting a very large proportion of the people of this whole Dominion. He is reported to have made an appeal to the Protestants of Lower Canada, not as politicians or on political grounds, or the approved policy of the Government of which he is a member, but as Protestants, to effect objects I need not further describe. And he wound up that speech, Sir, by a declaration that these were his opinions, and that he was satisfied that they were the opinions of his party; and if he were not sustained in the expression of those opinions he would resign his position. Now, Sir, the whole importance of that speech arises from the circumstance that the hon. gentleman is a member of the Administration. If it had been made by a private member of either political party, certainly I, for one, would never have challenged the attention of the House to it. The whole importance of the hon. gentleman's utterance arises out of the fact that he is a member of the Administration. Two questions arise, and I desire to put them to my hon. friend with the utmost directness, being persuaded that he will answer them with the utmost directness. First, whether when the Postmaster-General left Ottawa, he had any inclination or had

given to the Postmaster-General any instructions to take the line of remark to which I have now called the attention of the House; and, secondly, whether, not having given it, as I am satisfied is the fact, not even having any such inclination, he now approves of the substance of those remarks, or of the good taste, good judgment, and statesmanship of the Hon. Postmaster-General in making this utterance. These are the questions to which I desire to call the attention of the First Minister and of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My hon. friend from Chateauguay only mentioned a minute or two ago that he intended to put some questions to me, and I was not aware of their precise nature. He has put it specifically—whether the Postmaster-General had any conversation with me before leaving to take part in the election at Argenteuil regarding that particular passage of his speech? Well, Sir, if we had any conversation upon any subject affecting the Administration's policy in any way, I should say at once I would not under any circumstances mention anything about that conversation. It so happens, however, that we had no conversation about that or any other subject affecting the policy of the Administration, and that I was not aware of what subjects my hon. friend intended to speak upon. In fact, I did not know that he would go to Argenteuil at all. He went to Montreal on other business, and proceeded there as a political friend of the hon. gentleman who is now Member for the county. As to the second question—whether I approve of the speech, I have simply to say that I do not approve of anything that has a tendency to bring religion into public discussion in the politics of this country. I have a very strong opinion myself as an old Liberal, that as far as it is possible to do so, questions relating to Churches should be entirely separated from any discussion that may arise in Parliament. I am a believer, Sir, in the entire independence of each church, no matter by what name it may be called, and I am a believer in having Parliament in this country relieved from the discussion of any subject which may provoke reference to any religious

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questions. I think that is the right course to pursue, and, as I remarked in a published letter, the constitution of the country is eminently favorable to that procedure being carried out. I can only, therefore, express my regret at the remarks of my hon. friend, and the tone and interpretation given to them by many. So far as that interpretation and tone are concerned I have no sympathy with it, nor have I taken any part in public affairs which would at all involve my entering into a discussion on these subjects. I hope I have sufficiently expressed my own views as a member of the Administration. I believe that every Member of this House has a perfect right to discuss politically in his own Province local questions which may come up, that he may consider it a duty to do so, and that for their share in any such discussions members of this House are not to be held responsible here. With regard to the views enunciated by my hon. friend, the Postmaster-General, in his published letter, addressed to Mr. Power, of Halifax, in which he explained that he did not design any attack upon the Catholic Church in his speech, I have no doubt that this was the case, because I have too much faith in his own generous disposition, and correct appreciation of the public affairs of this country to believe that he could be a party to a desire to assail any religious denomination in the country. I hope Sir, that my hon. friend from Chateauguay is entirely satisfied with the explanation I have given.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.—In reply to my hon. friend, the First Minister, I will say that I am entirely satisfied as to the good faith of his exposition of his own views, as they are my own views, but I venture to remind my hon. friend, that there is a solidarity of responsibility among Ministers, and that the declarations or utterances of private members of the House, or of private citizens, come within a very different category from the utterances upon public questions of Ministers of the Crown, especially when these utterances are clinched with the strong declaration that these opinions are shared by his Party, and that if they were not, that he could have no further

connection with that Party. That was the point and the only point. I did not require, and I am sure that the House or the country did not require any explanations from my honorable friend of his own personal views on a matter of this kind. His career—his distinguished career, of many years standing, and the ground he has uniformly taken in public life, would have forbidden me supposing for one moment, that he could personally have been in sympathy with the attempt—the unfortunate attempt made by one of his colleagues to stir up religious strife in the Province of Quebec; and all that I felt at all interested to know was not whether my hon. friend shared these opinions, but whether he approved of the hon. gentleman's statement, that if his utterances were not endorsed by his Party, then his connection with that party must cease, and to say whether these utterances were really approved of by the head of the Administration. I infer however, and everybody will infer, from what my hon. friend has stated, that he does not approve of that speech—of the doctrine of that speech, and of the line of tactics which were, perhaps, to be inaugurated by that speech; but my hon. friend has stopped just a little short, and I should not have said so if he had not called me to my feet. He stopped just a little short of saying what I think he should say—whether he approved or disapproved of the substance of that speech, or of the time and occasion, and circumstances under which it was delivered.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) — Mr. Speaker, I need not say, that I am exceedingly happy to find that my hon. friend, the member for Chateauguay, is not satisfied with the explanation given by the Hon. the Postmaster General in a letter which he lately published in the papers, and which letter was endorsed by a part of the French Canadian Liberal press of the Province of Quebec. And I am also happy to see that he, belonging to a ~~cred~~ different from ours, thinks that the action of the Postmaster General should be repudiated by every well-thinking Protestant in this community. I am sorry to see, Mr. Speaker, that in an explanation of this matter, the Prime Minister, after one

of his colleagues had taken upon himself to state at a public meeting, that though not authorized to speak in the name of his colleagues, nevertheless, he was so sure of their opinion in favor of his views as to say, that he would leave the Government if his speech was not endorsed. I am sorry to see, that the Hon. Minister of Public Works, the Leader of this Government, the gentleman to whom we are obliged to look up, should have stood up in his place to discuss such a question, instead of avoiding the difficulty of coming before Parliament and discussing this question by dealing characteristically and immediately with the offence, or else his place should not be at the head of affairs in this country. It is necessary in a country so situated as ours, and a matter of the highest importance, that men of the greatest moderation should manage our affairs. Mr. Speaker, it might not have been the proper time on the debate on the Address, as my right hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, said, and with our strong sympathies, to discuss this important question, but it has made a great noise in the Province of Quebec, and has stirred up the whole people; and we, the French Canadian Conservatives of the Province of Quebec, have been accused of being a priest-ridden population. Well, Sir, there are in every party, there are in every creed, there are in every nationality, fanatics; and there are also men who, though they are not fanatics, are sometimes carried away by their passions, or by the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, and say things which they would not say under other circumstances; but certainly we could never have suspected that a Minister of the Crown would have made use of such expressions as the hon. gentleman has employed in the Province of Quebec. That hon. gentleman next sent forth a letter, with the aid of what we would call a *compère* in French, stating that his attack on Conservatives and on the Ultramontanes of Lower Canada—of the Province of Quebec—was not a religious attack, but that it was a political attack. Well, Sir, did Mr. Huntington say that the time had come

when the English-speaking Liberals—no, but when the English-speaking Protestants should ally themselves with the French-speaking Liberals of Lower Canada—and this was the only reason given, that it was in the interest of free thought, and of free speech. Now, if the hon. gentleman can say after using this phrase, in whatever letters he may have written for the public, and in whatever speeches he may make, that this was only a political speech I leave it to the good sense of this House to decide whether these expressions, coming from a public man who is discussing public questions on their merits, does not show a desire to introduce religious controversies into our political discussions. Now, sir, the hon. gentleman says in his letter,—whatever complaint might be made of his personal views—the party with which I act was controlled by a power which declared that free thought was a cardinal sin. Well, sir, I say that this is no more nor less than a slander on the Conservative party; and as a Conservative, and as an Ultramontane,—or, as I am called by the hon. gentleman on the other side of the House from the Province of Quebec, as the Leader of the Ultramontanes—I say, that the Conservatives in the Province of Quebec—and I speak advisedly—are ready to give to the Clergy of the Province, in religious questions, that submission and that confidence which according to our creed we are obliged to give to them; and regarding questions relating to the material progress of the country, and the political affairs of the country, we are ready, and shall always be ready, to give to the opinions of these gentlemen that respect to which they are entitled, owing to their high intelligence, their great virtue, and their disinterestedness; but we are not ready to give any more. It has been stated by the Liberals of the Province of Quebec, the allies of the honourable gentleman—and I am sorry for it—and it has been repeated by the honourable gentleman, in other words, that the clergy of the country had nothing to do but remain in their vestries; but we, the Conservatives of Lower Canada, say boldly, that we do not believe in that doctrine at all; and

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we appeal to the members of this House, and to the whole country, to both Liberals and Conservatives, Catholics and Protestants, whether, under certain difficult circumstances, this principle would be right, and whether, if the clergy of Lower Canada had remained in their vestries, we would belong, to-day, to the noble Empire of England. I ask you, gentlemen, belonging to different nationalities as you do, and to different creeds as you do, whether if these gentlemen had not come out of their vestries, and told the people of Lower Canada, not only what was their right towards Him to whom they are obliged to pay worship, but also what was their duty towards their Queen and towards their country, this country would form a part of the British Empire; and I say that it does not become any Protestant coming from the Province of Quebec, who is acquainted with that circumstance, to reproach us for being priest-ridden, and declare that our priests should remain wholly in their vestries. Now, sir, I say more—and let us consider the matter in that sense—whether we are priest-ridden or not; I tell the Hon. the Postmaster General, that this is none of his business; and and that it is not the business of any man who does not profess our creed, no more than it is any of our business to interfere with your opinions, or the opinions of those who profess a different creed from ours; and the way in which they form those opinions, so long as our brethren of different creeds, notwithstanding the high attainments of their clergy, do not wish to follow their instructions and do not wish to follow their guidance, is their own lookout. So long as they wish to follow the guidance of another class of men, it is, again, their lookout. The only thing that we have to do is to see that the influence exercised does not result in anything that may be detrimental to us, but further we have nothing to say. Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I will appeal to the Protestants of Lower Canada to tell us whether this is not the case. It is nothing to you who influences our opinions, and it is nothing to you whence we take our instructions, so

far as these instructions result in that liberal and tolerant policy which every French Canadian and every Catholic in the Province of Quebec is ready to give to all our fellow-countrymen to whatever creed or nationality they may belong. Sir, I remember a fact in my political life, which has not been very lengthy, and that is, that I have never had occasion to speak of religion on the hustings but once in my life, and are you aware under what circumstances this occurred? It was not on an occasion when I appealed to the religious feelings of my countrymen against a Protestant—that I have never done; but it was when I was appealing to the feelings of my Catholic fellow-countrymen in favour of a Protestant. I was telling them what was their duty with reference to a gentleman who was accused of being a Freemason, and of having in consequence no right to sit in this House. I then told them that in this country we were bound to live amicably one with another, and that we must take the Protestants as they are. You must take us with our Catholicism, with our feelings, with our principles, and with our prejudices, and we are to do the same thing with you. I told my fellow-countrymen of the Catholic creed it is understood that a Protestant should be elected—a Protestant who is to be chosen possessing his own ideas and principles; and that if his own creed and his own belief does not forbid him being a Freemason, they had no right to look further than at his political career, and so you must elect him on his own merits. And by whom was I opposed, Mr. Speaker—by the Liberals of Lower Canada, who said, that it would be a disgrace to elect a gentleman who was a Freemason, and I am happy to say, sir, that these Ultramontane prelates, of whom the hon. gentleman speaks in such a flip-pant way, have endorsed the position which the Ultramontane Catholics took at Montreal in connection with the election at which Mr. White was a candidate.

Mr. DEVLIN—Will the hon. gentleman explain what he means by the term Ultramontane Catholics?

Mr. MASSON—I think that the hon. gentleman had better ask that

question of the Hon. Postmaster General, or the hon. member for Halifax: Now, sir, in the speech of the hon. gentleman, we find this phrase: "The great battle was imminent; it undoubtedly would be fought, and fought soon." A great battle between whom, gentlemen—between the Conservatives, and the English Liberals of the Province of Quebec? No, sir, but a great battle, which is to be fought between the Conservatives of the Province of Quebec, and the Protestants of the Province of Quebec; that is the way in which the speech of the hon. gentleman was worded and he can never get out of that position, and I dare say that the Government cannot get out of it. But there is more in the speech of the hon. gentleman than appears on the surface. There is more—and this is ingratitude, coming from a Protestant of the Province of Quebec, ingratitude towards the Conservative Party; these are his words: "the intolerance displayed by the Conservatives of Lower Canada during the last few years, was the result of the fealty, by which the English speaking people had strengthened the Ultramontanes." Well, Mr. Speaker, I will ask any Protestant of the Province of Quebec; I will ask my hon. friend, the Member for Chateauguay, who represents a constituency composed of Catholics and Protestants, and he is a gentleman equally beloved by both; I will ask him as a gentleman of the Province of Quebec—he is a party man, and will be ready to give his opinion for the Protestants of the Province of Quebec—have the Protestants a right to reproach the Conservatives of that Province with intolerance, have they a right to reproach such men as the regretted Sir George Etienne Cartier, our lamented Leader, with intolerance? I will tell him this, that since Confederation the Protestants of Quebec have received justice from the Conservative more than they would have received from the Liberals, and I can prove it. At the framing of the Confederation Act the Protestants were apprehensive that their rights and privileges would not be secure, and they asked beforehand that the representation of the Province should not be changed by

less than a three-fourths vote of the legislature. They feared that the Protestant population might be deprived of a certain number of their representatives. They did not grant that request, but Sir George Cartier and my hon. friend the member for Charlevoix came forward and said: "It is humiliating that we should have special terms proposed to us, but we will do anything that we can to prevent your privileges being interfered with." And what did the Liberals do? They voted that the Protestants of Quebec should not have that privilege, and one Conservative member abandoned his party allegiance, refusing to follow Sir George Cartier, and voting against the Government, who were desirous of meeting the wishes of the Protestants. I ask the Postmaster General if, after such an act on the part of the Conservatives, he has a right to reproach them as he has done? Then, with regard to immigration, the Leader of the Opposition has spoken of Mr. Edward Jenkins. When the Confederation Act was framed, Sir A. T. Galt, who was then the leader of the Protestants of Quebec, believed that if the immigration question was left entirely to the Local Legislatures, we in Quebec, would discourage it. He required that it should be left to the concurrent jurisdiction of the Dominion and Local Legislatures. Our leader, Sir George Cartier, submitted to this second humiliation, and agreed to give them this right, which was more than a right, and I say it is ungrateful of the Postmaster General to say what he has said. There was another question of vital importance—education. Again Mr. Galt had apprehensions if the Protestant minority were left to the tender mercy of the Catholics that they would not be fairly treated. He required, before the Confederation Act was passed, that a Bill should be enacted giving to the Protestants all the rights they desired in case they should not get them later. The number who moved to give them that right was the hon. gentleman from Charlevoix, another of those reactionary Ultramontanes. The whole thing failed only because a member from the Province of Ontario moved that similar rights be given to the Catholics of that Province. The measure was lost on

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account of the opposition of the Liberals of Ontario, and not of the Conservatives. On that occasion the present Leader of the Opposition, while being unflinching in guarding the rights of Ontario, when the interests of his co-religionists in Quebec were at stake, was willing to give us equal rights. He stood by us when Mr. Howland and Mr. McDougall abandoned us. Even lately, only a few months ago that reactionary, that Ultramontane ministry of Mr. DeBoucherville, has given the greatest proof of its liberality to the Protestant population of this country, A deputation of Protestants went to Quebec and asked that ultra-Catholic Government to give them a special asylum for the insane. The Protestant ministers and medical attendants came forward and signed letters showing their co-religionists had all the liberty they wanted and were put on the same footing as the Catholics in that Catholic institution. Mr. DeBoucherville said, notwithstanding, that if they were not satisfied he was ready to do the utmost he could for them. I say, then, it is unkind on the part of the hon. gentleman to use such an expression towards the Ultramontanes of Quebec and call them reactionary. The Hon. Premier has tried, in a letter sent to the public, and he is still trying to-day to smoothe down this speech. In his letter he says hardly any question involving religion can arise in this country. If that is the case why did he allow or why does he not disapprove of the speech of the Postmaster General, who to-day, comes and makes an appeal to the Protestants of Quebec against the Conservatives. If there is nothing to separate as on religious and spiritual grounds, how is it that the Postmaster General comes before the public and calls upon the Protestants to unite against the Conservatives? And how is it that the hon. gentleman, knowing the feeling of the Protestant population of Quebec and of the whole Dominion, instead of saying he disapproves of the Postmaster General's remarks, says the hon. gentleman was not understood? If he was not, it is because the English language cannot be well understood. The Prime Minister has given as his political belief that equal

justice should be extended to everybody in this country irrespective of creed or religion. This is not the first time I have heard the sentiment; but I may add, if we wish peace and harmony to exist among the different creeds that divide this country, we must make up our minds to attend to our own business. When difficulties arise among Protestants, let it be well understood among Catholics that we are not to interfere with them unless the discussion affects us, and Catholics humbly require that when things relating exclusively to their creed are debated, Protestants shall not interfere so long as there is nothing in our opinions or actions that can be detrimental to the Protestant population of this country. Thereby, there will be tranquility in this country; but so long as there is interference like that of the hon. gentleman with matters that he does not understand, there will be discord. In his speech he knew everything about what is Ultramontane and what is not. He told us that the Ultramontanes are dwindling down every day, as, for instance, in Charlevoix. He receives a rebuke from the Catholics, gets frightened, and says: "I made a great mistake. The Ultramontanes are all the Catholics. I was not attacking Catholics, but Catholic politicians." There is no difference of opinion among the Catholics of Quebec. We signed the famous Programme, but in that we expressed our willingness to give to our fellow-countrymen of all creeds everything that we asked for ourselves. This is the tolerance shown to our Protestant fellow subjects, and what is granted by the Conservatives of Quebec. So long as our views are followed, the interests of the Protestants in Quebec will be as safe in the future as they have been in the past, or as they could be among the Protestants themselves.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON (in French)—On my arrival at Ottawa, towards the middle of January, I presented myself without delay, at the office of the First Minister to inform him that the discourse of the Hon. Postmaster General, at Lachute, placed me in a false position as a Catholic; that I could not admit the doctrines enunciated, as I under-

stood them, and that in consequence I desired to know whether the Hon. Minister, on that occasion, did or did not convey the sentiments of the Government, and if the latter was responsible for the words he there uttered. The First Minister replied, without hesitation, that the Hon. Postmaster General had spoken for himself only, at Lachute, and not as the mouth-piece of the Government, and that consequently the Government was in nowise responsible for what he had said. Thus the responsibility of the Government as a whole, and the solidarity of each of its members was found to be disengaged. The Hon. Postmaster General is evidently mistaken as to the meaning attributed to certain expressions used in this country. The words *Ultramontanism* and *Gallicanism*, which belong to another epoch, have no longer their *raison d'être*, since Catholics, without exception, recognize the sovereign authority of Rome in matters of religion. But *Catholic Liberalism*, which is more modern, at least in name, is the affirmation of the right of discussion in the Church. But this doctrine I, as a Catholic, ought to repudiate, and I do repudiate it with all the solemnity and all the energy of which I am capable. As a Catholic I must also say that I allow to the Church all authority in spiritual questions, all rights in its necessary relations with civil society, its absolute independence in its sphere of action, the superiority of its character by reason of the superiority of its object, and its right to the protection of civil society in the exercise of its functions. Liberal—or, if you will, Reformer in politics, I am not so in religion, where, for me, everything is unchangeable; and when my title of Catholic shall become incompatible with that of Minister of State, the choice will for me be easy. But happily we have not yet come to that, for at the side of religious society exists civil society with its own distinct attributes. On this neutral ground, men of all creeds and origins can meet and work together for the material well-being of the country. One may remain Catholic, as well as one's neighbor, without, for all that, partak-

ing of his opinions upon the administration of public affairs; one may differ with him upon questions of canalization, of railways, of tariffs, and of general commerce, without ceasing to be with him in religion. This is, in short, the view I take of the two orders of things and their relations with each other, and if I am wrong I have on my side common sense, the nature of things, and even the Church itself, which proclaims the independence and distinctness of the two societies for their respective ends.

Mr. MASSON—Does the President of the Council approve or disapprove of the speech, made by the hon. the Postmaster General? Does he approve or disapprove—yes or no?

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—The hon. member makes a great deal of noise. My declaration has been clear and distinct, and he will get nothing further from me. If he does not understand it that is not my fault.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—The Hon. President of the Council has not made his speech in English. The great majority of the Members of this House have heard the remarks of my hon. friend, the member for Terrebonne, but the great majority of the members do not understand French. The Premier, in English, in his own language, has made a declaration, and the hon. the President of the Council, but not in English, has declared that when he came to take his place in the Cabinet he read the speech of the hon. the Postmaster General, and was so greatly scandalized, and took the matter so much to heart, affecting as it did the principles to which he was attached, that he went at once to the Hon. the First Minister, and telling him that this statement placed him in an excessively false position as President of the Council, and that he could not accept the doctrine enunciated by the Hon. the Postmaster General, demanded whether the Hon. the Postmaster-General, had spoken in his own name; and the Hon. the President of the Council informs this honorable House, that the First Minister replied, that the Postmaster General had spoken for himself alone, and that consequently he did not accept the responsibility of what he said.

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Also, that under these circumstances, the President of the Council was perfectly satisfied from the moment he learned that the responsibility rested solely upon the shoulders of the Postmaster General; but why did the Hon. the President of the Council say to this House, and say to the country, and especially to the Province of Quebec which he represents, or is supposed to represent, in the Government—that the First Minister repudiated the language used by the Postmaster General; but he does not repudiate it. The First Minister did not say that he would not accept the responsibility of the speech made by the Postmaster General, but simply that the Postmaster General spoke in his own name. The First Minister has not said that he repudiated this language, or disavowed any sympathy with the insult levelled at the Catholic population of the entire country. No, he has not done so; and the First Minister has, moreover, to-day, only declared that the Postmaster General spoke in his own name; but, nevertheless, the President of the Council, the representative of Lower Canada in the Council, for he is supposed to represent the population of the Province of Quebec in the Cabinet, has not properly resented the insult aimed at the Catholic population of the Dominion and the Bishops of Lower Canada, and abandons the great principles which he professes at least to entertain and support. An attempt is made to interrupt me, but hon. members would do well to remain quiet. When the Hon. the President of the Council spoke, no one interrupted him, and when others take up the debate, they should not be interrupted. I hope that in this House there is freedom of speech, and that my countrymen from the Province of Quebec will be granted a fair hearing. Of course, hon. members, when they think that the argument is going against their leader, the hon. the President of the Council, may be inclined to interrupt and to prevent members from seizing the ideas which I am placing before the House, but they may depend upon it that nothing will be lost. Mr. Speaker, as I was stating when interrupted by hon. members, the hon. the President of the Council,

despite the great principles which he at least professes to hold, has expressed these opinions and remains in the same Cabinet at the side of the Hon. the Postmaster General who has insulted the Roman Catholics of Lower Canada, and the Bishops of Lower Canada, for whom he says he has so great a respect, and, I hope that this sentiment of respect is as strong as he pretends. At all events he remains in the Cabinet at the side of the Postmaster General and of the First Minister, who does not repudiate sympathy with that which has been said by the Postmaster General at Argenteuil, and he does not show to the prelates of the Province of Quebec the respect which he pretends to feel for them. Mr. Speaker, I cannot approve of the course taken by the Hon. the President of the Council, who does not say, that because the First Minister declared that the Postmaster General spoke in his own and in his private name there is no responsibility attached, for at least the President of the Council should have shown enough respect for the population of Lower Canada, which he is supposed to represent in the Cabinet, to say to the First Minister—"If you keep this man in the Cabinet—if you retain as your colleague him who has insulted my countrymen and my co-religionists and the Roman Catholic Bishops of this country, I will be compelled to resign the position I hold in the Government." But has the President of the Council done this? No! he intends to act as he has acted in the past; he finds himself on the Ministerial benches, and there he intends to remain, for this position has cost him dearly enough, and he is determined to retain it. Mr. Speaker, the population of Lower Canada will know how to appreciate at his proper value the Hon. the President of the Council, their only present representative in the Cabinet, for the other representative of the Province of Quebec in the Government is absent from the House through illness—a circumstance which I am bound to add I infinitely regret, but the responsibility of the Hon. the President of the Council is not, on that account, less great, because he alone represents his countrymen and co-religionists of Lower Canada in the Cabinet, and more particularly with

reference to a question so important as this. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to find the hon. Member for Chateaugay raising the question without delay and asking the Leader of the Cabinet whether he repudiated the language his colleague the Postmaster General made use of in the county of Argenteuil, and I regret the fact, that notwithstanding all the influence which the hon. member for Chateaugay has with the First Minister and with the hon. Members who sit beside him, he has been unable to obtain a direct answer from the First Minister, for the First Minister does not give a satisfactory answer to the question put to him; and there is but one conclusion to draw from this circumstance, and this is, that the First Minister in his soul and conscience does not condemn the principles held and language used by the Postmaster General in the county of Argenteuil. There is no other conclusion to be drawn from the language of the hon. the First Minister, and this is confirmed by his silence now, for if in point of fact he really has no sympathy with the Postmaster General's speech, why did he not say so frankly and firmly, and tranquillize the Catholic population of the entire country, repudiating sympathy with the Minister who has disturbed the minds of the population of this country by his language and sought to excite a religious war in Lower Canada, and declaring that he does not echo these sentiments. Has not the First Minister in this relation a duty to fulfil; and has not the Hon. the President of the Council a duty to fulfil? The President of the Council explains what he understands as the meaning of the words Catholic and Liberal Catholic; and he tells us, that he recognizes for the priests and bishops of Lower Canada, and priests and bishops generally, the absolute right of taking action with reference to religious affairs, but not of interfering with reference to the construction of public works and matters of that kind; and, he states, that we can differ in opinion with our neighbors touching these questions, without ceasing to be Catholic. There is no difficulty about that, but the Hon. the President of the Council is playing

upon words, for he knows that the reason why the Postmaster General spoke as he did in the county of Argenteuil, was because he pretended, that the Catholic clergy—the priests and the bishops—interfere in the elections; and why should they not interfere in the elections? As citizens, they have the right to take part in elections, and they simply claim the right of exercising a citizen's privilege I would like to see the Postmaster General or the Cabinet take away from the Catholic clergy the right of counselling citizens respecting public matters in their capacity as citizens of this country. But, Mr. Speaker, the hon. member goes further: the Hon. the President of the Council says that the priests cannot express opinions regarding material questions, such as the making of canals, and the construction of other public works. It is well known, however, that at all sessions of this House, other questions than these are submitted for consideration—questions with which religion has certainly some connection, and regarding which priests have assuredly something to say, if the priest have the right to interfere in and make known to his co-religionists his opinions upon matters touching the doctrines of the Catholic Church. But there is another and a stronger reason why he should take part in and exercise his influence upon elections, and this is the right they all claim, and this is the right which I am convinced my co-religionists of Lower Canada and my co-religionists of the other Provinces, will never withhold. Mr. Speaker, the Conservatives are attacked, and it is alleged that we are not as well disposed towards the Protestants as the Liberals who sit on the other side of the House, but on all occasions and at all periods in our history have we not only granted to the Protestants of Lower Canada their rights, but even more than their rights, and we have done so with the greatest pleasure and the greatest good-will in the world, while the clergy of the country—the Catholic clergy—have always been disposed to sustain the same doctrine and do justice to the Protestant population of Lower Canada. I would refer, in this regard, to a time when neither Conservatives nor

Liberals, *Bleus* nor *Rouges* existed, a few years after the conquest of this country by England, when we had but recently emerged from a great struggle between the two great nations, France and England, and this country had been transferred to and placed under the rule of England. At the period to which I make allusion the American revolution was raging, and the French King had sent an army to the assistance of England's revolted colonists. The word of command was given on our frontier in the struggles with the British troops, in the French language, and the White Flag of France which had floated over this country and over the walls of Quebec thirteen years previously, waived over the French reinforcements sent to the aid of the Americans. A prelate of the Roman Catholic Church over the frontier further made an appeal to the Roman Catholics, the French Canadians of Lower Canada, to range themselves under the banner of France and fight for their religion, and for their former King. What was the answer which the French Canadians—my ancestors and our ancestors—returned to that appeal and to the French commands? What did we do when we saw the White Flag of France on the other side of the frontier? Did we hasten to betray our King? Were we eager to betray the flag which then floated over us, and which now floats over us, and I must say I am glad that it does float over us. What was the reply of the hierarchy, and the Catholic Bishop of Quebec? What was the reply of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the present Province of Quebec? Did they say that they would follow the advice of the venerable prelate who made such an appeal from the country which became the United States? No, sir; they said to their flocks: the King of England now rules over you, and your flag is the flag of England; that King and that flag you must defend. And, Sir, that King and that flag were defended, and we remained a British Colony. The country remained in the possession of England, and remained under the flag of Protestant England; yet we are told that we have done injustice to the Protestants, and that we are not inclined to grant them their

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rights. Mr. Speaker, on each occasion when the rights of the Protestants have been in question, we have recognized them—we have acted with the greatest liberality in their regard, and we have never regretted it.

At this point, the hour being six, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN continued in English as follows: I think that under the circumstances it is fair that the House should know what was the substance of what the hon. gentleman has stated in French. The Hon. President of the Council says that after his election he came to take his seat in the Privy Council, and that on his way up to Ottawa he read the speech made at Argenteuil by the Hon. Postmaster General. He said that he was shocked with the remarks of the Hon. Postmaster General, and he went immediately, on his arrival at Ottawa, to the First Minister and told him that the speech of the Hon. Postmaster General had placed him, the President of the Council, in a very false position, and that he could not accept the doctrines propounded in that speech. He requested the First Minister to say whether the Postmaster General had spoken in his own name or in the name of the Government. The President of the Council goes on to say that the First Minister told him that the Postmaster General spoke for himself and himself only, and that consequently he, the Premier, did not accept the responsibility of what had been said by the Postmaster General. Now, Mr. Speaker, compare that declaration with the statement made just now by the First Minister. We found that the First Minister in his explanations says that he did not approve of anything that would bring religious matters into the political discussions of this country. That was about all he said, as far as I could catch his words. Well, that is the only objection made by the First Minister to the speech. He did not say he did not take the responsibility of the speech. He did not answer squarely the member for Chateauguay whether he approved of the tenor of the remarks

made by the Hon. Postmaster General. No, he would not answer although the member for Chateauguay reiterated his question and declared that he was not satisfied, and also that there should be a plain answer to a plain question. Notwithstanding the answer was not forthcoming we find from the President of the Council that the First Minister told him that the Postmaster General had spoken for himself, and consequently he, the First Minister, did not take the responsibility.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That is quite correct.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Of course I did not say that it was not correct; I assumed that it was correct. The First Minister just said what I have read, and his friend, the President of the Council, made another statement. Of course I only compare the two statements to show what the opinions of the two gentlemen are; I did not attack their correctness. It is very important that we should know whether these utterances are the utterances of the Government or those of the Postmaster General only. He has attacked the hierarchy of Lower Canada, and the hierarchy of the whole Dominion, and he has attacked the Catholics from one end of the country to the other. He has made an unfortunate attempt to stir up religious strife. As the hon. member for Chateauguay has stated, he has made a very offensive attack on a large body of the citizens of our country. He has made an appeal, so says the hon. member for Chateauguay, to the Protestants of Quebec; and that hon. gentleman, the Postmaster General, sits alongside of the First Minister of the Crown, and the Hon. President of the Council sits on the other hand, that great, that old defender of the religious rights of the Roman Catholics in times past. He is ready to reap all the benefits of the war which the Postmaster General wants to excite against the Roman Catholics. Mr. Speaker, why should we be so attacked and insulted by the Postmaster General; why should he try to have us placed under suspicion and excite feelings of hostility between us and the large body of Protestants of this country? I was glad

that it was a Protestant from Lower Canada, the hon. member for Chateauguay, who brought up this question, and that on behalf of the Protestants of that section. I have no doubt that he could not sanction such doctrines as those propounded by the Postmaster General, and that he wanted his friend, the First Minister, as the Leader of the Liberal party, to disavow the doctrines. What have we done to his co-religionists to be insulted? Have we done him any injustice or refused the Protestants anything to which they are entitled? Have we not, on the contrary, always with great pleasure given them more than they asked for? Did we not, long ago, give them the same rights as we had for separate schools? Can they not educate their children with as much ease as we can? Is it not a fact that three or four weeks ago the Government of Lower Canada gave to the Protestants a Council of Public Instruction for their own Schools, and a President of the Board separate from the Roman Catholic Board. They have control of their schools, and we have given them everything they wanted; and yet, the Hon. Postmaster-General, in his speech at Argenteuil, says that will not do; he must put the Church under his feet—he must destroy the influence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Roman Catholic clergy of Canada. Mr. Speaker, we remained a British Colony; we remained a dependency of a Protestant country, and yet we are told that we are fanatics, that we want to put down, Protestants, and that we are such firebrands that we must be put down; we must be trampled upon; that the power of this Government must be used to put us down. That is what the Postmaster General says in his speech, and it is not denied by the President of the Council nor the Premier. The former sits there with the Postmaster General, and he must share the responsibility of that speech. Mr. Speaker, in our days we have had to deal with questions in which the Protestants of Lower Canada were also interested. When Confederation was about to take place, the Protestants of Lower Canada—some of them—were afraid that in the division of the country into Provinces, and the powers

about to be given to the Local Legislatures, being in the minority, they would be at the mercy of the French, and they asked for protection in the Confederation Act. They asked that twelve counties should be considered as British counties—English Counties—and that the limits of these Counties should not be disturbed without the consent of a large majority of the members for these counties. Mr. Speaker, that law was considered offensive in the view of many. That it was so we were convinced. It was an unjust suspicion; but, notwithstanding that, in order to show our liberality, in order that they would come into the Confederation, and to assure them that their rights would be protected under the new *regime* by the the Federation Act, and that they might not fear the religious legislation of Quebec, we assented to it. The Conservatives that were supporting us assented to it; but there were exceptions. The hon. gentleman, the present President of the Council, if I am not mistaken, voted against that clause, and I think it was the first Liberal vote he gave in his life. Mr. Speaker, if I am not mistaken, a good many Liberals of Lower Canada voted also against that clause, but we, the Conservatives, supported it, and I can say we regarded it ever since, so that we never had a complaint from either party, but all was unanimity with them until the Postmaster-General raised the cry the other day that the Protestants in Lower Canada were in danger. The hon. gentleman for Terrebonne called attention to another fact, that previous to Confederation the question of education for Lower Canada came up. Sir A. T. Galt, at that time Finance Minister, desired that a measure might then be adopted in order that the separate school question might be completed, although separate schools already existed in Lower Canada. I introduced the bill in this House, and my colleagues would have supported it if another measure had not been brought from the Province of Ontario which prevented the Lower Canada measure from being passed, because in Ontario a large majority did not wish that bill to pass,

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although it would have quieted the minds of a large portion of the people of Quebec. My late lamented friend, Sir George Cartier, pledged his word of honor that when the Province of Quebec would be constituted he would see that a measure, similar to that introduced by me in this House, would be introduced in the Lower Canada Legislature and that it would be passed. The Protestants of Lower Canada were not afraid of the word of Sir George Cartier; it was as good as law to them. Confederation took place. Unfortunately Sir George Cartier was absent during the whole session in which this measure should have been introduced; he was in England, but in that measure did we break faith with the Protestants of Lower Canada? No, the bill was introduced by the Chauveau Government, and it was supported by me and opposed by the hon. gentleman who is now President of the Council; that measure which the Protestants wished to have was supported and defended by us to redeem the word of Sir George Cartier and to do justice to them. Mr. Speaker, this is not all. How many times have we not seen the Lower Canadian counties, Roman Catholic counties, French Canadian counties elect members of other origin and of another faith, and even elect them against Roman Catholics and French Canadians. The other day, in the county of Chicoutimi and in Saguenay, there was a Roman Catholic—a French Canadian—who came forward, and he was supported in that county by the late member for Charlevoix. Mr. W. Price, brother of the senator, came forward—an English Protestant—and he was supported by a large majority of the Catholic votes of that county. Mr. Price himself was elected by Chicoutimi and Saguenay, and also by Charlevoix and Montmorency—elected by that immense division, to the Legislative Council, over the Hon. Letellier de St. Just, a French Canadian and Roman Catholic. And this is the persecution we carry on against the Protestants of Lower Canada. But, Mr. Speaker, there is an hon. member sitting on the other side of this House, the hon. member for Beauce, he is not a Roman Catholic, he

is a Protestant and has been elected by a Roman Catholic constituency. Is that persecution by the Roman Catholics? My hon. friend the member for Three Rivers is also elected by a large majority. He is not a Roman Catholic, but he is elected by a French Canadian Catholic constituency. Then the leader of the Liberals in the Province of Quebec. By whom is he elected? By a Protestant constituency? No, by the county of Lotbiniere, where I suppose there are not ten Protestants, and he has been repeatedly elected by acclamation. Then there is the Hon. Mr. Nelson elected repeatedly by Roman Catholics, and Mr. W. R. Ross elected by Beauce two or three times. I am sure my hon. friend the member for Chateauguay also thinks that he is not persecuted by the Roman Catholics of Lower Canada. He has been elected repeatedly by a large majority of Roman Catholic votes. Then the hon. gentleman who was introduced this afternoon—the member for Gaspé—he is not a Roman Catholic and he is elected by a Roman Catholic constituency, and no doubt he will be elected for it as long as he wishes to take his seat in this House. In order to destroy the impression of that “unfortunate speech,” as the hon. member for Chateauguay calls it, I mention this. I think it is a speech that the hon. gentleman will regret as long as he lives—this attempt to destroy the harmony that has continued so long, not only in Lower Canada but throughout the Dominion. At all events the Government of Lower Canada were determined that the Protestants should have justice and they will not endorse the sentiments of the Hon. Postmaster-General but will repudiate them as sentiments that should never have been uttered. Mr. Speaker, we have not claimed anything that is not right; we have not claimed as rights anything that should not have been claimed. What do we ask? The hon. gentleman says the Roman Catholic Clergy interfere in elections; that is the basis of his argument; that is the reason why he scents “war” in Lower Canada. But what do the hierarchy, what do the Priests, what do the Roman Catholics of Lower Canada do? Do they act differently from what the Roman Catholic Priests

in Ontario do? Are they not citizens of Canada, with the rights of citizenship? Does any one wish to deprive the hon. gentleman of his rights as a citizen? Then why does he wish to deprive our Bishops and Priests of their rights? Surely the Government will not try to do such an injustice as to deprive a large and respectable body of gentlemen of their rights; those rights they must have and must keep, and no doubt shall keep. But the hon. gentleman the President of the Council gives the support of his voice, his name and his position to this; he wishes to make a separation between Church and State; he wishes to show that the Priests and the Bishops must confine themselves to religious matters; that is to say, all these matters that belong to the Church, and that are treated in the Church, in the pulpit and in the vestry. But he says when you are to build canals or legislate on matters of public works surely you can differ from your neighbour and be a Catholic the same as before. I know, and he knows that in this House, and in the Local Legislature, we have not only to deal with canals, railways and public works, but we will have other matters—for instance, the question of divorce, which is considered by our Church as a matter in which the Church has a great deal to say. Will the hon. gentleman say that the Priests shall have nothing to say in this matter which is against the teachings of his Church? Surely as a citizen he should recognize the Roman Catholic clergy and their right in this question, in which they exercise so much influence for the good of their country. You have never seen the Roman Catholic clergy of Quebec disloyal; they have always upheld the supremacy of Great Britain in this country, and the Mother Country never had, and never will have, more thoroughly loyal and devoted subjects than the priests of Lower Canada and of the Dominion. I do not want to detain the House much longer, but I must repeat that it is unfortunate that the Hon. the First Minister of the Crown should not come down and say openly whether the doctrines propounded by the Postmaster General are the doctrines that he professes. As long as the Postmaster

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General sits alongside of him in the same Cabinet he is responsible for his opinions as a Minister of the Crown. These statements have been made by the hon. gentleman, and he has stated that they were the views of his colleagues, that they were the doctrines of his colleagues, and if they were otherwise he would certainly resign his seat. Has he resigned his seat? Has he gone out of the Government? Has he repudiated these doctrines? No, he has not; he remains there, the same doctrines remain there, the same wish on the part of the First Minister to retain the Roman Catholics in Lower Canada is there, yet the President of the Council remains and supports him. He has been called upon by the hon. member for Terrebonne to say whether the First Minister accepts these doctrines or not; but I need not say a word more than the written declaration that he read to the House. He was so afraid of uttering a word that would compromise his colleagues about these doctrines that he would not risk himself otherwise than by a written speech. It is a proper thing the country should know that the Hon. President of the Council, when called upon by members of this House and of his own Province—when called upon to speak—could not give an answer. Mr. Speaker, Lower Canada will know it, and the answer from the people will, no doubt, be of the same character as the answer Lower Canada has given since the speech of the Postmaster General. The first answer was given in Chambly, where the people said it was an unfortunate speech, and sent to this House a member to oppose the Government. The county of Charlevoix has given the same answer. They repudiated the member who had so long supported the hon. gentleman opposite, brought down his majority of 700, and elected me by a majority of 211.

Mr. DEVLIN—The question submitted by the hon. member for Chateauguay has evoked a discussion which imposes upon me the obligation of offering a few remarks on the subject before it is finally disposed of. I am not surprised at the question submitted by the honourable gentleman. I am aware that the speech of the

Hon. Postmaster General has evoked a very strong feeling in the Province of Quebec, that it has not subsided up to the present moment, and I think all things considered it is well these matters should be fairly ventilated on the floor of this House. It should not be left in the power of those who are so ready and willing to profit by every word spoken in order to damage the Reform party in this country. I say at once as an Irishman and a Catholic that I do not concur in the remarks of the Hon. Postmaster General, and I am obliged to say that it was a most unfortunate speech. I have no hesitation in adding that it has placed a weapon in the hands of our opponents which they have, up this moment, very successfully used, and one which they will continue to use until it has become so worn out and effaced that they will be ashamed to use it any longer. Now I believe I am justified in saying there is not a Catholic in Quebec who respects the pastor of his church who can give any adhesion to the opinions enunciated by the Postmaster General. It is impossible for Catholics to stand up in this House, in my humble judgment, and defend that speech, but I say plainly, that the hon. gentleman who spoke last looks upon it as a Godsend to the Opposition, because really without that speech I do not know what subject the hon. gentleman could address himself to in this House that would be palatable to his readers outside of it. I do not know any subject which could excite his eloquence except the speech which I call unfortunate, but which he ought to call very fortunate indeed. It would seem, from the remarks of the hon. member for Terrebonne, that he styles himself leader of the Ultramontane Catholics. Now the question will be decided very shortly who is the leader—whether it is the hon. member for Charlevoix or the hon. member for Terrebonne. It strikes me very forcibly, from certain indications which are quite remarkable here this evening, there will be some rivalry in the Opposition ranks, and that some one will not have exactly a bed of roses to lie upon on that side of the House. However, I think it proper to say I was surprised when I heard the hon. member for Terrebonne describe

himself as the Leader of the Ultramontanes.

Mr. MASSON—I did not.

Mr. DEVLIN—Then I am in error, but I know no such Catholics in Quebec or elsewhere. All who belong to the Roman Catholic Church are of the one faith; there are no sections. You cannot call a Catholic by any other name and, therefore, when we are spoken of as Ultramontane Catholics we are spoken of in a manner which is not understood by those who are Catholics. It would seem from the remarks that have been addressed to this House that a huge conspiracy was organized by the Government of this country, having for its object the annihilation of the Catholics of Quebec. I have unlimited confidence in the justice and fairness of the hon. gentleman who leads this Government. I believe the Catholics of this country have no reason to fear hostility from that quarter.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings)—You have more confidence than Father Dowd has in you.

Mr. DEVLIN—I believe the hon. member for Hastings is a leader of the Orange Brotherhood. He sits very near the hon. member for Terrebonne, and shakes hands with the hon. member for Charlevoix. He has, on more than one occasion, nodded his head approvingly when he heard that our religious institutions were in danger. It must be a great consolation to the leader of the Ultramontanes, and still greater for the hon. member for Charlevoix, to have their speeches, their Catholic speeches, endorsed by a Grand Master of the Orangemen. I wonder if that hon. gentleman, who has spoken so loudly and so zealously in defence of Catholic rights, would go down to Charlevoix tomorrow or next day and stand on the platform addressing himself to the honest French Canadians, and say: "I spoke that speech in the House, and the man who applauded me loudest was a leader of the Orangemen." It is well known, and it may be as well to say it now, that all the vitality, or nearly all of it, that is to be found in the Opposition ranks emanates from the Orange Society of this Dominion. They could not exist

a week if it were not for the support they receive from that quarter; and yet some Catholic leaders of the Opposition have had the temerity to rise in this House and proclaim their Catholicity and our anti-Catholicity. As a Catholic I have unbounded confidence in the justice and fairness of the present Government, and I believe that at the present day the Catholic religion and every religion which is known in this Dominion is surrounded by all the safeguards which can possibly be required at the hands of those who desire to exercise it in this country. I think there is not, perhaps, in the wide world a country that can boast such freedom as we enjoy, and I believe that no one, whether he be a Minister of the Crown or simply a member of the House, will be permitted to create religious turmoil and confusion in this country. I believe the good sense of the country would stamp out any attempt of that kind the moment it is made, and that the people of this country understand well that the man who would seek to embroil us in religious animosities would be regarded as the worst enemy of the Dominion. I believe so far as the present Government have gone on, they have conducted the Government of this country with impartiality and integrity. I ask any gentleman on the other side of the House in the ranks of the Opposition to point to one single measure, emanating from the present Government or their supporters, having for its object the overthrow of the Catholic religion, tending to impair its usefulness, or tending in any manner or form to cast impediments or obstructions in its way? It is impossible for any gentlemen to do so. Therefore I feel that I am justified, so long as the Government is conducted as it is now, in raising my humble voice on the floor of this House in defense of a Government founded upon justice and impartiality. I might be permitted to say that all the difficulty which we labour under in the Province of Quebec, all the discussions which have taken place there for some time back in religious matters of an acrimonious nature, have been begotten by the leaders of the Opposition in that Province. I tell them

Mr. DEVLIN.

they trade in this, that they know in their hearts they dare not stand up in this House and say the Catholic Church is in danger from any act of this Government. The difficulties in Quebec have been inspired by the leaders of the Opposition, and to such an extent has it been carried out, that a man who is called a Reformer and a Catholic is pointed out by these gentlemen as a very dangerous individual who ought to be muzzled or put into that lunatic asylum which the hon. gentleman says the DeBoucherville Government was willing to grant to the Protestants. Speaking of that subject the hon. gentleman from Terrebonne said, "See how liberal we are in Quebec! A deputation went to the Capital of the Province and asked for a Lunatic Asylum. Mr. DeBoucherville said, "If you don't want to put your patients in the lunatic asylum we will give you one for yourselves." And, why not? Is not that the right of the Protestants? One would suppose from the way the Protestants of Quebec have been spoken of by the leaders of the Opposition, that they were a body of paupers depending upon the charity of the party with which the hon. member for Charlevoix is associated, and when any justice is done to them in Quebec the hon. members for Terrebonne and Charlevoix raise their hands and say, "see what we have done!" They forget there are others besides Tories among those who have done acts of justice to the Protestants of Quebec. I deny that the Protestants of that Province have got more than their rights. They have the privilege of educating their own children, so have the Catholics in Ontario; and so, I hope, will the Catholics of New Brunswick at no distant day.

Mr. PICARD—They have it now.

Mr. DEVLIN—I heard the hon. member for Charlevoix say that the Leader of the Government is in accord with the speech delivered by the Postmaster General. I understand from what he said he is not. It is possible, even if the Premier were to swear to it, that the hon. gentleman opposite would say there was some reserve. I understood the Leader of the Government to say he was not in accord with the speech, and further,

that he would countenance no act or measure calculated to create religious difficulties in this Dominion; that he was in favor of equal rights to all, and that he was prepared to protect, as far as he could, the citizens of the Dominion in the exercise of those rights. I understood him to say that, and I shall conclude by reiterating my confidence in the Government, and expressing my regret that the Postmaster General delivered the speech he did deliver.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) — Every Catholic in this Dominion will be pleased to hear from the Irish gentleman, the leader of the Canadian Catholics, that the Government is not prepared to introduce legislation injuriously affecting them; yet that gentleman who would not hear a Minister of his Church insulted is the same who stood up here last session and said the statement of the Bishop of New Brunswick was not correct, and who had recently insulted Father Dowd. The hon. member says the hon. gentleman from Terrebonne is my leader. I will admit that I would ten times sooner acknowledge him as my leader than sit in company with the hon. member for Montreal Centre.

Mr. DEVLIN—The hon. gentleman may rely upon it, he will never be in my company, nor I in his. The gulf that separates us is too wide.

Mr. WHITE—Let me tell the hon. member, I have no desire to be in the company of one who sympathises with those who are rebellious to the British Crown. I will tell the hon. gentleman another fact, that I want no association with a man who was accused by the public press of this country with being in sympathy with those who took the life of an eminent Irish statesman because he stood in his way.

Mr. DEVLIN—Oh!

Several Members—Order! shame! etc.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) — Mr. Speaker, I wish to say to the hon. gentleman that when he interrupts me I will defend myself. I did not intend to say anything to injure the feelings of any party.

Mr. DEVLIN—You cannot injure me, Sir.

Mr. WHITE—The hon. gentleman, I presume, is beyond injury.

Mr. DEVLIN—I have no doubt, I am beyond injury from you.

Mr. WHITE—The hon. gentleman must bear in mind that he has no right to say anything against the society that I have the honor to be a member of. The sentiments of that society are the sentiments which have just been uttered by the hon. member for Terrebonne. I want to tell the hon. member for Quebec Centre, who interrupted me, that the *Globe* once said his dishonest acts smelled to Heaven. I want to tell the Hon. the President of the Council that it was necessary for the members for Montreal East and Jacques Cartier to drag him through the Lachine Canal to so cleanse him as to——

Mr. SPEAKER—I shall have to call the hon. member to order.

Mr. WHITE—I will apologise if I said anything which is out of place. Let me just say, that so far as the member for Terrebonne is concerned, I made a remark, and then the hon. gentlemen opposite raised some hisses at the sentiments I uttered, which I believe to be correct, and for which he worked in every part of the country, impressing upon people to attend to their own Church and opinions. That is the sentiment of the Orange institution. They are ready to defend and maintain their own right and give every man the right to worship according to his own conscience. I ask you, now, if I am wrong? That was the explanation, Mr. Speaker, I was going to make when interrupted. This discussion is unfortunate, but it was brought on by the hon. member for Chateauguay. The hon. gentleman complains that I should get up and not endorse the remarks of the Postmaster General. Who can do that what he has not got the courage and independence to say that "those are my sentiments and I will stand by them." He said they were the sentiments of his colleague. The Protestant horse has often been set up by the ministerial parties of this country.

Not long ago the *Globe* rode the Protestant horse, but where is it now? And, Mr. Speaker, who can forget the time when the hon. member for South Ontario ran in Lambton, when the present Premier made it a charge against him for standing in the streets of Quebec and looking at the Host as it passed? Who can forget the time when the hon. member for Bruce brought in his resolutions in the Local House to give a reward for the apprehension of the murderers of Scott, and that he was the first in this House to support a motion for granting the same murderers an amnesty? All these matters can be brought up plainly before the people of this country, and now the Protestants of Upper Canada say that the Postmaster General has denounced the Church of Rome, and must keep within bounds. Before I take my seat, I desire to say that I did not intend to say anything offensive or out of order. This is the first time, Mr. Speaker, you have risen to call me to order, but I intend, when any hon. gentleman interrupts me, to strike back as hard as I know how.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON — Mr. Speaker, I think at this stage of the discussion a few remarks from me will be in order. I made a speech in Argenteuil which has been very generally discussed. It was not a religious speech; it was a speech which, so far as I was concerned, had no reference to religion. It was a speech which opened up subjects which I had no intention to discuss in this House, because I should be sorry to follow the example of those who preceded me and enter so largely into a religious disputation. It was a speech pronounced by myself in my native Province of Quebec to the people whom I may call my own people, upon what I regard important subjects in which they are concerned. No member of the Government is responsible for that speech, and I have the right to express my individual opinions there to my own people. The opinions which I expressed are my opinions; they were my opinions then and are my opinions now. And when I hear gentlemen like my hon. friend from Montreal Centre expressing his grief, I feel regret that he has never seen my letter, by which it is made plain that

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my speech went no further than his. In the province of Quebec there is a great deal of bitterness in politics, and matters had come to such a point that it was a reproach to be a Liberal Catholic. I do not know enough of theology to discuss the point, but I think Chief Justice Dorion is just as good a Christian and a better leader than the hon. member for Terrebonne, who is styled the leader of the Ultramontanes. Looking at the great conflict going on in Lower Canada, and being among my own people—the people over whom I desired to exercise a certain influence—which intention I then and there described, I spoke to them of the dreads I had of the Ultramontanes, and I asked them to give to the Liberals their aid. This is the head and front of my offending, so far as I am concerned. I said, what I say now, that they ought to do it, and I believe they will do it. And I hope that the Liberals of Quebec will not be frightened by the almost universal expression of this House, that such sentiments are to be repudiated. I repeat that I am not ashamed of my alliance with the Liberals of Quebec. They, like me, have held up free institutions against influences so powerful that the hon. member for Charlevoix dare not down in his own county, make a speech like the one the hon. member for Montreal Centre made. I don't wish to enter upon any further discussion of my speech. It was a simple appeal to my own people, telling them what I believed to be the dangers of the country and asking them to support those who upheld the views I believe to be sound in politics. I am not ashamed of that speech, but I deeply regret it has caused this discussion, and I regret more still that it has placed such a friend as the hon. member for Montreal Centre in an embarrassing position. I was not speaking as a Minister, but as a Lower Canadian and a citizen of that Province. I said there what I repeat here. I repeat that the true course of the British population in Quebec to-day is to ally themselves with the Liberals in their effort to maintain free institutions.

Hon. MALCOLM CAMERON—It is time a little common sense entered into this discussion. I am proud that my

hon. friend has spoken exactly. He did not go there to preach religion; he was there talking politics, and said, what everyone knows, that there were two parties in Lower Canada, and that one party he considered were ultra in their views and under the influence of Ultramontaniam. There was another party who were Liberal; and they were his bosom friends. What has been the tone and theme of these discussions, that he had abused the Catholic Church and thrown contempt upon it. Was there any allusion of the kind in the speech? The Postmaster General very properly drew his opponents into it. Does any man of common sense suppose a man goes to a public meeting to abuse his own friends—to abuse that large body of Catholics all over the country who are at his back and always supported him. The House was evidently carried away by the speech of the member for Charlevoix, which was certainly very able; but its whole object was to endeavour to do what the newspapers thoroughly enough do outside—throw dust into the people's eyes. It is like that clause of the Supreme Court Bill that ran the round of the whole Conservative Press. It is like the resignation of Mr. Cartwright the other day, and there is just as much justification, in truth, to believe that the hon. member for Shefford went to Lower Canada and abused the Catholics. Any one who runs away with such an idea of the speech, labours under some extraordinary hallucination, and although it may make amusement in the House to have a discussion about Orangeism and other things which are pleasant enough in the beginning of the session, no member believes it will lead to any desirable result.

Mr. WORKMAN—I do not wish to intrude upon the House, but the hon. member for East Hastings (Mr. White) said something concerning myself. I have very lately been returned from what I conceived to be a very close and bitter political contest. The constituency I have the honor to represent is composed one-half of Protestants and the other half of Catholics. I am an extreme Protestant; probably my religious views in the Protestant faith go to the same

extreme as those of the hon. member for Terrebonne go in the Catholic.

Mr. MASSON—I deny it entirely.

Mr. WORKMAN—Very well; I merely mentioned this question of religion to point my explanation. It is quite true one or two bitter political enemies attacked me in the newspapers, which fell entirely dead and produced no result. I have very great pleasure indeed in stating that my Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, both French Canadians and Irish, came forward and supported me with unanimity and sincerity of feeling, for which I feel deep gratitude. It was through their exertions that I am present in this House to-night, and I can say that the constituency which I represent is entirely free from religious intolerance and religious bigotry. I regret that this question has been brought up here. With regard to the speech of the Hon. Postmaster General, none of us are perfect, and may make remarks in speeches we may regret. It would probably have been better that the speech had never been made, and I think the Opposition are delighted to take hold of it in the hope of using it to the injury of the Government. On this question of religion, I have the utmost faith in the Government of the day. I am satisfied so long as the Hon. Premier, who at present conducts the business of this House presides over the Council, that every religion will receive that justice and impartiality to which it is entitled. The hon. member for East Hastings stated that I had used my influence in bringing out a charge against my opponent of being a Freemason. I want to explain that I knew nothing about that document, or the printing and publishing of it.

Mr. WHITE—I did not say that.

Mr. WORKMAN—I beg pardon; you said the member for Montreal West.

Mr. WHITE—I said it was used for the member Montreal West.

Mr. WORKMAN—I accept the explanation, and will not detain the House further.

Mr. RYMAL—The Roman Catholics, Mr. Speaker, are too important and powerful a body to be trampled under foot in the Dominion

of Canada. They have had concessions made to them, which were nothing more than justice to both parties; they know their strength, and have no fears depend on it. That is not the cause of the attack upon my hon. friend from Sheffield. That is not the cause of the onslaught on him to-day. He performed something, less than three years ago, which rankles in the bosoms of his opponents even to-day. The flesh-pots were withdrawn from their custody and they wish once more to revel in them. So long as the Liberal party is united they know very well their chances are small and that the bones they have to pick will be hardly worth taking up. It is because he was instrumental in formulating charges which led to their overthrow that they seek to wreak their vengeance upon him at this time. I have privately heard that members of the Opposition have said they will pursue him to the death I mean political death and they are on his track now. He knows full well who are seeking his downfall, and they know as well as he knows that they do not fear for the fall of the Catholic Church. As I said before, that is an excuse, for the Roman Catholic Church, if they have had anything, have had more than justice done them from each party. As a Protestant, I say they stand in a favored position, and they know full well there is no danger of the Church. I rejoice at the manly, out-spoken manner in which my friend uttered the remarks he made. If there is anything I dislike more than another it is one of those mealy-mouthed politicians who, when he has spoken, one hardly knows what he thinks. I have long admired my hon. friend, and he has raised himself in my estimation for his manly utterances to-night.

Mr. GORDON—Mr. Speaker, I have a few words to offer on this subject. The hon. member for Terrebonne, in opening his speech, said that the sentiments he entertained with regard to the religious subject, were exactly in accord with the opinions expressed by the Hon. Leader of the Government: that was, that every religion should be permitted to exercise its freedom in this country. Now, Sir, I beg to draw the attention of the hon. gentleman,

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the Member for East Hastings, to what he stated when he said that the hon. member for Terrebonne expressed on that occasion precisely the same sentiments that he entertained concerning this matter; and I charge the hon. gentleman with giving utterance to what he must know is incorrect, to use the mildest term, for he professes to be in alliance with a powerful body which, in its constitution, is entirely antagonistic to the body of which the hon. member for Terrebonne claims to be the leader.

Hon. Members on the Left—No! No!!

Mr. GORDON—I repeat that it is entirely antagonistic.

Hon. Members—No! No!!

Mr. GORDON—I say so, Mr. Speaker, and I speak advisedly; I do not speak at random, because that hon. gentleman knows as well as he knows that he is sitting in his seat at the present moment, not only that he makes a vow, but that he is actually sworn—for such is the case—that he has actually taken an oath to oppose the Roman Catholic religion; and the hon. member for North Hastings well knows the form of that oath, for that gentleman is a Grand Master. I see the hon. member for Carleton smiling, but they are actually sworn, in place of supporting the sentiments to which they have given utterance by implication to-day, to oppose the very body with which they are now allied; and when I find gentlemen rising and for the sake of clap-trap, professing to oppose the sentiments to which the Postmaster General has given expression, in order to make political capital against the Leader of the Government, I think that if they are capable of such a feeling they ought to be ashamed of themselves, for on the 12th of July they make violent orations on these subjects against the Roman Catholic Church, while here they express sympathy for it. If they had a particle of honesty in their composition, they would applaud to the very echo the sentiments uttered by the Postmaster General, but they are far from being honest in the sentiments which they proclaim, and they show that the organization with which they stand im-

mediately connected, is not what it pretends to be. If we desired evidence to establish that it is an organization used for political purposes, we could want nothing further than the action which these gentlemen have taken to-day on the floor of this House with regard to the sentiments which have fallen from the Postmaster General.

Mr. BOWELL—I am sure that everyone is amused at the sentiments uttered by the hon. member, who has just taken his seat. I wish simply to draw attention to the fact that he knows as little of the Orange Association as he does of the institutions and system of government under which we live. Public men have a good right to draw a distinction between a religious body organized for religious purposes, and a body organized for political purposes, and when the hon. gentleman is capable of making that distinction between these two bodies, it will be time enough for him to lecture us on our duty, either as Orangemen or as Protestants. I should like to know what I have done during this discussion to have brought forth from the hon. member the remarks to which he has given utterance in regard to myself. I have sat, amused, I must confess, with this little family quarrel which has^d drifted altogether away from the question raised by the hon. member for Chateaugay, and so happily responded to by the hon. member for Terrebonne. I look upon this question as being one involving a great deal more than a matter merely affecting the religious opinions of the hon. members for Shefford and Terrebonne; a great principle of constitutional government is at stake in this relation, and if I understand aright, and if I understood the hon. member for Chateaugay aright, when he repudiated the sentiment uttered by the hon. member for Shefford, he raised such a constitutional question. I hold that under the English system of Responsible Government, as laid down by the great constitutional authorities—and by no one, perhaps, more forcibly than by the eminent statesman, who has been most successful in having that principle established in this country—that no honorable member of the Government has

the right to enunciate a principle, speaking on behalf of the Government, as did the hon. member for Shefford in this instance, unless he was speaking on behalf of the Administration, and that if the Cabinet repudiated his doctrines, he should resign his portfolio. This is what I understand to be the principle which controls our constitutional system in this respect. Now, Sir, what is the spectacle presented here to-night? The hon. member for Chateaugay, in a statesman-like manner, rises in his place and calls the attention of the Premier to the sentiments uttered by one of his colleagues, and asks him distinctly and pointedly whether they are the views of the Government, or whether he repudiates them. The Hon. Premier rises and tells the House that when the hon. member for Shefford left Ottawa, he—the Premier—was not aware that he was going into the county of Argenteuil; also, that the sentiments he uttered there were not enunciated at the instance of the Government, but he took good care, notwithstanding the fact that the question was put to him repeatedly, to refuse to say whether he was in accord with these opinions; and, to use the forcible language of the hon. member for Chateaugay, the Premier stopped at the most essential portion of the explanation he should have given. Now, Sir, when the hon. member for Montreal Centre spoke—he is not now in his place, and I do not intend to refer to him at length, but I may remark that his speech to-night is quite in accord with all those he has made since he occupied a seat on the floor of this House—and charged the members on the left of the Speaker with having taken advantage of the explanation, or half explanation given by the Premier, and trying to make political capital out of it; he forgot to mention that the first hon. member of the House who refused to accept the statement of the Premier as a full and explicit explanation, was one of the gentlemen most prominent in his party, and I do not hesitate to say one of the most valuable supporters of the Government. I think, Sir, that under these circumstances it is but quite right and proper that the gentlemen on this side

of the House, from a constitutional point, should be at least permitted to take the same ground as the hon. member for Chateaugay. It was most gratifying to me, as I believe it was to every member on this side of the House, to find, when a great constitutional principle was being violated, that the hon. member for Chateaugay, had the manliness and independence to rise and denounce it; and, when those gentlemen who have argued at such length and with such eloquence and force for the establishment of the great principle of Responsible Government in this country, have settled their little matter between themselves, then we shall be prepared, on this side of the House, to give an opinion upon their utterances, and draw conclusions as to the influence of their political sentiments upon their policy, when in or out of the House. It matters very little politically, whether the members on this side of the House and the hon. member for Terrebonne hold different religious views, or whether the hon. member for Montreal Centre thinks it just to throw a firebrand, as it were, into the House; but the discussion has gone further—and this main point has been overlooked altogether by everyone except by the hon. gentleman who raised the question—than was intended; the whole question respecting the introduction of religious topics into political discussions, and the attitude of the different political parties in this country, have been dragged into this debate, and very unfortunately, in my opinion. I am quite sure that the hon. member for Chateaugay never anticipated that this discussion was going to take so wide a range. When the hon. gentleman who represents so very unworthily the North Riding of Ontario—speaking in a political sense—dares to throw a slur upon the Conservative party in the contemptuous manner in which he has done to-day, I say it is but another display of the utter ignorance of that gentleman concerning the political past of this country; it becomes no one in political life, to have forgotten the difficulties through which politicians in Canada, and particularly the Conservative party in Ontario, have

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passed in times gone by. Now, Sir, you must be aware of the fact—and what member who has watched the course of politics during the past few years does not know—that the Conservative party of Ontario, and more particularly that section which belongs to the Orange body, was condemned from door to door by the party now in power, for daring to advocate equal rights to all. I have myself been personally attacked as a “green-backed Orangeman,” and “a white-livered Protestant,” when the Protestant howl was raised in Ontario by dishonourable politicians, because I defended my worthy predecessor who occupied a seat in the old Parliament of Canada, and advocated the endowment of all classes with equal rights and privileges, simply because I then echoed the opinions uttered to-day upon this question by the hon. gentleman who leads the Government, everyone knows, who knows anything of the politics of Canada during the last ten or fifteen years, that it was made an electioneering cry in every shanty, from every stump and every barn in Ontario, against Protestants and Orangemen in particular, who were condemned in the most violent manner possible, and against whom the most opprobrious epithets were hurled, simply because they refused to record their votes in favour of taking from their Roman Catholic fellow subjects the rights granted them by the Parliament of this country. Had the members on the opposite side of the House who applauded so vociferously a sentiment to which my hon. friend the member for East Hastings gave utterance, allowed him to complete his sentence, I am sure that many of those who raised the laugh would have completely changed their tone. He simply claimed equal rights and privileges for every subject of Her Majesty; and when the hon. member for Montreal Centre talked to this House about the member for Hastings, I know he meant his remarks for me, under the impression, I suppose, that I interrupted him, instead of my hon. friend for East Hastings. I tell that gentleman that it was due to the exertions and leadership of the right hon. member

for Kingston that the Roman Catholics enjoy the rights they now possess in Ontario, as proved by the votes recorded in the journals of this House, of the hon. gentleman who now leads the Government of this country.

Hon. Members—No! No! and it is true.

Mr. BOWELL.—I do not think, I repeat, that the hon. member for Chateauguay intended this discussion to go quite so far as it has done; but the hon. gentleman himself when he thought that he could make a point with reference to certain individuals, has not hesitated to prey upon the prejudices of a certain class of Her Majesty's subjects. He did not hesitate when he was canvassing in the City of Montreal to single out a gentleman contesting the constituency of Montreal West, as the personal and political friend of myself, who had taken such a prominent part, as he stated—in the expulsion and bringing to justice of a certain man in the North-West for a crime there committed, knowing well at the time that no statement which he could possibly make, could arouse the ire and prejudices of a class of the electors, so quickly as the declaration, that Mr. Thomas White was the personal and political friend of that fire-brand, Bowell, of North Hastings. I have his speech here, but I was not at all annoyed by it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I wish you would send it over; I would like to see it.

Mr. BOWELL—I will read it to you. The hon. gentleman said "I will ask Mr. White, if he will have the manliness to deny that he would not have done so"—that is, done as I had done in reference to the expulsion of Louis Riel.—"There," continued Mr. Holton, "can be no doubt of it, because he is bound in his daily utterances to his readers to give expression to his views in the paper which he owns; and there he lauded the course pursued in Parliament by Mr. Bowell, who brought before the House the motion for the expulsion of Riel." I do not find fault with the hon. gentleman for saying this.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I should think not.

Mr. BOWELL—I only point out to the House the fact, that the hon. member who took so much umbrage at the speech of the hon. member for Shefford, did not hesitate, when he could gain anything by so doing, to drag in all questions into the discussion calculated to excite opposition to one of the gentlemen engaged in that electoral contest.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That was a practical question in the then election.

Mr. BOWELL—It was not only a practical, but so far as I was concerned, a true position, but scarcely so correct with reference to Mr. Thomas White, the editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, who went no further, so far as I have any recollection—and I watch very closely the articles which appear in the *Gazette*—than to compliment me upon the manner in which I had conducted the case on that question, in having avoided, as much as possible, the introduction into the discussion of that acrimony and ill-feeling which I might have done. This was as far as that gentleman went, and for so doing he was held up as a bug-bear and a scare-crow, quite equal to myself, before the French Canadians of Montreal. I have no doubt but that the manœuvre had its desired effect, but that is not all!—If the hon. gentleman will refer to a late election contest, that took place near this city, in the County of Prescott, I believe, when Mr. Boyd was a candidate, he will find—what? That the Liberal party had at the time entered into a bargain with the Catholic League, by which they bound themselves by solemn covenant to assist in securing the election of a certain number of gentlemen, not on account, mind you, of their political views, but because they happened to belong to a certain nationality and a certain religion; and what Mr. Boyd afterwards declared was this: that although he was a Reformer, and although he had supported with all his energy and all his talents the then Government of the day in Ontario, he could not refrain from denouncing this Government as corrupt for introducing national and religious questions into the political contest then going on. He said that he had been offered, with the consent of Mr. Mackenzie, who was at

the time in the Ontario Legislature, the services of Mr. O'Donohoe, to be sent down into the County of Prescott in order to organize a Catholic League with the view of arousing the religious and national prejudices of this section of the population in favour of the candidate of the Government. He went further when he brought them to book regarding this matter, and he stated distinctly and positively that a letter was written him by his brother-in-law, the present Speaker of the Ontario Legislature, from the office of Blake, Kerr & Co., on this subject.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I think that if the hon. gentleman will look at the speech in question, he will find that this is a misstatement.

Mr. BOWELL—I have the speech, and will give the hon. gentleman the benefit of it, and we will see whether I have misstated that speech or not.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—At any rate, if it is not a misstatement, it is untrue.

Mr. BOWELL—That is quite another thing. Now, I see the advantage of keeping a scrap-book; no doubt, if I did not have it by me, he would have said that it was a misstatement and a misrepresentation, for such is my past experience of the Hon. the Minister of Justice.

Hon. Members—Order, order.

Mr. BOWELL—What he stated was this—

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Oh!

Mr. BOWELL—In support of the charge which had been made, and the charge was that the Government had offered to send Mr. O'Donohoe into the Riding in order to raise the religious cry—Mr. Boyd explained, that he could not in all conscientiousness support the Blake-Mackenzie administration, because they are corrupt, and because they had been engaged in an attempt to stir up religious animosities among the people in an underhand manner. In support of the charge, Mr. Boyd proceeded to read a letter which he then held in his hand, and which he said was written to him by a prominent Reformer, and without disclosing the name of the writer he had no objection to let the Postmaster

General, or any other gentleman, see the signature and satisfy himself as to its genuineness. The letter was dated in 1871, when the contest for the Local House was going on, and the writer, with, as he said, Mr. Mackenzie's approval, proposed sending down to the county of Prescott Mr. O'Donohoe to organize a branch of the Catholic League, which organization, the writer said, would materially aid him—Mr. Boyd—in the contest, and advance the interests of the Reform party. That he, Mr. Boyd, had refused to be a party to such a proceeding, calculated as it was to stir up religious animosities in a county hitherto free from them. He also charged the Blake-Mackenzie Government with having in two instances in the county of Prescott, offered conferred appointments as land valuers upon political opponents, &c. He also attacked Mr. Hagar. But we will let him go.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Mr. BOWELL—“Mr. Boyd, after loud calls on him to name the writer of the letter, said that it was addressed to him by a leading Reformer who is now the first Commoner in Ontario, the Hon. R. M. Wells, his own brother-in-law, and at the time the letter was written a member of the law firm of Blake, Kerr and Wells.”

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman has stated that the letter was written from the office of my firm. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wells had ceased to be my partner for some years.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—And as another matter of fact, there is not a word of truth in Mr. Boyd's statement.

Mr. BOWELL—I suppose the fact that Mr. Boyd was not in accord with the gentlemen who have formed the Catholic League, and who were then sending emissaries into every county and every Riding in the Province, would be quite sufficient to have him read out of the party of the hon. gentleman, and I have no doubt that they have read him out accordingly. That it should be denied at this late day that the gentleman mentioned told the truth, is not at all surprising to me.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I always denied it.

Mr. BOWELL.

Mr. BOWELL—I have only to say that I never heard the denial before, and that this is but another instance of the manner in which elections have been attempted to be carried in the Province of Ontario during the past ten or fifteen years, and also that these gentlemen when they attempt to hurl at this side of the House, and at the Conservative party, the introduction of religious animosities into political contests, forget their own actions, and their own manner of proceeding, precisely as the hon. member for Shefford has acted in this instance, making a speech for political effect, and the moment he is taken to task for it, they deny the real signification of these utterances, and say that he meant something else. It really must be amusing to every gentleman in the House, who knows the hon. member for Shefford, to find that he pleaded ignorance as to the meaning of the word Ultramontane; it was a source of great amusement to myself. I must confess, if the statement had come from a more humble member of the party, one could have excused him, and one might have supposed that he had not written that letter for political effect; but when an hon. gentleman, so well read as he is, and who takes a very prominent part in religious discussions, if my recollection serves me, in connection with his own church in Lower Canada, says that he does not know what is the meaning of the word Ultramontane, it was a source to everyone of my friends who read it of nothing but amusement, and I must confess, sir, that it created a feeling of utter and thorough contempt for him in the mind of those who approved of the sentiments which he proclaimed in that speech.

Mr. MILLS—What does it mean?

Mr. BOWELL—I refer my hon. friend to the *Globe* of the 8th of the present month, which contains an article of about two columns in length, giving explanations as to the differences between Ultramontanism and Gallicanism; and he will find out all he wants to know. I am quite satisfied that the hon. member is not as ignorant as he pretends to be, in assuming the role that has been taken by the hon.

member for Shefford, and in trying to make the House believe that when he uttered an appeal in order to stir up religious feelings against Mr. White of Montreal, as an ally of the Roman Catholics, he meant something else. If he is really ignorant of the meaning of the words, I am quite prepared to tell him if he will meet me on any occasion. If I supposed for a moment that he was ignorant of, or that a single man in the House did not know the signification of the term Ultramontanism, then I should be prepared to explain it to him now. The hon. member for Montreal Centre says, that there is no such thing as Ultramontanism at the present day, that they were all Catholics and hold the same religious views, though we find by the letter written by the member for Halifax, that all Catholics at the present day are Ultramontanes, and The hon. member who has written that letter can explain what Ultramontanism is, so that there must be at least not a unity of sentiment among themselves as to the meaning of the word. The position of the Postmaster General to-day is precisely the position of every member of the Liberal party in Ontario. They go into a constituency where they know that a violent tirade against Roman Catholicism will have its effect, and they do not hesitate to denounce Ultramontanism and the Catholics of Quebec; but the moment they go into a constituency where the Roman Catholics predominate, they preach a different doctrine. Why did the Hon. Postmaster General make that speech in Argenteuil? Does not every member know that Argenteuil is largely a Protestant constituency; that a very large proportion of the electors hold extreme views upon this subject? And did he not know when they raised the Freemason cry in Montreal, that it was to prey upon the prejudices of the Roman Catholics? Both being used in order to stir up the prejudices of the people. The Roman Catholics hold extreme views on the question of Freemasonry; but they may be honest in their belief that Freemasonry is not right. But, when the hon. member for East Hastings said that the sentiments uttered by the

hon. member for Terrebonne at the dinner in Montreal, were the sentiments of every honest man in the country, and of every Liberal man; that, while he condemned Freemasonry, he was prepared to elect Protestants who joined that society, and that no Liberal Catholic should refuse his vote on that account; I say, as a Conservative of Ontario, and as an Orangeman, and I do not hesitate to announce on behalf of that body, that these are the sentiments we entertain in reference to that matter. If Ultramontaneism becomes a question, in the battle which the Postmaster General speaks of, there will be no difficulty in placing myself, and those I am connected with in this country; Roman Catholics are one all over the world, and there is no distinction; *Liberals* and *Blues*, as well as *Rouges*, all declare they are Ultramontanes; the Protestant Conservatives of Ontario have the right therefore to select the candidate whom they think is most in accord with their political views, without being accused of prostituting their religious opinions. One gentleman is an advocate of protection in this country; another holds the same religious views, but he differs from him in his views on political questions, being in fact a Free-trader, does it follow that because I hold different religious views from him, we cannot agree on a trade policy? I select that member who, I believe, holds views most in accord with my political sentiments, and, as long as religion is left out, I am quite willing and prepared to work harmoniously with him. But there is no difference in sentiment between my hon. friend from Terrebonne, and the Liberal Catholics of Lower Canada, on the question of religion, at least the Liberals say so; and as long as they are one on that question, Protestants are at liberty to ally themselves with those most in accord with their political sentiments without being accused of inconsistency; but when the time for that battle comes, spoken of by the Hon. Postmaster General, it will be found that I shall be ready to do battle with the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman might possibly have been selected as one of the leaders, and he might have suc-

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ceeded me in the Orange Society if he had not backed down so ignominiously from the position taken in his Argenteuil speech, when called to book by the member for Halifax. I like a man to have positive sentiments on any subjects, whether political or religious, and when these sentiments are attacked to stand up and defend them. It is all very well for the hon. gentleman to say that he spoke on his own behalf; it is all very well for the Premier to say the Postmaster General spoke only on his own behalf, but that doctrine is not that which should govern a great party in this country. It is a direct blow—a second or a third one—that these hon. gentlemen have made at the true principles of Responsible Government since they have held office; last year, in abnegating their right to advise upon great state questions as in the North-West difficulty by preventing discussion in adjourning the House over and over again to evade the motion of the hon. member for Frontenac. The Hon. Postmaster General says he always preached these sentiments, but he says he was not fairly reported. The hon. gentleman should not repudiate the speech as reported in his own organ, the *Montreal Herald*. But it is always the same; whenever their speeches, as reported in their own organs, are calculated to do injury to their party, they get up and repudiate their own utterances. The hon. gentleman said the sentiments that he uttered at Argenteuil were his sentiments, and further that if the Government, of which he is an important member, did not hold these sentiments, and were not prepared to maintain them at all hazards, he would be prepared to resign his seat in the Cabinet. The Hon. Premier has refused to answer the question of the Member for Chateauguay, and the Postmaster General is prepared to keep his place in the Cabinet. If the hon. gentleman had the feeling which ought to characterize and govern an adviser of His Excellency, he would have thrown up his position long ago and made way for a gentleman more in accord with the views of his leader.

Mr. BECHARD—If the House would be so indulgent, I would like to

make a few brief observations on the question before the House, as a Catholic, as a French Canadian, and as a member of the *Parti National* of the Province of Quebec. My hon. friend from Terrebonne has attacked the speech delivered in the County of Argenteuil by the Hon. the Postmaster General, which has become so famous during the past few weeks; and he regards this speech as inopportune, imprudent and dangerous; and I must say that I share this opinion with my hon. friend. I cannot approve of a certain portion of the speech delivered in the county of Argenteuil by the Hon. the Postmaster General; and, although after the explanations he has given, I am quite convinced that his intention was not to say as much as his words implied, yet I must tell him that he said too much, and things of which I cannot approve. But, I am free to say, that while I repudiate the speech of the Postmaster General, I believe it was, to some extent, provoked by the conduct of the leaders of the Conservative party and the writings of the Conservative press. My hon. friend for Terrebonne has not forgotten, and will not deny the correctness of the statement, that for some years past the Liberal party and the *Parti National* of the Province of Quebec have been denounced by the Conservative press, and upon the hustings at each election, as composed of men hostile to the Roman Catholic Church; and at the greater number of the elections, the *Parti National*, and the Liberals of the Province of Quebec, of which I am a member, have been represented—and for many years back—by our political adversaries, the Conservatives or their writers, as composed of men unworthy of being entrusted with the interests of the country. My hon. friend has expressed the opinion that it was a dangerous thing to mingle religious questions with the discussion of political questions, and I am entirely of his opinion. My hon. friend has expressed such an opinion, and I admired him for giving utterance to such views. He made the same declaration at St. Croix on the occasion of the local elections in the Province of Quebec, and I would be exceedingly

happy if my hon. friend could induce the party of which he is leader to make the same professions.

Mr. MASSON—I represent faithfully the views of the Conservative party regarding this question.

Mr. BECHARD—Very well. I am extremely pleased with the statement of my hon. friend. I do not doubt that this is his personal opinion. He made the same statement at St. Croix regarding this point, and I am quite sure that this is his real opinion; the only thing I regret is the attitude of the Conservative party and of the Conservative press, which do not profess the same opinions or, at least, do not put them into practice. It has been pretended that the Conservative party of the Province of Quebec has been friendly to the clergy, and that the Conservatives of the Province of Quebec have given to the Catholic clergy of Lower Canada that respect and obedience to which, owing to their virtues, they are justly entitled. Granted: but further, this is exactly the position taken by the *Parti National* of the Province of Quebec. This party does not refuse to the clergy that high esteem, respect and obedience to which they have a just right. The *Parti National* of the Province of Quebec does not deny that the priest possesses the rights of a citizen—a matter in which my hon. friend for Charlevoix is largely interested. In point of fact this doctrine is not only shared in by the Conservative party, but also by the *Parti National*. But, I must infer from the remarks of my hon. friend from Charlevoix, that he thinks the priest has the right to speak in favor of such and such a candidate from the pulpit? I do not think so,—else it would be necessary to believe that the priests have alone the right to control the politics of the country, and at the elections to impose their will upon the electors; and it would be also necessary to conclude, if the pretensions of the Conservative party in this respect were admitted to be well founded, that to be a Catholic it is requisite to be also a Conservative. But, Mr. Speaker, I hope I will never be placed in the alternative of becoming a Conservative or else of ceasing to be a Catholic. I

am a member of the *Parti National* of the Province of Quebec, and I believe I am as orthodox and as sincere a friend of the religious institutions of that Province as my hon. friend from Terrebonne, and even the hon. member for Charlevoix. I would repeat my hope that the hon. member for Terrebonne will endeavour to impose upon his party, and the Conservative organs, the opinions and the principles he professes, and that they will no longer denounce and point out as worthy of public animadversion, the members of the Liberal party of Quebec. During a number of years past it is well known that a great many of the elections in Quebec have been carried on on that basis, and that many French Canadian Conservatives have spoken more of religion than of politics on the hustings, and have denounced the members of our party as being hostile to the Catholic Church, to sustain whom or elevate to power would be to materially damage the interests of the Church. This is the manner, Mr. Speaker, in which the Conservatives have been conducting the elections. My hon. friend for Terrebonne in his speech, made allusion to the fact that, on the occasion of the recent elections, he sustained and advised his French Canadian Catholic friends to sustain a man who was a Freemason, although on this point he was not in accord with the principles held by the religious press of Quebec and the articles published a few years ago by the *Nouveau Monde* against Freemasonry. My hon. friend is well aware that the Catholic Church has denounced the system of Freemasonry, and he also well knows that his principal organ, the *Nouveau Monde*, publicly denounced Freemasonry as being antagonistic to the interests of the Church, though it is true that in connection with the election to which they have referred, the *Nouveau Monde* was silent and even sustained the candidature of Mr. Thomas White, whilst the candidature was repudiated by the *Journal de Trois Rivières*, also an organ of the religious press.

Mr. MASSON—Do I understand the hon. member to say that he himself repudiates the position I have taken, which I took at Montreal, which was

that when a Protestant presents himself before the electors we are obliged to take him as he is, and if he is a Freemason, that we have a right to vote for him? I understand that he opposes this view.

Mr. BECHARD—Not at all. The hon. member does not comprehend me if that is his impression. I do not disapprove of his conduct, for under the same circumstances I would do the same thing. I never make an appeal to religious passions when I am called upon to discuss political questions, and I am certain that the opinions I hold with regard to religious questions are as liberal as those entertained by the hon. member. No matter what views a man may entertain, if he hold them conscientiously he is entitled to my respect—it is his business, not mine; and with reference to purely political matters, it does not matter with me whether a man be a Catholic or Protestant, for I hold that religious questions should not be introduced into the discussion of politics. The Hon. the President of the Council has made allusion, in his reply, to the duty of submission to the Catholic Church on religious questions under certain circumstances, and I am of the same opinion. With regard to such occasions, I am of the same opinion—as that to which my hon. friend from Charlevoix referred.—For instance; the American war for independence, or on such occasions as when the social system is threatened with anarchy. On such occasions, I hold it is not only the right, but the duty of the clergy, as well as of all honest men, to aid in the maintenance of public order; and, at the same time, I agree with my hon. friend the President of the Council, that when mixed questions present themselves, the Church has the right to receive from the State what she considers proper legislation. But when purely political questions are at issue, as in connection with the elections of members for this House, I hold that I have the right to sustain the candidate belonging to my party, whether he be a Catholic or a Protestant, without being obliged to enquire into the question of his religious belief. His belief is neither an objection, in my opinion, to his candidature,

Mr. BECHARD.

nor does it bind me to work for him, for I look at his position from a practical and political stand point, and that suffices. It is not sufficient to tell me that such a man is a Catholic to make me believe that he is an honest man; he may be an honest man, or he may be a thief. Neither is it sufficient to say he is a Protestant to make me believe that he is a wretch (*un misérable*), for he may be a Protestant and still be a perfectly honourable man. This is the position taken by the *Parti National* on this question. It is to be deeply regretted that in the Province of Quebec, the religious question has been introduced into political discussions. It is well known that the Conservative press, or, at least, a part of it, has treated the members of the Liberal Party during the past fifteen or twenty years in the character of Communists, *Communards*, and *Nationards*; and they have endeavoured to establish a comparison between the members of our party and the most wretched beings in the world, the French Socialists. This is what they have sought to make the electors of Quebec believe, representing that a member of the Liberal party sympathises with the subversive and utterly absurd doctrines of the French Socialists; at each election this is a plank in the Conservative platform—a deplorable state of things. With reference to the speech pronounced by the Postmaster General in Argenteuil, I maintain that it was provoked to a certain extent by the conduct of the Conservative press in constantly introducing religious questions into the discussion of political matters whenever opportunity offered. I trust that my hon. friend from Terrebonne, will, as I have already remarked, induce his party to adopt his personal opinions; and I am certain that if they had been held and observed by the Conservative party no such speech as that which I regret to have been made in Argenteuil would have ever been delivered.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—If no other hon. gentleman has any observations to offer, perhaps, as I incurred or assumed the grave responsibility of giving rise to this discussion, I may be permitted to say a very few words in

connection with the discussion on this paragraph, or rather avail myself of the right of speaking on the subsequent paragraph. I have very little, indeed, to say; the object I had in view was to obtain the explanation which I did from my hon. friend, the First Minister, and to ascertain from my distinguished friend whether he approves of this speech of the Postmaster General in the County of Argenteuil. I felt that this speech was a deadly blow at the existence and the very life of the party, which I have spent my whole political life in endeavouring to build up and sustain according to the measure of my humble ability. I felt, Sir, that we the members of the Liberal party of the Province of Quebec, were entitled to know, and to know at the earliest possible moment, whether the sentiments of that speech had the approval of the head of the Government, or of the Government at large, of which the Postmaster General was a member. The answer, although not quite so explicit on the constitutional point concerning the general responsibility of Ministers for each other's views as I could have desired, I take to be a satisfactory answer to this question, and the Hon. the First Minister has not ventured to give his assent to the doctrines of the Argenteuil speech. I assume, therefore, that he condemns those doctrines, because that condemnation is implied in his statement of his individual views, supported as his statement is by his uniform line of conduct as a public man. That part of his statement, as I had occasion to say, was entirely satisfactory to me, and growing from that is an implicit, if not an explicit condemnation of the speech of the Postmaster General in Argenteuil. So far for the First Minister. Then as regards the party in Lower Canada. Not one of the supporters of the Government from Quebec has ventured to offer even an apology for the Argenteuil speech, not one. The leading French Canadian Minister in this Government has told us, in the most explicit terms, that he was alarmed when he read that speech, and that he took the earliest possible opportunity of ascertaining—feeling that his own position was deeply involved in the matter—whether

the Government approved of the speech. All the hon. members on this side of the House who have spoken—the member for Montreal Centre, and the member who has just taken his seat—all the members who have spoken have united in condemnation of the speech. I therefore find, sir, that this is the result of the discussion to which I gave rise by a very direct enquiry—an enquiry I thought I was entitled to make—and not only entitled to make but which it was my duty to make, in the position I occupied as a public man who has represented a constituency for very many years, and various constituencies for very many years, in Lower Canada. I say, Sir, that I have attained substantially the object I had in view; that, the speech was condemned by the First Minister, and is condemned by all the supporters of the Government from the Province of Quebec. Of course, Sir, it is not for me to indicate the logical result that must flow from that in view of the declaration of the hon. gentleman at the close of his speech in Argenteuil. The hon. gentleman himself calls hear, hear. Of course, he says that it is not necessary for me to indicate; but, Sir, I desire to say one word as to my own position in this matter. For twenty-two years I have been fighting this battle against very great odds, with very great difficulties in my way; and I have been exposed, as all public men are, to misrepresentation and to injustice even, and to rigorous criticism always. During the whole of these twenty-two years, Sir, I have ever had occasion to affiliate myself with Englishmen or Protestants, and Roman Catholic electors; but I never have been reproached by Roman Catholic electors for doing anything hostile to them, their opinions, their sentiments or their feelings. I have not, therefore, conducted the battle, so far as I am concerned, during these twenty-two years, in any shape or form upon the burning questions of race and creed; but, Sir, I am not disposed, as I am growing old, and as the time when I shall actually retire from public life is drawing to a close—I am not disposed to engage in a new departure at the bidding of an hon. gentleman, who chooses to go into a county, and

who, as a member of the Government of this country, proposes a new departure to his party, including myself. I say, at this stage, and I say it frankly, I am not disposed to take part in any such new departure, and I felt that it was due to my own position, due to those friends who have stood by me during these many years, that I should repudiate and protest against the attempt to import a new element into our midst which, if successful, would render all legitimate politics in Quebec and throughout the Dominion impossible, and transform that which, I may say, is the pleasantest society in the Dominion if not in America, to wit, the society of Quebec, into a pandemonium. This is my vindication of the course I have taken.

Mr. ROCHESTER—This discussion has taken a very wide range in many ways, a range that certainly may be regretted by all parties. If the Postmaster General was honest in making that speech he was very wrong in writing the apology he wrote. I say distinctly that every man, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, should be consistent in his views. If he is, he will be respected by all, even by those with whom he disagrees, but the man who truckles to both parties will be respected by neither. My hon. friend from North Wentworth says the Opposition have made a great deal of this speech. I am inclined to think there has been as much talking and as hard things have been said on one side as on the other. It was rather unfair for the hon. member to attribute anything to past differences. He alluded to what occurred two or three years ago, and also to some private conversation with a member of the Opposition, and said the memory of the past rankled in our hearts at this time. If the conversation he speaks of was private, it should never have been repeated here. I think the hon. member was wrong in attributing anything of the kind to the Opposition. The hon. member for North Ontario alluded to me as an Orangeman. Before he attempts again to give advice to those who are his seniors, as far as Orangeism is concerned, he should be careful not to make assertions that he is not prepared to substantiate.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Mr. RYMAL—I am sorry if I have hurt the feelings of my old and respected friend. He is the last person in the party that I would charge with harbouring a vindictive feeling; but the proverbial ferocity of the she bear, robbed of her whelps, is tameness itself when compared with the feeling which animates the Tory party generally when they are deprived of office.

The Address was then carried.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that said resolutions be referred to a Select Committee to prepare an Address to His Excellency.—Carried.

The Select Committee reported the Address which was adopted.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the Address be engrossed and presented to His Excellency.—Carried.

SUPPLY.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of Supply on Monday next.—Carried.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved that this House resolve itself into a Committee of Ways and Means.—Carried.

NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOL ACT.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE presented a message from His Excellency transmitting a copy of a despatch from Earl Carnarvon respecting the New Brunswick School Act.

The House adjourned at 10:35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 14th, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

TWO MOUNTAINS.

Mr. SPEAKER announced that Mr. Globensky had resigned his position as the representative of the County of Two Mountains in this House.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that a Special Committee of seven members be appointed to prepare and report a list of members to compose the Select

Standing Committees ordered by this House. He said:—I mentioned on Friday that some arrangement would have to be made immediately to authorize the printing, or some other Committee to take charge of the reports of the House. On thinking over it, I believe it is much more convenient that a Committee of our own, and not a Sub-Committee of the Joint Committee on Printing should take charge of the matter of reporting the debates, and I shall therefore move, seconded by Sir John Macdonald, that a Select Committee of seven be appointed to assume the direction, under orders of this House, of the reporting and printing of the debates.—Carried.

THE RULES OF THE HOUSE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the appointment of a Select Committee to consider certain amendments to the rules of the House. He said—In making this motion I may add that some of the rules to be considered are connected with the legislation of last Session. Hon. gentlemen will see by the 53rd section of the Supreme Court Act, that it shall be the duty of the Judges of that Court to give opinions upon certain measures that may be submitted by Parliament, and it was necessary that we should adopt the rules that should govern us in so submitting them. It is also proposed to make some change, not perhaps exactly to the same extent but in the direction of the change made in the House of Commons of England last year, assented to by the Government as to notices of motion and the order in which they should be proceeded with. The right hon. gentleman on the other side of the House mentioned on the last day of the Session of last year, that he would give early notice this Session of his intention to have the rules of the House, as they now stand, strictly enforced with regard to taking up notices of motion and disposing of them as they came up. It would be desirable, I think, to consider this by a Select Committee. The Legislature of Ontario, and I think the Legislature of Quebec, have adopted certain rules with regard to the printing of private bills, and the payment of the fees before the meeting of the

House. It has facilitated the transaction of business very much. I propose to submit to this Select Committee the question whether it would be advisable for us to adopt the same rule here to its full extent or not. There is another rule in the English House of Commons with regard to the exclusion of strangers. At the will of any member of this House, strangers may be excluded from the galleries. This has been felt in England, in consequence of recent events, to be an intolerable power placed in the hands of any member of the House, and a change has been made there which practically puts it out of the power of any one man—although it leaves it in the hands of the Speaker—to enforce such a rule at any time. I propose to leave it to the Committee to consider whether something of this kind should not be done here.

Sir JOHN MACDONALD suggested that the Committee should be empowered to report from time to time.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was a very good suggestion, which he would adopt.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said perhaps it would be more courteous to the Chair to follow the usual custom and appoint this Committee to assist Mr. Speaker in revising the Rules of the House. Perhaps the Hon. Premier would see fit to change the motion in this way.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought it had never been the practice of Parliament to put the Speaker on any Committee, and this was a matter appertaining so entirely to the government of the House that it ought to be left in their hands. The recollection of the hon. member for Levis was about the Library, a Committee being appointed every Session to assist the Speakers of the two Houses in its management.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said the custom in this House had always been to appoint such Committees to assist the Speaker. He appealed to the right hon. member for Kingston to say whether this had not been the rule.

Sir JOHN MACDONALD said his recollection was not clear on the subject. He knew that a good many Committees had been appointed to assist

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE,

Mr. Speaker, but forgot whether this was one of them. Perhaps the hon. member for Chateauguay could give some information on the subject.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said his recollection rather ran with the hon. member for Levis, but he might be mistaken.

After some discussion the motion was carried.

THE LIBRARY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the appointment of the usual Committee to assist Mr. Speaker in the management of the Library. He said the names were the same as those of last year.

The motion was carried.

FISHING LICENSES IN LAKE SIMCOE DISTRICT.

Mr. DYMOND moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a return of all leases or licenses for fishing stations in the Lake Simcoe District; and of all fines and forfeitures inflicted in the years 1874 and 1875 by the Inspector of the said District, with the names of persons convicted and character of offence;—also number and aggregate amount of licenses to kill fish in the winter months issued by the said Inspector in the years mentioned.

The motion was carried.

WHARVES AT MALBAIE, ETC.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for:—1st. Copies of all accounts and pay-lists presented to the Government and also of all accounts and pay-lists paid by the Government for the construction or repair in 1875 of the wharves at Malbaie, Les Eboulements and Bay St. Paul; 2nd. A list of the foremen and clerks employed in connection with such construction or repairs; 3rd. A statement in detail of the travelling expenses and salary paid to each of the said foremen and clerks; 4th. A list of the schooners and barges employed for the said work, or in connection with the said work, shewing their tonnage and the amount paid for each trip, and the system of calculation of such payments; 5th. A separate statement of the cost of the work done on each of the said wharves and an estimate of the

cost of what remains to be done on each of them; 6th. A statement shewing the total cost of the timber purchased for each of the said works, shewing the price of such timber per foot, the name of the person from whom it was purchased, and what quantity was purchased for the purpose; 7th. A statement shewing the total amount paid by the Government for the said works; 8th. A statement shewing the amount claimed and remaining to be paid for the said works; 9th. The report or reports of Henry R. Symmes, Esq., and also the report or reports of Frederic Baillargé, Esq., Assistant Chief Engineer of the Department of Public Works, on the subject of the said works in the years 1874, 1875 and 1876.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have no objection to the adoption of the motion, but I cannot promise all the information that the hon. gentleman asks. I will give it as far as possible. The hon. gentleman is aware that Mr. Symmes died during the execution of this work from a sudden illness, and left some of these matters in such a state that it is impossible to give all the information that he wants, but I will give all I can.

The motion was carried.

SURVEYS IN CHARLEVOIX.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, praying him to cause to be laid before this House the report of Henry R. Symmes, Esquire, in reference to his surveys in the Parish of St. Irénée in the Electoral District of Charlevoix in 1874 or 1875, also a copy of the instructions issued to him on that subject, and of all petitions and correspondence which may have been sent in or exchanged in relation thereto.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I may say to the hon. gentleman with regard to all these subjects that there is some very interesting correspondence. Would he like to have it all?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Of course, this matter interests me, and I have no doubt the correspondence will prove most interesting.

The motion was carried.

SURVEYS IN ST. FIDÈLE AND ST. SIMÉON.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of the report or reports of Frederic Baillargé, Esquire, Assistant Engineer to the head of the Public Works Department, on his surveys in the Parish of St. Fidèle and St. Siméon in 1875; the instructions furnished him in relation thereto, and of all petitions and correspondence presented or exchanged on the subject.—Carried.

VIOLATIONS OF DECK LOAD LAW.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence between the Government of Canada and any of its officers or with any individual or public body in relation to violations of the Deck Load Law, and also in relation to violations of the Port Wardens Act, with any instructions that may have been given by the Government to its officers for the enforcement of the Laws referred to. Mr. Mitchell said: My object in making this motion is to call the attention of the Government to the fact that two very serious violations of the laws to which I have referred have taken place within the past year. This matter is of the greatest importance in view of the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament, which seriously affects our shipping interests, and a very strong remonstrance should be made that at a crisis like the present any violations should occur of the character at which English legislation strikes so directly and desires to have strictly enforced. I may state, for the information of the Hon. the Minister of Marine, that the cases to which I refer came within my own knowledge. There may have been many more violations which have escaped observation. One was a steamer of one of the steamship lines which was loaded with grain, and finding by the report which the Port Warden is required to make, that she could not be passed, went to sea in defiance of the law and without the certificate necessary before clearing. The other instance was that of the *N. Churchill*, which, after loading with a cargo of grain, proceeded to Quebec and took on board a deck load of timber—

a fact which came out in the evidence of the case now under examination. Where cases of this kind arise it is the duty of the Government to make a stringent enquiry into the facts, and an example of any ship-owners or agents of ships who deliberately violate laws established for the purpose of saving life and property, and which to some extent justifies legislation which we looked forward to as Canadians with some apprehension, on the ground that the Imperial Parliament should not by its measures interfere with our shipping. I make this motion purely for the purpose of drawing attention to the matter in order that some decided steps shall be taken in regard thereto. I should like to know what correspondence, if any, has been presented to the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I am very glad that the hon. gentleman has called attention to this matter. There was some correspondence with regard to those violations of the laws.

The motion was carried.

INLAND WATERS OF CANADA.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all Orders in Council, papers and correspondence between the Government of Canada and the Imperial Government or any public body or individual in relation to the extension of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Court to the Inland Waters of Canada. Mr. Kirkpatrick said—In making that motion, Sir, I have no intention to do more than remind my hon. friend, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that it is now two years since it was distinctly promised that this matter should be brought before the authorities in England and the necessary formalities gone through to get the Vice Admiralty Court extended to the inland waters of Canada. Last Session, too, the then Minister of Justice, in answer to a question from this side of the House, stated that they were in correspondence with the Imperial Government on the subject, and that a measure had been brought before the Imperial Parliament to effect the object sought. I hope to re-

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ceive some assurance from the Government that this long delayed matter will be attended to.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There has been some correspondence on the subject, which, however, is incomplete, and not in a condition to be presented to the House. If the hon. member will withdraw his motion for the present, I will give him private notice when the correspondence is in such shape as to be brought down, and of course we will assent to a renewal of the motion.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Of course, if the correspondence is incomplete, I shall withdraw the motion. I hope, however, that other two years will not pass before the matter is settled.

THE BAIE VERTE CANAL.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury), enquired whether a minority report of one or more of the Commissioners appointed by the Government to report upon and investigate the nature and extent of the commercial advantages to be derived from the construction of the proposed Bay Verte Canal has not been made; if so, whether it will be printed and circulated for the information of the country?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—In reply to my hon. friend, I may say that no such report has been made to the Government. I was informed however, by the Chairman of the Commission that one of the Commissioners proposed to make a minority report, and I received yesterday a copy of a printed pamphlet purporting to be such report, but no communication has been received from Mr. Lawrence to identify that pamphlet as his production. The presumption is that it is the minority report. The pamphlet is printed in a shape not suited for our journals. Such as it is, the pamphlet, of which there are a number of copies, will be distributed among the members.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT laid the Public Accounts on the Table.

The House adjourned at 3:50 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, Feb. 15, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE presented the Report of the Select Committee appointed to prepare lists of members to compose the Standing Committees.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON presented the first report of the Committee on Reporting and Printing of Debates.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the name of Hon. Mr. Blanchet be substituted for that of Hon. Mr. Holton on the Library Committee.—Carried.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the concurrence of the House in the report of the Committee appointed to prepare a list of members for the Standing Committees, so far as regards the Committee on Standing Orders. He said this was the only Committee that required to go to work immediately.

The motion was carried.

THE VETERANS OF 1812-15.

Mr. DELORME moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, praying for a Return shewing the names, age and residence of the Veterans of 1812-15 who have applied for and who have received a gratuity from the Federal Government of Canada, the number of those Militiamen having commissions as officers, and how many such applications have been made by persons living out of Canada.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—I have to some extent anticipated the desire of my hon. friend. The papers have been in the hands of the printer some weeks. I hope in the course of eight or ten days to be able to lay on the Table of the House the fullest information on the subject.

The motion was carried.

THE DEPUTY COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS AT CHICOUTIMI.

Mr. CIMON moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for—1st. Copies of the commission of Damase Hudon, Esq., as Deputy Collector of Customs at Chicoutimi; 2nd.

Copies of all correspondence in relation to the appointment of the said Damase Hudon, Esq.; 3rd. Copies of the Order in Council or other document fixing the salary of the said Damase Hudon, Esq.; 4th. A statement shewing the several amounts collected by the said Damase Hudon, Esq., in his said capacity, from the 1st May, 1875, to the 1st November, 1875, and the amounts paid by him in consequence.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—With regard to the first and second parts of the resolution, I think there has been no commission issued to the officer, nor has there been any correspondence on the subject. The information asked for in the third and fourth parts will be furnished as soon as possible.

Sir JOHN MACDONALD suggested that the first and second parts be struck out.

The suggestion was adopted, and the motion as amended was carried.

MINISTERIAL CHANGES.

Sir JOHN MACDONALD—Before proceeding to the orders of the day, I think it would be gratifying to the House if my hon. friend would give some explanations with respect to the reconstruction of the Government by the addition to it of the Minister of Justice and the President of the Council.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The House is entitled to explanations regarding the introduction of new Ministers into the Cabinet, especially where there may have been a divergence of opinion between any of those introduced into the Government and those who previously constituted it. My hon. friend the Minister of Justice, it is well known, took a different ground from the Administration in reference to one measure last Session—the Bill relating to the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. The ground upon which that difficulty arose was plainly stated in the House, and fully understood by myself prior to and after the introduction and passage of the Bill. The defeat of that Bill in the other branch of the Legislature rendered it necessary for the Government to adopt some other policy with regard to that particular part of the arrange-

ment made upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon. That policy will be developed in the papers to be brought down, and is, I may say, practically known already to the public, although not formally before the House at this time. Upon no other point was there a divergence of opinion between my hon. friend and myself, and this matter being arranged he accepted the offer I made him of the portfolio of the Department of Justice. Upon the resignation of the late Postmaster General, the former Minister of Justice, now a Judge, took his place, and the Hon. Mr. Blake was appointed in accordance with my offer as Minister of Justice. At a later period, when the late Postmaster General was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court a vacancy thereby occurred in the Cabinet, and I made an offer of that office to my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Huntington), Mr. Cauchon assuming the portfolio of President of the Council. I have nothing to say with regard to that, as there is no explanation necessary, such as I have made with reference to the Minister of Justice. These two appointments are, therefore, made upon the grounds I have stated—the one by an agreement on all matters of policy of the Administration, and in the other there was no divergence of opinion requiring explanations to the House.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—If I may be allowed to make a few remarks, as is usual in such cases, if not according to parliamentary rules, at least in accordance with parliamentary practice, I will thank my hon. friend for the explanation which he has given, but must say that perhaps it is not very accurate. It is, however, pretty much what we looked for. I don't think he was strictly accurate in stating that there had only been a divergence between himself and the Hon. the Minister of Justice on the Nanaimo Railway. If I remember rightly, there was another point which is of much more importance than that measure. It was as to the duty of the Administration to lay before Parliament contracts of considerable size and importance made on such public works as the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. I think it is

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within the recollection of every member of this House, that when the motion for the passage of the Bill was made, the hon. gentleman who sits near me, with the Hon. the Minister of Justice, felt they could not vote with the Government of the day and withdrew from the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—No, Sir, I did not. I voted.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Oh! I beg pardon, it was on the telegraph question my hon. friend withdrew. He was at variance with the head of the Government on that point. It would be satisfactory to know whether it has been agreed between my hon. friends that in future this House of Parliament has the right to have a voice in the approval and submission of contracts before they are finally considered and ratified beyond recall. With regard to the telegraph question, I should like to know—I suppose we will know during the Session—whether the contracts are going on notwithstanding that the line has not been located. With respect to my hon. friend, the President of the Council, it is true, as the First Minister said, that we were not aware of any divergence of opinion during the last Session between them. My hon. friend has acceded to the position of Messrs. Dorion and Fournier. Their mantles have fallen on his shoulders, and no doubt he will fill the representative position of leader of the French Liberal, or *Rouge* party, in this House as ably as the present Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Fournier did. However, Mr. Speaker, it is my recollection that my hon. friend, the President of the Council, has been a life-long Conservative—that he was a member of a Conservative Administration and elected to a high position, and for all I know he is a strong Conservative yet. Now, one of three things must have happened. Either my hon. friend has become, if I may use the familiar phrase, a *Rouge*, or represents that party, or the *Rouge* party has become Conservative; or if he is not a *Rouge*, we have a coalition, declared to be immoral and corrupt by the united voice of the whole Liberal party in Lower Canada. I think, under such circumstances, we ought to have an explanation on this point; and I have

no doubt the President of the Council will eagerly seize an opportunity to give such explanation.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The right hon. gentleman has not accurately remembered the discussion with reference to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. I think I am able correctly to state the course I pursued in connection with that question. I pointed out that those persons who held that it was essential to observe to the full the arrangement which Lord Carnarvon suggested to the Government of this country, were, in my opinion, logically bound to support the motion of the First Minister for the second reading of the Bill containing, as it did, a provision that the contracts should not be proceeded with at once. There was no difference of opinion at any time that I was aware of upon the general policy of the submission of such contracts; in point of fact, in the Pacific Bill of 1874 the submission of contracts was provided for. It was justifiable for all those prepared to accept the Carnarvon terms to support the measure, which passed with a clause reserving the contracts for the approval of Parliament. I explained this to those who called upon me for advice, and it was upon that view I voted with the hon. member for Cumberland, and at the same time stated that those who sustained Lord Carnarvon's terms were logically bound to vote for the measure. Had that Bill been carried—had it become an Act of Parliament—other considerations would have arisen as to my duty in accepting the offer of my hon. friend on my right. But, as he says, the Bill was lost, and the consideration arose what should then be the policy of the Government. That policy is before the public and practically before the House already. With regard to the telegraph contracts, it is perfectly true that I abstained from voting on that question, because I did not comprehend thoroughly the observations made on this side of the House, or in point of fact what had been done in reference to those contracts. I would have voted according to my judgment if I had had information which would have enabled me to arrive at a

clear conclusion. I may add, however, with reference to that and other matters, that I do not understand it is the duty of every person invited to join the Government to arrive at a theoretical agreement as to past transactions so that something of the same nature may not occur in the future. In such a case, however, one may honestly accept the position if he conceives such past acts to be errors in judgment. Under the circumstances, it is not for my hon. friend to complain because I have joined the Administration after what has been already said upon the subject by the press of his own party.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I can give a satisfactory answer in a very few words to the question put by the right hon. gentleman. I have been acting for about four years with the party on this side of the House; and during that period I did all in my power to break down the late Administration; hence I do not think it at all strange that I should have come into the Government. At the same time I think that it would be very interesting to learn what the right hon. gentleman understands by the words Conservative and Liberal. I remember when I was a Ministerial colleague of the right hon. gentleman—and that was long ago;—that was a Conservative Administration, but to-day, a head or a tail—you may regard it either way—has been pre-fixed or added to the title, and the party is known under the name of Liberal Conservative or Conservative-Liberal. There is another fact I recollect. When the right hon. gentleman attempted to introduce into his Cabinet the gentleman who at present fills the position of Chief Justice of Lower Canada, I may ask, did he then desire that gentleman to abandon his principles as a Liberal, or did he intend to abandon his own principles as a Conservative? And in another instance, at the very same time, the right hon. member for Kingston endeavoured to prevail upon the present Premier to enter his Administration. Were his intentions similar? Did he purpose persuading the present First Minister to forsake his political principles, or to renounce his own? I thank the right hon.

gentleman for the kind manner in which he put his question.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—If I might be permitted to make a few observations, I would address the House upon this most important question—than which I contend, Sir, there is no matter of greater moment that can come under the consideration of Parliament, or one in which the whole country is more deeply interested; namely, the reconstruction of the Government. I think that the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat misunderstood the remarks of the right hon. gentleman who preceded him. He did not attack my hon. friend the President of the Council for having taken the course he did. It was quite right I contend, Sir, for the Hon. President of the Council to take the course he has; but one of the great questions in controversy from the first moment I had the honour of taking a seat on that side of the House—one of the leading questions forced upon the attention of Parliament by the hon. gentlemen opposite, was the difference in opinion which existed in relation to coalitions. My right honourable friend never claimed that there was anything wrong in the mere fact of joining coalitions—such coalitions being a combination of gentlemen of different political opinions in order to carry on the Administration of the country—provided they could agree with respect to questions of general interest that came under the consideration of the Government. And holding these views, he did not attack my hon. friend the President of the Council for going into the Government. It was quite in accordance with the views and sentiments he and his party had held, and it was for the hon. gentleman who leads the Government to explain to this House and to the people of this country, why it was that when he sat on this side of the House he contended that coalitions were vicious and corrupting; yet, when he changed his place, his doctrines were just the reverse; and that he found such a coalition offered quite sufficient ground for him to call upon this House to drive the Conservative party out of office. We have been in this House too long, Sir, not to know that the Hon.

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the Premier and the Hon. the Minister of Justice have urged upon Parliament the corruptness of the action of the Administration upon that occasion, and that coalitions were denounced by them in this House and out of it in the strongest possible terms. They said that parties who came into the Government for the mere purpose of governing the country compromised themselves. But, Sir, I do not complain particularly of the accession of the President of the Council, although the necessity for it is one of the strangest instances that could be given of the inconvenience of coalitions under certain circumstances. There is, perhaps, no means by which the leader of the Government could say to this House and to the country, so clearly that he has entirely abandoned all past principles, and that all he has stated on the subject of coalition was stated, not because that was a principle of which he honestly disapproved, but was a means by which he hoped the Government might be displaced. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman, if he had searched all over Canada for the express purpose of giving to this House and the people of this country evidence that he had entirely abandoned his views and principles on that question, could not have done so more effectively than by taking into his Government the Hon. President of the Council. He (Mr. Cauchon) and the Leader of the Government in respect to their political views—at least, so far as they are known—are as wide as the poles asunder; and the fact that my hon. friend the Prime Minister availed himself of the aid of the Hon. the President of the Council on a certain occasion, is not a sufficient reason why a cardinal and anti-coalition principle which the Leader of the Government has impressed upon this House should not be observed. I say that the presence of the Minister of Justice in this Government is not only an illustration of a coalition Government; but, I contend that tried by the principles which these hon. gentlemen have professed, and by the doctrine they for so many long years have endeavoured to force on the attention of this country, it is an extremely vicious combination. The hon. gentleman will

not misunderstand me in the use of these terms. I am using them simply in the way in which they were used by those gentlemen themselves, as representing a compromise of principle. Now, Sir, the course taken by my hon. friend who holds the very high position of Minister of Justice has been a very remarkable one, and we cannot suppose that a gentleman of his talents and high standing in the country can take a prominent part in the management of the public affairs of this country, and it be all forgotten in an hour. He is a gentleman of too much mark and consideration in the estimation of the people of Canada, for us to suppose for one moment that the public would be indifferent to any step he may take. Now, Sir, what was the step taken by the hon. gentleman before the formation of this Government, when the late Government were about to be displaced? My hon. friend stated, and I have no doubt he did so with the utmost sincerity—lending additional weight to the great power he wielded with reference to the deplacement of his predecessors in office, that he would gain nothing by the change—that he was quite an impartial and disinterested public man—that if the Administration were driven from power, nothing could induce him to accept office. That, Sir, was the manner in which the hon. gentlemen lent additional weight to the arguments he addressed to this House when he asked it to displace his predecessors. I know the hon. gentleman too well to doubt for a single moment his entire truth and sincerity when he made that statement to the House, but in spite of a declaration of that kind, he became a member of the Government the very next day. I do not say, Sir, that it was not right or unwarranted in view of the speech he had delivered on the day previous; but I do maintain that never was there an instance in which great political principles were more thoroughly left in abeyance than when the hon. gentleman subsequently admitted that he went into the Government of Canada without any intention of remaining in it; that the hon. gentleman, in fact, presented a Mackenzie-Blake Administration to the people

for their acceptance or rejection, having, at the same time, determined that he would continue a member of the Cabinet only until the victory had been secured, and public approval had been obtained with regard to the character of an Administration of which he was one of the most prominent Ministers,—abandoning the high position he had accepted and retiring into private life the moment a verdict was secured in favour of the Ministry. Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman, I presume, had sufficient reasons for retiring from the Government, but what I blame him for is because it was never satisfactorily explained to the people of this country why he took office without the intention of serving the country in that high position which he had accepted as a member of the Government of Canada. I believe that he had sufficient reasons for the course he pursued; and further, that if he had based such retirement upon those reasons, instead of lending his powerful aid to the Administration in order to carry the elections, without any purpose as to giving the Government and the country the benefit of his services, I consider that his position would have been much stronger as a public man, to-day. Those reasons, however, were not made known to the House, though I believe they were communicated to the Leader of the Government; at least I assume so, not having the honour and pleasure of having the confidence of these gentlemen, and my assumption is based upon the public acts of the hon. gentleman who left the Cabinet. One of the most striking events that was perhaps ever presented in our political history occurred a short time afterwards, when my hon. friend the Prime Minister took an opportunity—a very out-of-the-way opportunity—to address a public meeting at Prescott, although not in connection with a Dominion election, but with reference to the Local Administration of the affairs of this Province. I have understood that it was another leading principle held by the gentlemen opposite, that Dominion Cabinet Ministers should keep entirely aloof and preserve an entire independence from that Administration; but my hon. friend the Prime Minister

gave the country the benefit of a recess Address upon that occasion, and everyone was astounded on account of the character of that speech. What did he do? Why, Sir, no one could read his remarks addressed to the people of Canada—for a Prime Minister cannot otherwise speak in public—without perceiving that he seized this opportunity for the purpose of denouncing in advance the views and sentiments entertained by the Hon. the Minister of Justice. These opinions had not as yet been so publicly announced; but, I assume, as I have a right to assume—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That he went out of the Government, because he differed in his views with the Hon. the Prime Minister who, unable, regarding such radical, progressive and liberal sentiments, to agree with my hon. friend, accordingly denounced in advance the very principles which my hon. friend the Minister of Justice subsequently avowed as his own. To use the emphatic language employed by the Premier—"He warned the Liberals of this country strongly against those politicians who are taking up these vagaries"—designating in the most contemptuous terms he could possibly find the theories a short time afterwards promulgated by the Hon. the Minister of Justice in his celebrated speech at Aurora. Why, Sir, the moment that speech was made, every person in this country at once understood the position taken by my hon. friend the Prime Minister at Prescott, in crying down extreme Liberal tendencies and forestalling the language in which the Aurora speech was couched. These sentiments the First Minister held to be vagaries, and matters which had no relation to the proper conduct of public affairs, warning the country against them. And what do you suppose, Sir, were the strong reasons which my hon. friend the Prime Minister gave for seeking to crush out any attempt of such a nature. Why, Sir, it was that such a policy on the part of the Liberals would bring back the Tory Administration at a very early day into power; and he quoted history to show that

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these differences of opinion had uniformly had a similar effect; that the views of the member for South Bruce threatened the country with chaos, and that a Conservative Administration, as a consequence, would be restored to office.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Would that make chaos?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I say, Sir, that this is one of the functions of the Conservative party; when gentlemen produce a state of chaos such a state of chaos as reigns at the present moment in this country—then it becomes the duty of the Liberal-Conservative party to bring the country out of that chaotic condition. If I am allowed to proceed, I will observe that this is a grave matter and that it is so regarded by the House, and by the people. My hon. friend for South Bruce delivered what he himself called a disturbing speech. He boldly took up the gauntlet thrown down by the Hon. the Prime Minister, who declared a few days previously that the Liberal party should stamp out proceedings of this kind, and he became the great tribune of the people of this country. He put himself forward, as a man who had felt it necessary to relieve himself of the trammels of office for the purpose of vindicating principles, which, however the Hon. the Prime Minister might disapprove of them, he regarded as being so important as to warrant the severance from him of one of his closest political allies, and his assumption of an entirely independent position. My hon. friend must not suppose that he could make such a speech as he delivered at Aurora without exciting the public and inspiring the advanced Liberals of this country with the hope that a new departure was imminent, and with gratification because there was one man calling himself a Reformer who had sufficient independence and spirit to say that he was a Reformer and that he refused to follow a party which could find nothing to reform. These are the words, I think, though they were probably more elegantly expressed. Therefore, Sir, my hon. friend assumed a position which created great expectation on the part of certain people in

Canada, and having made this disturbing speech, as was avowed by himself, with the full knowledge of the consequences, he came back to this House and took his seat, as several other very independent gentlemen have done, on that side of the House. Was it to support my hon. friend, the Leader of the Government? Why, Sir, I declare in the presence of both sides of the House, that no opponent with whom the Administration had to contend during the past Session, gave so much trouble and so much anxiety as my hon. friend, who now occupies the seat of the Minister of Justice; because, Sir, he was disposed to pursue the same independent line of conduct, which he publicly declared to the people of this country he, as in duty bound, intended to pursue in the interests of Canada. He says, however, that it was only a mere difference of opinion with reference to the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, but my hon. friend can scarcely sustain such a pretension; for he charged the Prime Minister of this country with having been false to the duty he owed Parliament, in making an agreement with the Colonial Minister and entering into a compact with British Columbia without any reference to the representatives of the people of Canada. He charged him with having exceeded the privileges which the Prime Minister of any Government ought to possess. That was a pretty wide divergence on a great question, on one of the most important transactions in which the Government had been or can be engaged with relation to the material prosperity of this country. My hon. friend the Minister of Justice challenged the action of his leader—Does he shake his head?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I do.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does he mean to deny that he challenged the right of the Premier to enter into a compact with Lord Carnarvon with relation to the Pacific Railway, without previously submitting the terms to Parliament?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I was prepared then, as I am now, to declare that no Ministry can bind the country to any terms without the assent of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—My hon. friend, I know, is very astute in points of that kind, but he must not suppose that he can lead the House to enter into the nice distinction that he has now raised. I ask if the Ministry try to do what they have no right to attempt and what they had not previously the power to do, whether he should sustain them? The Premier stated in so many words that he made the agreement, and expected Parliament to ratify it. I say that is a pretty wide divergence of opinion. Then came the question of the terms themselves. Why, every person knows that the Hon. the Minister of Justice, at Walkerton, South Bruce, West Toronto and other places, where he afforded the public the pleasure of hearing his voice, in Parliament and out of Parliament, has been the loudest to denounce the late Government as having imposed an intolerable burden on the people of this country in undertaking to build the Pacific Railway.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I do so now.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—And yet my hon. friend knows that all the burden which the late Government ever intended to impose upon Canada was an agreement to give \$30,000,000 money and 50,000,000 acres of land to any company that would construct, at their own cost, risk, and responsibility, the Canadian Pacific Railway. And, Sir, my hon. friend knows that, not content with making this provision, there was a formal declaration by the then Opposition, that the road should not be built by the Government; but in spite of all this my hon. friend the Prime Minister entered into a solemn compact with Lord Carnarvon, binding the Government to build a road from the shores of the Pacific to the shores of Lake Superior in fifteen years, without any reference to Parliament, and without any qualification whatever, as to whether it was within the power or resources of the country or not. As I said before, that was another point on which, if there was not divergence of opinion, there was a very remarkable disagreement between the two hon. gentlemen. The one by his acts and the other by his words have placed themselves in the strongest possible antagonism. Well, Sir, my hon. friend is a very distinguished and

a very acute lawyer, but I must confess I feel sorry for him—although my sympathies are not as easily excited in that direction as may be supposed—in the position he occupies when he tells the House that the reason he could not vote on the motion then before the House, in relation to the telegraph contract, was that he could not make up his mind on which side to vote, and this after two such distinguished legal gentlemen as the hon. member for Cardwell and the right hon. friend from Kingston had moved and seconded a resolution, declaring that the contract made by the Government was utterly at variance with the Statute and should be annulled. And yet, Sir, the Hon. the Minister of Justice was not able, after the discussion on this subject by these distinguished legal gentlemen, to decide which of the two was the right side to vote upon. The House knows that the same gentleman withdrew from the Government, and made a disturbing speech at Aurora, and attacked the terms made by Lord Carnarvon at one of the most critical moments in the Government of the country. Having assailed the Government for having violated the law and made a contract involving the expenditure of over one million of money; in the teeth of that, and at a time which was really a very critical moment for the Government, my hon. friend put on his hat and walked out of the House rather than compromise his high position as a lawyer by sustaining the administration. Now, Sir, I think the House and the country naturally came to the conclusion from the moment the Aurora speech was delivered, that my hon. friend had placed himself as far asunder as the poles from the Leader of the Government on a question of very great political importance. I do not refer to the Nanaimo Railway, although my hon. friend took the ground that the Government had unnecessarily placed very heavy additional burdens on the shoulders of the people in connection with that railway, independent of anything binding upon them by the action of their predecessors. On that question—one that would involve the expenditure of mil-

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

lions—my hon. friend took and maintained his ground, notwithstanding that he did so against the Government, and after the declaration of the Prime Minister in his place in Parliament that the honour of the Government was involved in the carrying out of the contract which he had made. I think it would be difficult to imagine that an hon. gentleman who had placed himself in such a position, and who would lead the people to suppose that it was impossible for him to consent to a great sacrifice of principle, would take his place in the Government. But we find that, with wonderful tact and power, the Prime Minister seems able to overcome all opposition on the part of those holding different views, and to draw them within the magic circle of his influence. He exercised his wonderful mesmeric power—for I suppose nothing else could account for it—on the hon. member for South Bruce, and what is the consequence? I deplore the result—in the interests of public morality I was going to say, but I won't say that for fear my hon. friend may think I am quoting from him—in the interests of the political status of Canada. I deplore it because it strikes down a great tribune of the people and leaves him a simple place-man, although the position he holds is one of the most important and distinguished in the country. He has rendered it impossible, without a great sacrifice of principle, that he should ever take the place he formerly had. If we ever had in this country the spectacle, not only of a coalition, but a vicious coalition, it is that formed by the Premier and the Minister of Justice. Who, that has read the speech delivered by the hon. member for South Bruce, at Aurora, pored over it with delight and admired the stand which he took as the tribune of the people, but feels regret that such an hon. gentleman should place himself in a position that compels him to take back everything which he advocated in the interests of the people. He told us he was one Reformer who would refuse to take a position in a Government that had nothing to reform. Well, he has gone into the Cabinet. Have we got any of those "idle vagaries," as the Premier at Prescott styled the measures for

compulsory voting and the representation of minorities? Have we got any of the other foibles held up to ridicule by the Premier, as evidence that the hon. member for South Bruce has not only gone into the Cabinet of Canada, but gone there to carry out the principles he advocated at Aurora? He goes there to adopt the policy to which he stood so strongly in antagonism before the people of Canada. I don't know that there can be anything very radical or reforming in a Bill to regulate the relations to the public of common carriers, or a consolidation of the laws that my right hon. friend with so much industry and ability placed on the statute books of Canada. I fail to find in these that the hon. gentleman has gone into the Cabinet on other grounds than any of his colleagues—to carry out the policy of his leader. My hon. friend the Premier has a happy knack of relieving himself of the responsibility of his anti-coalition sentiments, which he urged with so much force and eloquence as almost to convince us unsophisticated people on this side of the House that he was sincere. He says, "I am the embodiment of Reform; anybody who comes to me must be a Reformer, and therefore there can be no coalition." That may be very satisfactory to the hon. gentleman, but he should have thought of it when he was assailing those who, while they differed twenty years ago, were united in their views at a later period. He should have reflected that it was time to assail coalitions only when the vicious results of them were apparent. I say a vicious result appears in this Government because the tribune of the people scatters to the winds all the reforms he advocated, and his followers are led to sustain a Government that calls itself a Reform Administration, but can find nothing to reform.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. member for Cumberland has come out in a new role—as champion of public morality—and I am sure the House cannot but feel gratified that they have found one so appropriate for the position, considering his antecedents. The hon. gentleman has declared himself in my presence a Reformer, and said it was a malignant falsehood to style

him anything else. He has also declared himself a Conservative. Now, I have never been anything but a Liberal, and I have been elected as the Leader of the Reform party. There is no member of the Administration that is not cognizant of and in accord with the action which gave me that position, and there is no member of the Administration to-day holding office in any other way than as a representative of the great Liberal party of Canada. The hon. gentleman, Sir, seems to think that by an ingenious distortion of historical facts—not wilful of course—he can convict me, not of anything wrong, but of a possible divergence of opinion from my hon. friend the Minister of Justice on certain speculative opinions with regard to cumulative and compulsory voting, although I never delivered any speech on the subject. The hon. gentleman says I condemned all the subjects mentioned in my hon. friend's speech at Aurora, a few days before, at a dinner. I went to Prescott, not to deliver opinions on these subjects, but simply at the request of an hon. friend, spoke for a time on general topics, and I do not think I touched on the topics of the Aurora speech at all. But, if I did, these are subjects we are not expected to have exactly the same opinions on; we may view them, not from a party stand-point, but from an individual point of view. I was delighted at the speech of my hon. friend at Aurora, and I had the pleasure of writing to him shortly afterwards, expressing my delight at the ability with which he handled the subjects. The hon. gentleman seems to think that the Minister who had accepted office in the Government when formed in 1874 and left it a few months afterwards, did so because there was a difference of opinion—in fact he was accused very lately by the principal organ, an organ that is the property of the right hon. gentleman to a certain extent, of defrauding the public in having entered the Cabinet and given the country the impression that he meant to continue a member of the Government, but when the elections were over he retired. That organ was obliged to admit its incorrectness when it admitted that the hon. member for South Bruce,

before the election of 1874, announced his attention of retiring at an early period, so that the whole country had the knowledge that he did not intend to remain in the Government at that time—not because there was any divergence of opinion between himself and his colleagues, because there was none—but on account of private circumstances which made that particular action necessary on his part at that time. I have only a word to say regarding the hon. gentleman's discussion of the terms arrived at with British Columbia—commonly known as the arrangement made by Lord Carnarvon. I never meant, nor could I mean by any possibility, that the assent of Parliament was not required to the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway, and if I made the House or any person believe that I could proceed without legislative authority, I regret that such should be the case for a moment. I introduced the Bill, and it is well known I repudiated the Order in Council of the hon. gentlemen opposite to make the terminus at Esquimault. It was also well-known, if we carried out the terms of Earl Carnarvon, we must submit a Bill to Parliament to obtain their sanction for the expenditure of the money. I do not think there is any necessity for me to say anything more on this subject; the Government as constituted now is simply representing the Liberal party of the country, and I hold precisely the same views of the viciousness—the word is preferred to any other—of the viciousness of coalitions I always did, and gave practical illustration of by myself refusing to be a member of a coalition.

Mr. BUNSTER—I heard the hon. Leader of the Government say he was delighted with the Aurora speech. I say the hon. gentleman who delivered that Aurora speech did wrong, and I assure the House it surprised me terribly when I read it. I ask the present Ministry whether they adhere to the Aurora speech as well as to the hon. gentleman who delivered it? I think that they do, as they have taken the hon. gentleman into the Cabinet who has always been against the interests of British Columbia. The Government has done wrong to take hold of a gentleman who has said so much against

our Province, when he called it an inhospitable country. I will not allow any hon. gentleman to vilify my country. I think it is as hospitable a country as any in Canada, and I think it is very unstatesman-like to run down any part of the Dominion as the hon. member for South Bruce has done. Notwithstanding what has been said of British Columbia, we find the Finance Minister was willing to go to England and pledge its credit for money to build the Pacific Railway, but the Government are now using the money in improving and building canals in Ontario, instead of using it for the purpose for which it was borrowed. British Columbia requires no sympathy from this House. All we want is simple justice, and we are not getting anything but abuse by such gentlemen as the hon. member for South Bruce, who alludes to our Province as an inhospitable country and a sea of mountains. But I can tell the hon. gentleman that we have as good gentlemen living there as in any other Province in Canada. It is the only Province in Canada that has an agent in Great Britain to attend to its immigration matters.

Mr. SPEAKER—The question before the House is, an hon. gentleman has called for explanations as to the reconstruction of the Ministry. When the hon. gentleman has any observations to make on the reconstruction of the Ministry, or any further information to ask for from the Ministers, he will be in order, but I think his remarks are entirely outside the scope of this subject.

Mr. MASSON—Our attention up to the present point has been directed to the Minister of Justice, but we of Quebec have more fault to find with the accession of the President of the Council to the Ministry. That hon. gentleman said a short time ago that there was really no difference between the Liberals and the Conservatives, but there was between the Liberals and the Radicals. I have read the expressions of the hon. gentleman, which I will here recite. He says:—"Conservatism does not exclude liberality. It only excludes radicalism which

destroys, and which has become extinct in Canada by its own excess. All that is not Radical will be bound to ally itself to the great Liberal-Conservative party." I would like to know who the hon. gentleman was then calling Radicals in the Dominion of Canada? I can tell this House who they were. The hon. member referred to the Grits of Ontario and the *Rouges* of Quebec, with whom there could never be any union or fusion. Some hon. member has been saying—I think the Premier himself—that it is not a coalition because the hon. member came into the Government without any following. I will now show that the Radicals are really the great branch of the Liberal party of Ontario, led by the Premier. The Hon. the President of the Council thus writes:—"As to the Radical opposition of Upper Canada, everyone knows the uncertainty and instability of the elements that compose it. How long would it follow Mr. Mackenzie if, perchance, he was one day to come into power? It is sufficient to recall to one's mind what the Radicals did to Baldwin in 1850, to Hincks in 1854, and to Sandfield Macdonald in 1863, when he was saved only by the Conservative Opposition." And yet the hon. gentleman calls this no fusion. He continues:—"The future belongs yet for a long time to the Conservatives, and it is towards them that we must turn all the aspirations that wish to have success." The hon. gentleman, when he asks what difference there is between Liberals and Conservatives, evidently means what difference is there between Conservatives and Radicals. I want to show that this fusion with the Government to-day is a union with what he then believed to be the Radical party. The *Rouges* in Quebec believe that there is no difference between Conservatives and Liberals. The hon. gentleman said on the 9th of June, 1868, that the Radicals of Quebec were Annexationists. He was then supporting the Government, as he generally supports Governments, and he said at the time, "It is not right to advise people to throw down the barriers and allow the enemy to enter and take possession of the country." These are the gentlemen that he is allied with to-

day, and the question is whether the hon. gentleman himself is more to blame for entering the Cabinet, or those with whom he has allied himself for taking him in. The hon. member for Cumberland has said there was no fault to find with the Hon. the President of the Council. But I say this to the Liberals, that I do not believe there is a political party in any country in the world that has shown the example which the Liberal party of Lower Canada has shewn lately. They promised to take a stand on morality, but in accepting the Hon. the President of the Council as leader they have confessed that they have no understanding of morality as it is felt in this country. I remember a fact. The very week that the hon. gentleman took the oath as a Privy Councillor, the Liberal party of the Province of Quebec repudiated a gentleman, of whom, although he is not working with us, we must all be proud. I allude to the Hon. Mr. Joly, the Leader of the Opposition in that Province. Those who know and have followed the history of Lower Canada, must understand that before many months are over, the verdict of the people will be against a party that has lowered itself so far as to accept for a leader a gentleman whom they have always abused. Nothing is more demoralizing than to see a great party taking into its ranks a man whom they have always taunted—I do not say justly—for his corruption when he was working for the Conservatives. They used to say that the great fault of our party was that they were corruptionists—that they robbed the public funds of the country. The gravest accusation made against the party was not that they had enriched themselves at the expense of the country, but that the hon. gentleman had so enriched himself. I do not say that that is true, but those who have made the allegation have certainly lowered the sense of public morality to an extent which it is impossible to surpass.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—When I complied with the demand for an explanation which the hon. member for Kingston made, I was entitled to suppose that the subjects he mentioned were those which I was to explain, and it

was not fair for the hon. member for Cumberland to wait until that explanation was made and then proceed to a general review of my public career. I shall not answer him now, but will say shortly that he has advanced some things which are very old, some which are very new, but all with one common quality that they are invariably incorrect.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT laid upon the table the return of expenditures under special warrant for settlers' relief; return of expenditures under special warrant for mounted police; statement of loans and gratuities under 338. Vic.; and an order in Council relating to increased annuities to Indians under Treaty 4, at Qu'Appelle Lakes.

THE BUDGET.

Sir JOHN MACDONALD enquired if the Finance Minister could state when he was likely to come down with the Budget.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that he could not at present.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if the Finance Minister proposed as usual to bring down to the latest period that he could, previous to the Budget speech, the revenue and expenditure.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT — Certainly.

The House adjourned at 5:45.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, February 16, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at ten minutes past Three o'clock.

ASSISTANT INSPECTOR OF PENITENTIARIES

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia. He said the House was aware that there were no regular penitentiaries in those Provinces, though buildings were in course of construction. Owing to their great distance from head-quarters and the great expense of travelling to them, it was thought advisable to provide Inspectors for these Provinces,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE,

who shall receive small salaries, not exceeding \$200 a year each, and travelling expenses from their residences to the penitentiaries.

The Bill was read the first time.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill to provide for the Collection and Registration of Criminal Statistics. He said the House last Session unanimously agreed with the suggestion of the hon. member for North York, respecting the obvious importance of such a measure as this. The Bill now introduced was very simple and elastic in its provisions. He would not now trouble the House with the details of it. The general principle was that such schedules as may from time to time be approved by the Governor in Council, shall be furnished to the Department of Agriculture, which has charge of statistics, to collect information with regard to the criminal business conducted in the courts and the number of prisoners in the jails for the year preceding. The Bill proposed the establishment of a fee for the officers discharging this duty, it being, in his opinion, not merely justice, but policy to pay some small sum to ensure the collection of these statistics. He would give fuller information at the second reading.

The Bill was read the first time.

THE OTTAWA CANAL.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew), asked whether it is the intention of the Government to take steps at an early date for the improvement of the navigation of the Ottawa, Mattawan and French Rivers, so as to enable vessels to pass from Lake Huron *via* the said rivers to tide-water on the St. Lawrence; and if so, on what scale as to draught of water and size of locks it is intended to construct the said works.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to take any steps to prosecute any further works than those now under contract, for the present.

REGISTERED LETTERS.

Mr. LITTLE asked whether the Postmaster General intends to make such arrangements as will prevent reg-

istered letters being tampered with, and if loss is sustained by the sender of such registered letter, whether compensation will be allowed by the Post Office Department?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—It is not the intention to make any radical change in the existing arrangements, but the Department will exercise every precaution to prevent the evils indicated in the hon. gentleman's question.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

Mr. IRVING asked whether it is the intention of the Government to propose any Legislation during the present Session of Parliament upon the subject-matter of the several Acts known as the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1872, and the amendment thereof passed at the last Session of Parliament?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I hope to be able to introduce such a Bill to-morrow.

THE FINANCIAL DEPRESSION.

Mr. MILLS—In rising to move for a Select Committee to enquire into the causes of the present financial depression, said—I assume that there exists at the present time a very considerable extent of financial stringency in the country. I don't think, Sir, that it is necessary to enter into any discussion with the view of establishing that particular fact. When we notice in the newspapers from day to day the failure of men engaged in manufacturing or commercial pursuits in various parts of the country,—when we observe statements that a very large number of men formerly employed in the service of those who were engaged in the lumber trade, and in other pursuits, are out of employment—I think that it is unnecessary to bring before the House any array of facts for the purpose of establishing a proposition which I suppose will meet with general assent. I assume, therefore, that there is a very considerable amount of depression in the various branches of industry and trade, and I purpose asking the House for a Committee to enquire into the causes of this distress. We observe that those who have failed are of the commercial as well as of the manufacturing class—that it is not only those engaged in producing various articles of industry within the country who have suffered,

but that merchants engaged in the importation of goods have suffered quite as much, so far as we can gather from general reports. I dare say by enquiring of official assignees in different parts of the country, we can ascertain with a considerable degree of precision the total amount for which parties who are engaged in manufacturing and commercial pursuits have failed. That, however, is a matter of information to be obtained by the Committee.

We find, Sir, that there have been failures of large houses engaged in manufacturing pursuits in the adjoining Republic, and the right hon. member for Kingston observed in discussing the Address a few days ago—

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Order!

Mr. MILLS—I know it is not customary to refer to a debate, but this rule is not essentially observed in reference to debates upon the Address. If I am out of order in that particular, and it is quite possible that I may be, I may not say what the member for Kingston said; but I will say this, if the rules of the House permitted me to refer to the hon. gentleman's observations upon the Address, in which he stated that it was very important to enquire into how far the depression in Canada—

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman is hardly in order.

Mr. MILLS—Well, Mr. Speaker, I don't think I shall trouble the House with any allusion to, or discussion of, the observations made by the hon. member for Kingston, if the rules of debate of this House will not permit it. I will say this, however, that I am of opinion that we are suffering to a very considerable extent from commercial depression in consequence of our intimate commercial relations with the trade of the adjoining Republic. I think it was a sound principle which was laid down many years ago by a distinguished English Statesman, that one nation had the same interest in the commercial prosperity of another nation with whom it is carrying on trade to a large extent, that a merchant has in the welfare of his customers. It is not very easy for

the merchant to remain prosperous while his customers are impoverished, and it is not very easy for the people of this country who are engaged in commercial pursuits to be in a highly prosperous condition while those with whom they are dealing are suffering from financial depression. It is said by those who are in favour of seeking relief from the present depression by legislation in this House, that we might improve our condition by an alteration of the fiscal policy of this country. I am not going to say, Sir, whether that is the correct observation or not; I am not going to say whether we might restrain our importation — if there has been over-importation — by a protective tariff. I am not going to discuss that question; I am free to say that I believe that high duties upon imported articles have not always secured that object elsewhere; but whether they would do so in this country or not, I will not, in anticipation of any information that may be obtained on this subject by the Committee, pronounce an opinion. There is one thing I may notice here, that the balance of trade has been for a number of years very largely against this country. I do not attach the importance to this fact that is sometimes attached to it; but it is, nevertheless, a fact not without importance. In 1868 the balance of trade against this country was \$16,000,000.

In 1869	\$10,000,000
“ 1870	1,250,000
“ 1871	22,000,000
“ 1872	28,750,000
“ 1873	47,000,000
“ 1874	38,860,000
“ 1875	45,000,000

That is, from 1868 down to June 30th, 1875, there was a balance of \$209,000,000 against this country. Now this is a very large amount, and if that represented the actual condition of things as between this country and other countries with whom we deal, it would be a matter for very serious consideration. But we find in looking at the trade of England since 1868 there has been a large balance continuously against that country, without producing any of the disasters which it is supposed that a

large and continuous balance of trade will produce. The balance of trade against England was

In 1860	£ 75,000,000
“ 1865	105,000,000
“ 1870	103,000,000
“ 1874	130,000,000

It greatly increased with the increased exports and imports of the country, but in considering the balance of trade in a country we are bound to see who does the carrying, and who reaps the profits; who controls the capital by which that trade is carried on. I have no doubt whatever, in looking at the trade of Great Britain, that the capital by which it is carried on, the tonnage and marine of England enjoy the profits upon the carriage of both the imports and the exports of the country, and that the profits upon the products exchanged accrue to the capitalists of Great Britain. What that amount is I do not know, but it must in a very considerable degree exceed the difference between the value of the imports and the exports of the country. In the United States for a number of years the balance of trade has been against that country. In 1855 the value of the exports of the adjoining Republic over their imports was \$13,688,000.

In 1856	\$12,000,000
“ 1857	2,000,000
“ 1858	42,000,000
“ 1859	18,000,000
“ 1860	11,000,000
“ 1861	30,000,000

Thus we observe that, while in England, the balance of trade is apparently against England under a non-protective tariff or free trade policy, in the United States, under a non-protective tariff, the balance was directly in favour of the Republic, regardless of any advantages which it may have from the carrying trade or on the profits of that trade. Since 1861 we all know that in that country they have had a highly protective tariff, a tariff that has averaged 48 per cent. upon the articles taxed, or 44 per cent. upon the entire imports of the country. In 1862 the balance of trade against the United States was sixty-two millions in round numbers.

In 1863.....	\$12,000,000
“ 1864.....	87,000,000
“ 1865.....	52,000,000
“ 1866.....	28,000,000
“ 1867.....	77,000,000
“ 1868.....	20,000,000
“ 1870.....	93,000,000

I have not had time to look at the relative values of the imports and exports from the last period down to the present, but there can be no doubt whatever, while in England the carrying trade, being in the hands of England, more than compensates for the difference between the value of the imports and exports, in the United States the carrying trade, having gradually passed into foreign hands, the balance of trade instead of being less is very largely increased above the amount indicated by the figures quoted. The balance of trade is an important matter for consideration, but it is not absolutely conclusive as to the prosperity or non-prosperity of a country. Adam Smith observes—

“ The balance of produce and consumption may be constantly in favour of a nation, though what is called the balance of trade be generally against it. A nation may import to a greater value than it exports for half a century, perhaps, together; the gold and silver which comes into it during all this time may be all immediately sent out of it; its circulating coin may gradually decay, different sorts of paper money being substituted in its place, and even the debts, too, which it contracts, in the principal nations with whom it deals, may be gradually increasing and yet its real worth, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its lands and labour, may during the same period have been increasing in a much greater proportion.”

The state of our North American colonies and of the trade which they carried on with Great Britain before the commencement of the present disturbances, may serve as a proof that this is by no means an impossible supposition. The condition, Sir, of England with a large balance of trade against her, verifies the principle laid down by Adam Smith, which I have just read. We may very fairly conclude that the exports of the country are a much safer basis for estimating its prosperity than the increase of its imports, and that it can scarcely be considered that a country is in a highly prosperous condition if its exports are continuously diminish-

ing. I might here observe that we have had frequently pressed on the attention of this House the propriety of adopting a highly protective tariff with a view to prevent over-trading. I am not saying that is an improper proposition to submit to this Parliament. I will not say that such a tariff applied to some industries will not promote their development or increase their profits, but I will say that we have no evidence that such will be the result. There is no principle or well established collection of facts to show that such a policy will be followed by such results; on the contrary, we have instances in which a protective tariff, instead of doing what it is generally supposed to accomplish, and which I am free to admit it does sometimes accomplish—diminish the importations—has on the contrary largely increased them. This was the case in the United States. After 1862 the duties were greatly increased—from a tariff averaging 13 per cent. to a tariff averaging 40 per cent.—but instead of importations being checked by the high tariff they were largely increased. And this always will be the case where the circumstances of the country are such as to cause an increase in the cost of subsistence greater than the additional amount added to the foreign products in the form of increased duties. It is said that ships were built in St. John, New Brunswick, in 1868, for \$40 per ton, while in Maine they were costing \$70 per ton. Look at the tariff charged on the articles entering into the composition of ships. You will find that the difference between the cost in St. John upon these products of Maine is a difference of only \$4.60 per ton, while the difference, you will observe, in the cost at which they are respectively disposed of per ton is \$30; thus you have \$25 to account for in some other way, so that it is easy to see that under these circumstances, notwithstanding the high tariff, if there was no provision in the United States for the prevention of the registration of foreign vessels, they could import much more cheaply than they could build. I do not say what would be the result here, but I give this instance for the purpose of showing that you cannot lay down any rule

by which you can be perfectly sure that an increase of tariff would diminish importations. I apprehend that so far as suffering from depression of the manufacturing branches of the industries of this country is concerned, they must desire one of two things: either a larger market or increased prices for the articles to be sold. It is only in one or the other of these ways that they can obtain relief. I do not say that such a tariff might not give relief in these ways, but I think it is important to enquire whether that would be the consequence, and also to what extent it might affect other branches of industry and other portions of the population. One thing Sir, we do know, both with regard to the commercial histories of England and of the neighboring Republic, and it is this—that there is a close relation between the imports of a country and the volume of its currency; that whenever you increase the volume of currency circulation, you increase in almost exactly the same proportion the imports, and that when you diminish or restrict the amount of money in use you reduce in the same proportion the imports. In the United States, when the currency averaged \$6 per head the imports averaged \$4 per head; when it averaged \$7 the imports averaged \$5, and so on, a close relation being found not merely for a short period, but during the whole history of the country from 1790 to the present day. Then in 1860 the currency of the United States averaged \$14.50 per capita, and the imports averaged \$10.80 per capita, bearing the same proportion to each other as in the earlier period I have mentioned. Now it will be an important matter into which the Committee should enquire—how far this rule will hold good in this country. It is of great moment to ascertain this fact, in order to know precisely to what extent the commercial and financial depression are within the control of the Legislature. I state these matters and might instance many others, with the view of indicating the scope of the enquiry which will present itself to the Committee for which I ask the House. I do not desire—I am not anxious, Sir, to express any opinion which would anticipate the conclusion

Mr. MILLS.

at which I might imagine the gentlemen composing it should arrive; but I think that it is of the highest importance to become acquainted with the facts. I have endeavoured, in selecting the members of the Committee, in the motion which I purpose putting into your hands, to represent the various views entertained regarding questions of trade in this country.

Mr. SPEAKER—It is moved by Mr. Mills, and seconded by Mr. McDougall, that a Select Committee composed of Mr. Burpee (Sunbury), Mr. Carmichael, Mr. Currier, Mr. Charlton, Mr. Dymond, Mr. Delorme, Mr. Platt, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Workman and the mover, be appointed to enquire into the causes of the present financial depression, with power to send for persons, papers and records—to report from time to time?

Mr. MILLS—No.

Mr. SPEAKER—Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt this motion?

Mr. PLATT—I beg leave to move that Mr. John Macdonald, of Toronto, be placed on the Committee in my stead.

Mr. MILLS—I must say that I spoke to Mr. Macdonald, and he informed me that he would not have time to give the necessary attention to the matter. I therefore asked for Mr. Platt. I certainly have no objections to Mr. Macdonald being placed on the Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER—Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt this motion?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I rise for the purpose of calling the attention of the House and of the Administration to the purport of this motion. My hon. friend was a little out of order in one portion of his speech, to which I good-naturedly directed his notice. I have remarked in some of the newspapers of the country the statement that a torpedo had been thrown on the floor of this House, but certainly my hon. friend has thrown a torpedo to-day, for this amounts in every respect to a motion to enquire into the state of the nation, and is therefore a motion of want of confidence in the Administration. No matter how it is

expressed, or whether advanced by a supporter or an opponent of the Government, the effect is the same, and it is invariably so considered. If my hon. friend had moved to enquire into the best mode of promoting the interests of trade or agriculture, this would have been quite germane, but when he asks for a Committee to make enquiry into the state of depression of the nation, it amounts to what I have stated. In 1826, Mr Hume made almost precisely the same motion, and although he said in his speech that he did not want to affect the Ministry by his motion, it was held, considered and treated by the House of Commons, by the Ministry and by the Opposition, as being in effect a resolution for a vote of want of confidence. I am surprised also that my hon. friend makes this motion, because it is as much as to say that he really does not believe any of the causes put in His Excellency's mouth by his advisers is the right one. We find in the Speech from the Throne it is alleged that "the great depression which has prevailed throughout neighbouring countries for several years, and which has more recently been felt in the old world, causing a general stagnation of business, has extended to Canada and has seriously affected our trade." His Excellency has been advised to state the cause. My hon. friend is not satisfied with that statement in the Speech, but he asks for a Committee for further information,—a Committee empowered to send for persons and papers and take evidence, in fact to assume the power of the Government, and to make enquiries which, I presume they, in accordance with their duty, have already made. Rumour says—very improperly no doubt—that outside advisers have been called in to consider the financial affairs of the Government. Now, here is an outside adviser taking a certain ground,—although in the Ministerial ranks, he is not yet on the treasury benches. What would be the consequence of voting this motion? If it passes, it will be an assertion by the House that we are not satisfied with the alleged causes of the depression, and that we must take evidence to find out what the causes really are. The logi-

cal consequence of passing this motion would be that no steps would be taken by the Finance Minister until the committee reported. He could not bring down the Budget, and we could not know whether the reductions promised in the Speech are called for at all or not. This evidence is not for the Committee, but for the opinion of the House and, through this House, of the country. If we pass this motion, we cannot approach the subject with the Committee sitting behind our backs collecting the evidence, before the result of the solemn enquiry is laid before us. In the English House of Commons in 1826 Mr. Hume moved "that an humble Address be presented to His Majesty praying that he will be graciously pleased to take into consideration the present state of the nation, and to direct immediate enquiry to be made into the causes that have produced such wide spread disasters, and that he will be pleased to direct such measures to be adopted as shall as speedily as possible terminate the existing embarrassment." That motion was held to be a want of confidence motion in the Administration, and was treated accordingly, being lost by a large majority. It occurs to me, if the Government will say they really desire a Committee to collect the evidence, that they cannot collect it themselves, and that they, like the House, require more information, then we have nothing to say except that the Government ought to have collected it, and that they were not in a position to make this statement in the Speech from the Throne. When the Finance Minister makes his Budget speech, I have no doubt he will perform his duty, and prove that he has collected information showing the nature and causes of the distress alluded to, and the steps which the Ministry propose to take to alleviate it, to make revenue and expenditure meet and to remove the stagnation. It seems to me this motion ought to be postponed until after the Finance Minister makes his Budget speech and states all the facts on which his financial arrangements are based. What good will this report do after we have had the Budget and considered what reductions or increases are to be made

in the taxation of the country? It will be a day after the fair. It will be closing the stable after the steed is stolen. And, besides, I think it is an ill-considered interference by a Ministerial supporter with the functions of the Government for which we must hold them responsible, and for which, I have no doubt, they are prepared to accept the entire responsibility.

Mr. YOUNG—This is, undoubtedly, a very important question at the present time, and I am sure the country expected that the matter would be brought before Parliament at the very earliest moment. I have no doubt the gentlemen on this side of the House have abundant faith in the Government, and know that they have considered the question. At the same time, no harm, but a great deal of good, can be done by having this Committee appointed for enquiring into the true cause of the financial depression. I am very much surprised at the Leader of the Opposition taking objection to the appointment of this Committee, because, if I am correctly informed, he has recently made a new departure in politics, and come out as a Protectionist instead of the Free-Trader that I had reason to believe he was in the past. I am of opinion that this existing commercial depression is a very proper thing for this House to consider, and I don't think there need be any great delay in bringing down the Budget or making changes in the tariff, if such are required, on account of the appointment of this Committee. It can meet promptly, and very speedily report to this House. The causes which have led to the present financial depression are various, but in my humble judgment they are very easily understood. History shows clearly that the commercial progress of a country is never regular year by year. You find three, four or five years of great commercial expansion, and then contraction follows. That is precisely our position at the present time. Since Confederation we have had four or five years of unusual expansion in a commercial way. In 1869 our total imports and exports together amounted in round numbers to \$127,000,000. In 1873, four years after, they had ex-

panded to \$217,000,000, being an increase of \$89,000,000. We know there had been a great influx of capital from Great Britain for the construction of railways, and as the country could not go on expanding its commerce at the rate of \$22,500,000 per annum, of course a lull was inevitable. In 1874 we find instead of an increase of \$22,500,000 in our trade, it had decreased about \$1,000,000, and last year there was a decrease of over \$19,000,000. Coming after widespread over-importing, over-trading and over-production, the contraction is inevitable, as also many of the failures and losses which have taken place during the past year. No doubt our prosperity has been affected by the state of things in the United States. They have had undoubtedly the most extended period of commercial depression which that great country has ever experienced, and it has affected this country, especially in our lumber interest. Then another cause of the financial stringency is that a large portion of our floating or business capital (if I may so call it) has gone into fixed capital—that is, into railways and other public works, which will not, for some considerable time at least, return much interest on the investments. My hon. friend from Bothwell has also pointed out another cause—the excess of our imports over our exports since Confederation, but more particularly during the last four years. The figures, as I recollect them, do not quite agree with those of my hon. friend from Bothwell, but the returns being made up somewhat differently in the Customs Department, they are to all intents and purposes similar. Not to go back further than 1872, the excess of imports over exports that year was \$25,000,000; the following year \$37,000,000; the next year \$38,000,000; and last year \$41,000,000, making an excess of \$142,000,000 in the short space of four years. Now, I agree with my hon. friend that the balance of trade is not a matter very deeply affecting the wealth of nations. It is possible that a country may have ostensibly a balance of trade against it, and yet continue to progress in wealth and prosperity. The very best evidence of this fact is to be found in our own

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history, because we have rarely, if ever, had the balance of trade in our favour, and yet we have steadily grown in wealth and prosperity. However, I may say the ostensible balance of trade as given in our trade and navigation returns, appears greater than it really is, in consequence of the earnings of the shipping not being included. An adverse balance may be no evidence of a nation being unprosperous, but when it is even ostensibly so large as \$142,000,000 in four years, as in our case, it may trouble the country to make the payments in the short time given to do it. We are like a man in a solvent position, who has bought a large stock of good value, but finds some trouble in paying for it; but there can be no doubt the Dominion as a whole, though suffering from temporary depression, was never in a sounder or more prosperous condition. The depression that has been talked about so much, is confined principally to three interests—the manufacturing, lumbering, and mercantile.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That is every possible interest but the agricultural and ecclesiastical interests.

Mr. YOUNG—It may by a wide interpretation be held to have that meaning, but I contend there are tradesmen and other classes that are not necessarily included under these heads.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does not the hon. gentleman include the coal interest, which is a very large one in this country as one suffering the most severe depression at this moment?

Mr. YOUNG—I do not intend to go into a particular classification of every branch of trade affected. I refer more particularly to those interests coming under my own notice and observation. So far as agriculture is concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that it never was more prosperous than it is at the present time. I believe everybody agrees with that view. We know very well the cause of the depression in the mercantile interest, and we know also that they have taken the course which is necessary to place them in a more prosperous condition—that is, by contraction, as my hon. friend the Finance Minister is aware by the decrease in imports during the

current year. So far as our lumber interests are concerned, they have also acted with great wisdom, and there are undoubtedly wise men in the neighbourhood of Ottawa. They decided to decrease the production, and that was the proper course to pursue, because, in 1873, as any person looking at the figures will see, the manufacture of lumber and timber in this country was extraordinarily large, and that it would only be under uncommon circumstances we would expect to produce at such a rate and find a market for it. I am also informed that we may expect to see, before very long, a revival of the lumber trade in the United States, which is the financial market for our lumber. So far as our manufacturing interests are concerned, I am sorry to say that up to this time there is little or no improvement, and I take the opportunity of saying that I regard our manufactures as one of the most important industries we have in this country. I am one of those who have always taken an interest in the advancement of our manufactures, because I believe that this country will never be able to occupy the position it ought to on this continent unless we are a manufacturing as well as an agricultural people. We have undoubtedly a very considerable amount of depression existing in this branch of industry in Canada at the present time. The most common reason given for this state of things has been this—that during the last few years a very large introduction of American manufactures has taken place into this country and have been sold here at sacrificial prices. I have given notice of a motion which will, I think, bring before the House and the country the extent to which American manufactures have been brought in and sacrificed in our markets during the last two or three years. I have reason to believe that the extent of these importations, however, has been very much exaggerated. I have here a statement which throws a little light upon the subject, and I may say that—taking the 15 per cent. and the 17½ per cent. lists, which are nearly analogous, for the past two years—the excess of manufactures brought in from the United States in 1874 was something

under \$2,000,000, and for last year about \$1,500,000. It actually decreased last year instead of having increased. I think, therefore, it is quite apparent that it is not the quantity of American goods which have come into the country during these years which is really the cause of the depression at the present time amongst manufacturers. The real cause is, that during the period of prosperity we enjoyed, our manufacturers expanded their operations until their products were more than the country could consume. I have no doubt whatever that that is the prime cause of the depression which exists amongst them at the present moment. However, I am free to admit this—and I desire to bring it clearly before this House—that the goods brought into Canada from the United States during these years, coming at a time when our manufacturers were depressed—undoubtedly tended very much to increase the difficulties of our manufacturers. I have no hesitation in saying—looking at the state of this interest—regarding it as I do as one of great importance to this country, and feeling that the whole of Canada is interested in seeing it restored to a position of prosperity—that it would be well if the practice of what is called slaughtering, by the Americans, were checked, if that can be done without committing this country to a dangerous commercial policy. The difficulties are serious in the way of providing a remedy and attaining the object I have referred to, without getting into difficulties. On the one hand there is the danger of our falling into an absolute protective policy—and what I mean by that is this: protection resorted to for the purpose of protection, and not with a view to secure a revenue. I have no hesitation in saying, that no greater calamity could befall this country, and no worse thing could happen to the manufacturers themselves, than that a Chinese Wall of protection should be thrown around Canada to entirely keep out competition by other countries. The effect would be that in a very few years we should have such a rush of capital and labour into these branches of trade that business would be com-

pletely clogged, and we should see the manufacturing community suffering to a far greater extent than it has ever yet done. The true policy for Canada is not one of absolute free trade or of absolute protection. My idea is we ought to give the manufacturers the raw material at the cheapest possible rate—that we ought to keep down the cost of production to the lowest possible point. We ought to be able to place them (the manufacturers) in such a position that they would be able not only to control our own markets, but to go to the West Indies, South America and other foreign markets with their goods. Will any one tell me that by shutting ourselves in to our four million of people for customers, we could build up large manufacturing industries? We want to keep down the cost of production, we want to take a leaf out of the book of the Mother Country, and go to foreign nations with those manufactures, which we have the necessary facilities for carrying on successfully. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the vexed question of free trade and protection. Believing the fiscal policy of the Government should be based upon the general principle of free trade, I have never held, and do not now, that exceptional circumstances should never be taken into account. There is no use in denying the fact that, situated as we are, both geographically and politically, as regards the United States, we occupy an exceptional position; and as I stated before, if we were able to devise a policy to prevent what is regarded as unfair competition in manufactures from the United States, without being landed into a policy of absolute Protection or a struggle of retaliatory tariffs, it would be in the public interest to do so. It happens that, in the case of not a few articles with which we have the greatest competition with the United States, they are largely produced among ourselves. I believe it would be possible to arrange our fiscal policy in such a way as to prevent what is called "slaughtering," while at the same time not materially interfering with our trade with Great Britain or raising the prices of articles to consumers in this country. If, after

careful deliberation, it were found it could not be done without adopting an absolute protective or retaliatory policy I would say:—

"Better endure the ills we have
Than fly to those we know not of."

But I believe a middle course is possible in this case. I have sufficient faith in the Hon. Minister of Finance to believe that he would be able, after careful consideration, to draw up a policy in the direction to which I have pointed. I am not aware positively whether the hon. gentleman has really decided upon any changes in the tariff during the present Session or not. I hope that the economy the Government promised us in His Excellency's Speech will be so extensive that very little change will be needed so far as the revenue is concerned. But if we are to have the tariff altered, and if my hon. friend can so frame his measure that some relief can be given to manufacturers from the unfair competition of the United States, whilst he avoids the Scylla and Charybdis I have pointed out, he will merit, as he will no doubt receive, the approval of this House and the country. I hope, Sir, that no serious objection will be made to the appointment of the Committee which has been moved for by my hon. friend from Bothwell in the able speech to which we have listened. I think such a Committee can do much good, and even help the Government in bringing down a measure which will receive the support of all classes of the community.

Mr. IRVING—As I represent important manufacturing interests, I may be allowed to say a few words on this subject. I think we could meet the difficulty my hon. friend has pointed out as to steering between Scylla and Charybdis, by transplanting my hon. friend from his present position to that of Finance Minister. My hon. friend has pointed out with a great deal of appropriateness the position of Lord John Russell in some cartoons in *Punch*. Well, Lord John had the fortune to figure often in that paper. I remember that he was represented as writing "No Popery" on the wall, and then running away. My hon. friend has written "Protection" on the wall, and ran away. My hon.

friend has a very valuable manufacturing interest in his own constituency, and I listened with all attention to ascertain whether he was a Free-Trader or a Protectionist. I think the country generally is pretty well informed of the cause of the commercial depression, and I have confidence enough in the Ministry to think they will not require a Committee to enlighten them on this matter. It is patent to everybody except, perhaps, to the philosophers. They probably have not yet seen that which is seen all over the country. In the Imperial House of Commons they have indeed a philosopher, who unfortunately is blind, but in our House the philosophers are not only blind but deaf. Now, Sir, I am not disposed to encourage the appointment of this unnecessary Committee, because I am not sure they will not trifle with the subject. I am not prepared at this late day to refer the matter to a Committee to relieve the Government from the responsibility of dealing with the general distress throughout the country.

Mr. WORKMAN—When the hon. member for Bothwell asked me to allow my name to be placed on the Committee, I had some hesitation in agreeing, because I was of the same opinion as the hon. member for Hamilton, who has just sat down. I was of opinion that the report that the Committee would submit might be a foregone conclusion. But he (Mr. Mills) assured me that it would not be so, that the utmost impartiality should prevail, and that every information possible to be obtained would be solicited. I therefore allowed my name to go on the Committee, although my spare time is now fully occupied with that important question—the tariff. The gentlemen who have already spoken have viewed the subject from a different standpoint than I should. I have just come to this House from the counting-house,—from the bankers, the merchants, and the manufacturers; therefore I know how very great the depression is in those three most important branches of the industry of the Dominion. For the last eighteen months there have been a gradual shrinking of values and curtailment of trade, until we have now arrived at a condition which in forty years' com-

mercial experience I have never seen equalled. We have therefore arrived at a point when it is very important that the gentlemen who have charge of the administration of the affairs of this country should fairly look the question in the face, and do anything and everything that is in their power to remove, as far as possible, the causes that have brought about this state of things. I shall not enter particularly upon these causes at present, but I know this, that the manufactures of the country are now in a most depressed state; that this depression has been gradually going on and increasing until at present, nearly one half of all the manufacturing establishments in and around the city from which I come are closed up, and the other half are working on half or perhaps two-thirds time. Any number of hands have been discharged and are idle to-day, while those who are employed are only earning wages of from 75 to 80 per cent. of what they earned before. A vast amount of misery and distress prevails round Montreal in consequence. That arises, Sir, in some measure, I am willing to admit, from over-production, but if we had only that to contend against we could soon remove the evil. We are living near the United States, with a very enterprising and progressive people, whose manufacturing interests have within the last ten or fifteen years made marvellous strides. During the rebellion, wages in the United States were high, and it was difficult to produce goods anything like as cheaply as now; but since the war the industries of the country have been very progressive, and there is now in the United States manufactures an amount of money, skill and perseverance, which if continued, will in a very short time leave even old England in the shade. They have adopted a policy in that country, the results of which have been most beneficial in building up the manufacturing industries there. There is a great outcry made against protection, but if we wish to judge of its beneficial effects we have only to look to the United States. That country's manufactures are not yet a century old, yet look at the position they occupy in the world to-day. They are able to send

goods to Manchester and compete with the manufacturers there; they are able to deluge our markets as well as other countries with their goods at prices ruinous to us. An American manufacturer finds his stock accumulating, looks over to Canada for a market, where he slaughters them for whatever they will bring. The consequence is that these goods—even to the small amount my friend from Waterloo has stated—are forced into our markets, until the effect is disastrous to our native industries. I have seen it and experienced it myself every day. I can tell the hon. gentlemen who are Free-Traders in this House—and I regret there are a great many of them—that the manufacturers' interests, if not soon protected, with the other industries of the country, will suffer very much. The mercantile interests are also very important, and they depend for success upon the success of the mechanic and the manufacturer. I have no doubt that my hon. friend from Bothwell will prove a great deal from figures, as figures will prove almost anything, but practical experience is far better than figures or anything else. I have had experience, and I speak from the experience of every manufacturer in Lower Canada. I am happy to say that the views I entertain are in harmony with the great majority of the people of Canada, and they are strongly impressed with the conviction that a certain amount of protection to our manufacturing interests is absolutely necessary, and they look to the Government of the day for that protection. I hope that the Government will give this subject—before they bring down their Budget—their calm and careful consideration, for I wish to tell them that although they have the confidence and support of a large majority of this House, if they do not deal with this question in a fair, straightforward and candid manner, they will lose the support of their best friends. My hon. friend from South Waterloo has stated that he did not wish to see the introduction of any dangerous commercial policy into this country; by that I suppose he meant protection to our manufactures. I do not conceive that this is a dangerous policy. I think it is a policy that will

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tend to build up our Dominion and place it in the proud position which the United States occupies to-day as a manufacturing country. There has been a very large amount of money invested in the manufactures of Canada, and that capital, I regret to say, is almost unproductive. Some of the largest capitalists were induced to invest very heavily, and what is the result? Their manufactures are nearly all closed up, or, if working, their returns are *nil*. I am quite willing to serve on the Committee which the hon. member for Bothwell has moved for. He is at least assured, that gentlemen of my opinion, although differing from him on this point, will take part in obtaining the required statistics, and the report when hereafter submitted to this House will not be a partial or one-sided affair.

Mr. DYMOND—I will follow the example of the mover of the resolution, and not discuss those subjects which will more properly come before the Committee itself, as I find that he has done me the honour to place my name upon the list of its members; but I rise to make an observation or two with reference to the remarks of the hon. gentleman opposite. I should have thought that the right hon. gentleman, so far from blaming my hon. friend from Bothwell for the course which he has taken, would have been grateful to him for doing that which he should certainly have done himself. The right hon. gentleman has delivered during the last two months a succession of speeches; his friends have thought them brilliant; but his opponents might have given them a very different designation. The right hon. gentleman has insinuated that the Government of the day are responsible more or less for the prevailing distress; and we are told he is still leader of a great party—he is at all events the leader of a very respectable minority in this House. The hon. gentleman when he came down here, I presumed, would have forthwith flown to the Clerk's Office with a notice of motion for a Committee to prove the allegations he had been making so frequently before the House met, but he has failed to do so. I think that we might very properly have

had some enquiries into several of the allegations he has made. For instance, there was the statement that the weevil came in with the Grits, Well, Sir, he might have thought proper to have an enquiry as to whether that was true, or whether the non-existence of the weevil at the present time had been due to the fact that the Grits and the weevil did not agree together. He also said something about the evil doings of the present Government with reference to banks, and made a positive allegations; that they had tampered with these institutions for corrupt purposes, but to one of the patriotic members on this side of the House it has been left to do that which the right hon. gentleman does not seem to take upon himself to do, although so alarming an allegation struck completely at the basis of our confidence in the Administration that we had a right to expect he would make such a motion, in order that we might know - not whether what he said was true or false from his point of view, but whether he spoke on that point, as I must assume in courtesy he does on all occasions, with a special sense of his responsibility as a member of this House and Leader of its Opposition. But, Sir, the right hon. gentleman was wrong with regard to the statement of facts only occurring so far back as a week ago, and of course if he is not correct with reference to what happened a week since, he may not be accurate with respect to the weevil, or what the Government of the day is supposed to have done in 1872 or 1874. Now, Sir, the subject-matter of my hon. friend's enquiry—the cause of this depression—is not alluded to in His Excellency's Speech from the Throne, in which no intimation is given to us as to how it comes to pass that depression exists at the present time. The Speech contains the statement that there is depression; and my hon. friend is perfectly logical in asking for a Committee of this House to ascertain how this depression has come to pass. What His Excellency said was this—in the third paragraph—"The great depression which has prevailed throughout the neighbouring country for several years, and which has more recently

"been felt in the Old World causing general stagnation of business, "has extended to Canada, and "has seriously affected our trade. "At the same time we have reason "to be gratified for an abundant harvest." The depression is regretted, and once more reference is made to it in these words:—"The accounts for the "past and the estimates for the next "financial year will be laid before you. "The estimates have been framed with "every possible economy consistent "with the public interests. I regret that "the depression of trade, to which I have "alluded, has seriously affected the "revenue." Now, Sir, here are two statements—one that there is depression, and the other that the depression has affected the revenue. Well, we do not require an allusion to this fact in the first portion of the Speech from His Excellency to be aware of its existence, for we already know it, and with relation to the effect on the revenue. I have no doubt that at an early day we shall have had this melancholy information from my hon. friend the Finance Minister; but, Sir, there is not single statement in the Speech which at all anticipates the motion of my hon. friend. We are, however, told that British precedent is against us with regard to the appointment of such a Committee. I do not know that the naming of a Committee to enquire into the causes of the depression in trade necessarily involves an enquiry into the state of the nation, because the condition of trade, of course, is a question applying only to a portion of the nation; and although it is quite true that Mr. Hume's Committee pointed specifically to prevailing distress, this may have arisen from a great number of causes. It may have been due to mis-government; and it had, in point of fact, arisen from a century of mis-government, or to causes of a temporary nature relating to the administration of affairs. Long after 1840, enquiries were had into the mis-management, for instance, of the army showing the influences which were at work, and which had a most unglorious effect upon the interests of the whole country, involving an enormous outlay of money and an enormous sacrifice of life; but, Sir, I pre-sume that, even supposing that

Mr. Dymond.

British precedent, quoted by the right hon. gentleman, is against us, we are at liberty so refer to precedents of our own, and I find that only two years ago, at the very moment my hon. friend was framing a policy with respect to the tariff, involving very important fiscal changes, this House granted an enquiry—and for what purpose? To enquire into the state of the manufacturing interests—a parliamentary mode of saying that we were to make an investigation into the question of the increase of the tariff. My hon. friend from Hamilton, I am sure, will bear me out when I say that the distinct object of that Committee was to show that an increase in the tariff was necessary, and concurrent with its sittings, which were protracted during nearly the whole of the then Session, my hon. friend the Finance Minister was carrying through this House an Act of Parliament which was in accordance, to some very limited extent, with the views of my hon. friend opposite. No objection was made to this increase being granted; and I am not aware, Sir, that by the action of that Committee, if it ever had any result at all, the Constitution was put in danger. It had, Sir, however, one beneficial effect—for I noticed that when my hon. friend, the Chairman of that Committee, was running for Hamilton, he took credit for the increase in the revenue, as a consequence of their investigation into the subject; and I believe, Sir, that his majority in Hamilton was very greatly increased owing to these representations, although if I had happened to have been in Hamilton I would have had to correct him on that point.

Mr. IRVING—The majority was decreased because the rate was not put up higher.

Mr. DYMOND—Then we have one member for Hamilton contradicting the other member; because I remember, I think, that my hon. friend, now the junior member, congratulated the Finance Minister in 1874 upon the fact that he had adopted a somewhat protective policy.

Mr. WOOD—He had taken a step in the right direction, but he had not gone far enough.

Mr. DYMOND—He went quite far enough for some people at any rate. There is another point. I would just submit to the House as a reason for the appointment of this Committee, that it is exceedingly difficult to obtain from any sources at our command, anything like an authoritative statement of what is the state of public opinion on this subject. Now, Sir, everybody who wants an increase in the tariff comes down to the Finance Minister, while those who do not want it stay away; but I have no doubt that if we were to poll the country at the present time—particularly the agricultural population, which is our greatest interest after all—and our friends from the Maritime Provinces, with a great many of our friends in Ontario—and notwithstanding what my hon. friend from Montreal says, I hope many from Quebec also—we should find a large majority probably opposed to protection. Well, Sir, we look then for light on this subject to the meetings of commercial men, and we find them to be almost equally contradictory. In connection with the Dominion Boards of Trade, which have been sometimes mentioned with disrespect, although I consider they are justly entitled to that amount of respect which is due to thirty or forty gentlemen having particular interests at stake when they come together and discuss questions from their own point of view—we observe progressive changes in their line of action. Now my hon. friend from Montreal will not, I am sure, be offended if I quote as a high authority upon the views of the Board of Trade—I think as recently as 1873—a gentleman whom he had the honour of defeating only a few weeks since. A resolution proposed by Mr. Thomas White, Jr., in that year, concludes thus:—“That “this Board of Trade is further of “opinion that permanence in the fiscal “policy of the country is most important, alike to its commerce and its “manufactures”—at that time we had a fifteen per cent tariff—“and “that no change should be made in “the tariff not demanded by the absolute necessities of the revenue.” That was the opinion of the gentleman who is held in the highest esteem by his friends opposite, who was the recipient

lately of a dinner, and who had in addition to the dinner the delight, the intellectual treat, of listening to the speech to which I have already referred, and whose name, I suppose, will go down embalmed in Conservative history in connection with that remarkable utterance. Well, Sir, we have progressed, it seems, since that time; because a year afterwards the same gentleman appears to have proposed something of this sort:—“That in the “opinion of this Board the principle of “protection to the manufacturing interests of the country should be embodied “in such a revision of the tariff, so far “as the same can be carried out consistently with the commercial and revenue requirements of the country.” In 1873, we were to have a tariff for revenue purposes only; but in 1874 we were to embody in the tariff the principles of protection. Now it may be said that opinions alter, that things have got worse, and that Canada was made, to use a common and popular phrase now-a-days, the slaughter market of the Americans. But a wise man and a great statesman, the hope of the Conservative party, must have been aware in 1873 of what was coming to pass, and I will not insult the gentleman by supposing that he had not all the prescience, all the wisdom, and all the foresight that his friends expect of him and give him credit for. I am bound to suppose, therefore, that he really believed, in 1873, that we only wanted a revenue tariff; and that in 1874, by some strange change of ideas, but without any real alteration in the situation which he could not have foreseen, he came out as a Protectionist, and demanded that we should embody in our tariff the principle of protection. Matters have, however, gone further since that date; for when, in the present year, the Board of Trade met together, they asked, not for incidental protection, and not simply protection for infant industries, but they demanded absolute protection and a retaliatory tariff; they asked that to which my hon. friend from Waterloo alluded when he said that with regard to certain articles which are prejudiced by American manufactures, it was desired to build up a Chinese Wall around us. Well,

Sir, that may be right and fair, but as I am going to sit on this Committee of the House if granted, and desire to act as an impartial judge in this matter, I shall not say a single thing as to whether the one policy be right or the other policy be right. Again, I come back to this point. Here is a divergence of opinion between wise men and men having the same interests, and a divergence of statement, if not of opinion, among those who are regarded as the exponents of the opinions of large numbers of their fellow countrymen, not only Conservatives but Reformers; and it must be exceedingly difficult for any Government, as it is for any individual, to ascertain what is the truth touching this matter. Here, too, is the great manufacturing interest crying out for relief. Well, Sir, I am not very much surprised after all to find that the right hon. gentleman opposite should have thrown cold water on this enquiry, for there was a time when, if he had all the prescience he is credited with and if he had kept the pledge he made on the hustings, he would have done something to avert the state of things which everyone saw was impending—that is, if protection could have averted it. In 1872 the right hon. gentleman stumped the country as the friend of the manufacturers, and when he went to convert the people of Hamilton and of Toronto, or other great manufacturing cities, to his views, he told them that there must soon be a re-adjustment of the tariff, and of course the interests of the manufacturers would be considered; and we all know what the interests of the manufacturers from their point of view meant. He went, besides, a little further, and in opposition to a former member of this House, and in favour of the candidate whom he was supporting, I remember that he held up to contumely and scorn men like my hon. friend from Montreal Centre, and my hon. friend from Centre Toronto, before the elections, as caterpillars, and said that merchants simply preyed upon the rest of the community. He then espoused the cause of the manufacturer, but we know, Sir, that nothing was done in 1873, and we had no pledge of a new tariff in the

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manufacturing interest, when the House met at the end of that year. Possibly the hon. gentleman had then heard his doom, and thought that, after all, it was not worth his while to take any action. We heard nothing of the kind from the right hon. gentleman when in Opposition in 1874; but the hon. gentleman who sits next to him attacked my hon. friend for increasing the tariff, using every argument that these figures, which my hon. friend from Montreal Centre says can prove anything—and never was there a truer saying with reference to the hon. gentleman opposite—could supply, mixed—I would not say cooked, because that would be unparliamentary—and confused together to show that it was a wrong thing to give our suffering manufacturers an additional two and one-half per cent. Well, Sir, last year the Government asked us for \$80,000 in order to assist the manufacturers of this country, the great producing class, to advertise their goods at the Philadelphia Exhibition, and I remember that the right hon. gentleman, although I think that he did not divide the House, opposed it. I am not very much surprised after that to find, in spite of all his fondness for the manufacturers when their votes are wanted, and all his interest for the labouring classes, when they were invited to vote for my hon. friend for West Toronto, on somewhat similar grounds, and in spite of all the universal benevolence which he has felt for every one in this world, not excluding himself, that he entertains the secret conviction that the attempt to import into this country a protective tariff would place him in the absurd position he occupied in 1871, of repealing at the end of twelve months what he had passed a year before. As to what is the true position of affairs, it will be for this Committee to enquire. I hope that we shall lift the right hon. gentleman and his friends out of a difficulty by means of this Committee. I trust that we shall be able to present to the House a fair and important statement of facts relating to late events, and that while we cannot expect that the financial arrangements shall be suspended at the present time, any more than they were in 1874,

until we make a report, the evidence we collect will enable us on all future occasions to discuss the question of the tariff, and any similar measures affecting the great interests of the country with calmness and deliberation, and with more information than at all times we are able to bring to bear at present on these subjects.

Mr. WOOD—I do not intend to discuss the question of the Tariff at present. I think the commercial men of this country have a right to be thankful to the hon. gentleman for the anxiety he is manifesting in their interest. If the hon. gentleman, instead of asking for a Committee, would go among the manufacturers of this country, he would get all the information he requires before the end of the session. If he goes to the hon. member for South Leeds and asks why his manufactory is closed, he would learn that the country is flooded with American manufactures, which are sold at prices that render competition impossible. If he goes to the hon. member for Cornwall and asks why the cotton factory there is idle, he will find that it is because they cannot compete with American cottons. Is the hon. gentleman aware that the Americans are sending furniture into Hamilton and other Canadian cities and having it auctioned for what it will bring? And this is not confined to furniture, but in almost every class of goods manufactured in the United States it is the same. I ask the hon. gentleman why it is, if that country has been protected to death, as he says it has, that its manufactures are taking the place of English goods? In 1872 we imported from the United States of cabinet-ware or furniture, \$122,070; in 1873, \$220,497; in 1874, \$311,476; and in 1875, \$328,536. And yet this does not represent the amount of furniture coming into the country. The increase is not shown by the values, because there has been a large reduction in prices. A person going to the United States to buy furniture is given a certain price; but when he says "I want to take it to Canada," the manufacturer will take off 25 per cent. I am speaking now simply of the importations from the United States. The imports of cotton into Canada in 1872

amounted to \$525,709; in 1873, to \$491,809; in 1874 to \$905,894; and in 1875, to \$1,350,308—showing that the manufacturers of the United States, protected as they have been, are able to drive their English competitors out of our markets, aided though the latter have been by large capital and the best machinery. How can we expect, with our infant manufactures, to compete with them? Are we to be told by hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House that we must import all our goods and not manufacture what we can for ourselves? Have we got no patriotism? Shall we drive our manufacturing population away from the country to find work in the States? In the articles of spades, shovels, etc., in which the hon. member for Leeds is engaged in, we imported from the United States in 1872, \$56,000; 1873, \$64,547; 1874, \$80,494, and in 1875, \$114,115, showing a continual increase. In fact the American manufacturers are doing everything they can to crush out of existence our manufacturing industries. In manufactures of wood we imported from the United States, \$273,890 in 1872; \$395,367 in 1873, and \$454,582 in 1874. In spikes, nails and brads, \$55,693 in 1872; \$113,092 in 1873; \$139,442 in 1874, and \$232,390 in 1875. In stoves and all other iron castings, \$149,364 in 1872; \$275,665 in 1873, and \$360,503 in 1874. In manufactures of hardware—and I am now referring to Ontario only—we imported in 1872 from England, \$1,719,000; from the United States, \$1,350,000; in 1873, from England, \$1,917,000; from the United States, \$1,665,000; in 1874, from England, \$1,527,442; from the United States, \$2,043,179; in 1875, from England, \$1,527,000; from the United States, \$2,201,000. So here we have evidence of the utility of protection, which enables the United States to manufacture so cheaply as to drive out English goods from this country. In bar-iron, Ontario imported from England \$175,324; from the United States, \$438,738. In the article of pig-iron, Ontario imported from England only 266 tons, valued at \$6,758, while from the United States we received 20,000 tons, worth \$502,345. There are other

articles I might enumerate, but I wish to refer to the balance of trade which the hon. member for Bothwell spoke of. From his description of the subject, we must come to the conclusion that the more a person spends the richer he is. I would like to read an extract from the pen of one of the ablest men of his day—the late Horace Greeley—who understood this question thoroughly. This is not a hundred years old, like the extract read by the hon. member from Bothwell. It is as follows:

“But the fact that there is such a balance is put beyond doubt by the rates of exchange, the movement of specie and stocks, and the negotiation of loans. If we were paying Europe in our products (including California gold) for the goods we are buying of her, we should not be sending stocks to London for sale at the rate of millions per month, and sending agents thither to negotiate the sale of Railway bonds, State bonds, County or City bonds, and every possible manufacture of paper, which implies payment with interest by-and-by for foreign products eaten, drank and worn out by our people to-day. The correctness of the statement is undeniable, that as a people, we are running rapidly and heavily in debt to Europe, and mortgaging the earnings of our children to pay it off. And the excuse that we are building railroads, &c., does not avail us. Europe is also building railroads; Great Britain is chequered with them; but she does not owe their cost to the capitalists of other countries, because her people produce more than they consume, sell more than they buy, as ours do not. We have labour enough standing idle from month to month, and anxiously looking for employment to make all the iron, cloth, wares, &c., for which we are running giddily in debt to foreign capitalists; yet our Free-Trade policy tends to keep that labour idle and run our country deeper and deeper in debt for the fabrics we ought to produce. Can this be right?”

I shall not trouble the House any further with remarks on this subject. When the question of protection *per se* comes up, as I presume it will on the tariff, I think the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House will be prepared to discuss it on its merits.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—I would not have been tempted to enter into this discussion if it had not been for the wonderfully dignified way in which the hon. member for North York, who admits he is a novice in Canadian politics, undertook to speak of a gentleman who had not an opportunity to reply to him. He did not tell us anything

of the causes which led to the present discontent in the country, but if we could glean anything from that speech the cause is the absence of the right hon. member for Kingston on the Government of the country. I do not intend to follow him on that part of his speech. The remarks of the hon. member for North York are well known to us all. They are but a rehash of stale editorials. He might have saved the House the trouble of listening to him if he had simply done like the man who, instead of saying his prayers, pointed to the printed formula and said, “them are my sentiments.” If the hon. gentleman had taken a file of the leading Government newspaper of the country, and said “them are my sentiments,” it would have been enough. While he had a right to refer to the right hon. member for Kingston, he had no right to speak of another gentleman whose remarks and opinions have nothing to do with the discussions of this House. It was neither fair nor manly to criticize the remarks of the gentleman who opposed the hon. member for Montreal West.

Mr. DYMOND—I made no mention of that gentleman's speeches. I quoted from the published resolutions of the Dominion Board of Trade, circulated by that body for the information of the public from year to year.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—He quoted the opinions of Mr. White, who is not in a position to reply to him in this House. I guarantee this—if the hon. member for North York chooses his subject and any platform he likes in the country, that gentleman will meet him and discuss the affairs of this country with as much ability, as much intelligence, and with much more satisfaction to his audience than the hon. member who has assailed him. The hon. member for Montreal West says he goes on that Committee on the understanding that the report is not to be a foregone conclusion. I would like to know if he does not think from the speech of the hon. member for North York that his opinion is a foregone conclusion? The hon. member for South Waterloo, in a very glib manner, tells us he knew all the causes of the present discontent and dis-

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ness, and it was perfectly unnecessary to appoint this Committee. It is only necessary to summon him to learn all about it. The hon. member says these periods of depression happen periodically; they had happened before and therefore must happen again. Like Newton or Galileo observing the regularity of the solar system, he regards it as inevitable, and therefore we should do nothing but sit still and see the country struck by the wave of depression. The hon. member told us something about Scylla and Charybdis, and gave us to understand that he could effectually sail the bark between these two rocks.

Mr. YOUNG—Oh, no!

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Well, no matter. He told us that the other cause of the depression was over-importation, and he quoted some figures in reference to this. I should like to call the attention of the House to the fact that figures are not at all times to be relied upon, as my hon. friend the Finance Minister will be able to tell us. In the figures with reference to the expenditure of the first six months of the financial year, published in the *Official Gazette*—a fact to which I should like to direct the attention of the Finance Minister—a discrepancy of \$2,000,000 occurs when compared with the amended return down to date. This circumstance warrants me in reminding my hon. friend that perhaps the returns he has found in the Blue Books are equally erroneous, and cannot be relied upon altogether. This question of over importation may be looked at in another way. Upon examining the returns it will be found there was an increase in the imports of dry goods, silks, &c. Now, we may blink at the fact as we like, but it is known that a great quantity of these goods pass through Canada into the United States and are not consumed in this country. When that fact is taken into consideration, it will be understood that the imports to Canada are not so great as my hon. friend would make us think. We were told that only three interests were suffering from depression. My hon. friend alluded to four interests, and I may mention another, that of shipping,

which has not been in such a depressed condition for years as at present. Ship-owners and others are looking to the Government for some measure to revive it, and I hope they do not look in vain. The hon. member for Montreal West (Mr. Workman) has told us that he was so busily engaged on the tariff as to give the Finance Minister very little to do, and if this Committee is granted would it not, under the circumstances, be better to place the office of Finance Minister in commission? What use is he if we have to appoint a Committee to collect facts and figures which I am sure, from his known ability and industry, he has already obtained?

Mr. THOMSON, (Welland)—It occurs to me that when a man is sick it is better to get him well first, and then discuss the process by which he is to be kept from relapsing. This panic was brought about by natural causes, such as over-trading. It is gradually disappearing, and when trade gets back into a wholesome condition will be the proper time to discuss the causes of our commercial ailment. I think it was Lincoln who said that it was "no time to swap horses when we are swimming for life across the river," and that remark applies to our present condition. Entering upon this discussion here on principles of detail, it occurs to me, is beneath the dignity of this House, which is not a trade establishment, a house of merchants, manufacturers or agriculturists, but a House to make laws for those interests in the aggregate. We have to decide upon great general principles and make laws which will do justice to all. I take ground at once as a thorough Free-Trader. I object to doing one wrong to prevent another; two wrongs will never make a right. If the principles upon which trade and commerce in this country are based make free-trade impossible, it is not reasonable or proper to try and remedy matters by adopting a wrong principle; but if this House legislates in perfect harmony with the laws of nature, free-trade must be possible. We ought to have education and intelligence enough to find out a process by which we can secure cheap goods, prosperity, and free-trade with

the rest of the world. As long as I am a Liberal politician, I must be a Free-Trader, but we cannot have free-trade unless other things are free—unless we have free minds. Is it necessary to retain that wrong principle of dear money? Is it necessary to establish that principle which makes trade expensive and almost impossible? I say no. It is the duty of this House to make money cheaper. There is no manufacturer, no process of human industry which will not be ruined by 7, 8 and 10 per cent interest; it is only a question of time. It is ruining the United States, which owes over \$7,000,000,000, while the assessment is \$1,400,000,000. That country has grown by immigration, by its climate and soil, and liberal principles of Government—it has grown in spite of those conditions. In the United States to-day, in England, and in Canada, I hope, there are a great many men struggling for free trade and free money. And are we going to throw cold water on their energies by saying that this free, rich country of Canada is retrograding and adopting principles which are obsolete? The great difficulty in Canada, as in England and the United States, is that the servant is governing the master—that the working interests are governing the industrial interests of the country; and until this thing is changed we shall always have panics, which will grow worse every time. It is no business of ours whether the merchants fail or not; they are mere speculators, buyers and sellers, the mere agents of the interests of the country. We should not stultify the agricultural, mechanical and other interests for the purpose of supporting their speculations and amending the difficulties they have created by their speculative ideas. They talk about the United States sending goods here to slaughter in our market. England does the same thing; she sends her surplus goods to New York, &c. Why, we sell oil at home for 30 cents per gallon and send it out and sell it for 15 cents. Everybody acts on this principle. The great evil, as I before said, consists of the money system, which ought to rest on the good faith of the nation. The people owing it should make it, and it

should be the duty of the Government to regulate it. When that time arrives money will be the rule instead of the exception; at present credit is the rule and money the exception.

A system based upon ready money is honest, and a system founded upon credit is dishonest. The whole of the panic to which we have been subjected, has related to the mercantile portion of the community; for in point of fact the farmers in Upper Canada are as well off as ever; and if every merchant in the country were to fail, it would not at all impoverish the agricultural classes. But if the grasshopper or the drought came to Canada and destroyed twenty or fifty per cent. of the agricultural productions, the entire country would suffer. I believe in free-trade—and in direct taxation, which would be levied, if in existence amongst us at the present moment, at the rate of \$6 per head. A labouring man who earns at least \$300 per annum, probably expends \$200, paying in reality on his purchases a duty amounting to about \$50, while, under the system of direct taxation, he would not be required to contribute more than \$5 or \$6 per annum to the revenue. The result of the present state of things in this relation is that the country is inconveniently and very heavily taxed, and the system is a bar to the success of the lower strata of society, while direct taxation gives these classes a chance, and enhances the prosperity of the people. I hear that there is a deficit; well, suppose that there be a deficiency of a few millions of dollars during the present year, it is simply due to this condition of affairs, and it is useless to attempt to recover this loss by means of additional taxation at the present time, although I will likely support any measure the Finance Minister may bring down. I hope that trade will not be disturbed, and changes in the tariff even affect traders; and I trust that the tariff will be let alone, in which event, a surplus making up for the existing deficit will be secured. I imagined that we had obtained a satisfactory tariff last year, though I did not examine it very carefully, and I consider that if the present conditions be continued—

instead of a deficit, we will have a surplus during next year, or at all events within a short period. I strongly deprecate any change in the tariff, unless it be for the introduction of free-trade and free money. I would rather hear this subject discussed in the House, than in a Committee composed wholly of extreme or incidental Protectionists.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—I was a good deal amused, Mr. Speaker, by the remarks of the hon. member for Welland. He said this was a House in which in the interests of all were to be protected, and yet, in the same breath, he announced himself as a Free-Trader—which means the extinguishment of all the capital that every manufacturer has invested in the country. I intend in the discussion of this question to keep in my mind simultaneously three thoughts the manufacturer, the consumer, and the revenue, and if I do fairness to the one I am bound to do equal fairness to the other. It is perhaps due to the House that I should say a word or two as the hon. member for Bothwell did me the honour to ask me to sit on the Committee. It is some years since I sat in this House, and I must confess that from last time to this, I have not been reading the debates or looking up parliamentary figures. But certain Blue Books have been placed on the table since I entered the House this time, from which I have collected certain figures and have endeavoured to reach rational conclusions. I find that in 1868 the imports from all sources amounted to \$73,459,644, and five years afterwards those imports had grown to \$128,000,000. Is there any cause for enquiry with such an exhibit as that?

If I am rightly informed the increase in the population, as taken in the decennial census of 1871, was about 12 per cent. I have here, then, a lapse of five years only. Now, if I assume for the purpose of putting this case before the House that the increase during the next decade will be 15 per cent., we have then an increase in these five years of seven and a half per cent., an increase of imports of 75 per cent. No country in the world but Canada could have stood such an enormous strain, and no better proof of the wonderful

elasticity of the country could be produced than that it could maintain such a strain without injury to its credit. Several gentlemen who have preceded me have stated that American goods have been slaughtered in this country. That may be right. I don't pretend to express an opinion about branches of trade that I know nothing about, but I have reason to believe that American and other manufactures are not slaughtered in this country. My reason for making this statement is this: that the large houses of the United States publish their prices, and no man, no matter what his wealth or influence, or what country he comes from, can buy them cheaper than the price list. In certain places in the United States goods are sold cash before delivery. The fact is that silently there is a work going on that has been unobserved. Any man that takes the trouble to carefully look at the following figures will be astonished at the result. Take from 1872 to 1875, and the result is startling:

Comparative statement of the imports into Canada from Great Britain and the United States, for the financial years 1872-73, and 1874-75:—

	1873-74.	1874-75
Cigars—	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Great Britain, \$	37,378	\$ 20,732
United States,	104,221	204,757
Meats of various kinds—		
Great Britain,	1,584	5,785
United States,	909,535	1,776,485
Cabinet Ware—		
Great Britain,	19,808	18,981
United States,	122,070	326,536
Coach and Harness Furniture—		
Great Britain,	50,941	45,425
United States,	89,365	96,834
Lard—		
Great Britain,	2,328	74
United States,	36,027	335,401
China Ware—		
Great Britain,	531,397	496,788
United States,	29,970	43,417
Gunpowder—		
Great Britain,	40,127	33,563
United States,	18,372	29,585

Hardware, Spades, Shovels, &c.—		
Great Britain,	31,398	37,208
United States,	56,659	114,115
Spikes, Nails, Brads, &c.—		
Great Britain,	94,015	66,036
United States,	55,693	232,590
Manufactures of Iron—		
Great Britain,	1,719,629	1,517,913
United States,	1,350,509	2,201,446
Leather—		
Great Britain,	195,382	119,830
United States,	103,208	127,901
Sheep, Calf, Chamois Skins—		
Great Britain,	23,972	95,965
United States,	18,592	47,460
Manufactures of Marble—		
Great Britain,	19,345	22,090
United States,	27,459	60,238
Manufactures of Leather—		
Great Britain,	241,688	202,589
United States,	67,349	100,459
Boots and Shoes—		
Great Britain,	142,709	68,954
United States,	122,359	168,803
Harness and Saddlery—		
Great Britain,	21,958	24,930
United States,	23,958	53,083
Manufactures of Wood—		
Great Britain,	9,611	12,005
United States,	273,890	424,624
Paper—		
Great Britain,	196,916	188,114
United States,	91,399	243,825

Here are facts I wish to bring before the House, that while the importations from Great Britain have been steadily declining, those from the United States have been as steadily increasing. Take the time between 1872 and 1875, and imports from Great Britain have decreased three millions, while the imports from the United States have increased fifteen millions. Go further back and take the imports from 1868, and you will find that the increase of imports from the United States during that period is nearly twenty-two millions. These quotations are very significant I don't pretend to say what they point to. No gentleman in this House, or in the country, no matter what his commercial

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ability is, can tell what they point to. I can only say if the same facilities for obtaining money were afforded in the United States that are afforded in Great Britain, these figures would be so changed in six months, that they would astound every man on the floor of this House. When the time comes for this debate I shall be able to show the causes which have led to this wonderful excess of importation. I hold that the slaughter has come from Great Britain; I hold that the over production has been due to the cheapness of credit obtained in Great Britain; I hold that it is the excess of the goods of Great Britain thrown on our markets that has paralyzed our manufactures, and that the depression of trade has not been the result of the tariff, but of the injudicious use of credit and lack of business ability. While it shall be my duty to do everything that I think right for the manufacturers to have, and for the manufacturers to ask, I will also hold it to be my duty to guard the interests of the consumer and pay due deference to the revenue of the country, and to the suitable protection of those energetic men who have invested their means to develop the resources of the country. I think if we were to utilize the markets in the British Islands in the West Indies we would have another outlet for our surplus manufactures.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—My right hon. friend from Kingston opposes the motion of my hon. friend from Bothwell because he alleges that his motion is to enquire into the state of the nation; but he will remember that during his own reign he had no objection to any number of Committees of a similar character. No longer ago than in 1873 the right hon. gentleman consented to a Committee to report on the extent and condition of the manufactures of the Dominion.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—To all intents and purposes that is the object of my hon. friend from Bothwell.

Hon. Gentlemen—No!

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—By the terms of his motion he did not propose

to enquire into the state of the nation, but into the causes of the depression of trade, and the financial distress affecting a certain portion of the nation. Our records are full of motions similar to all intents and purposes, and I have not the slightest doubt if it is the opinion of the House that this Committee should be appointed, it should be granted in the shape the resolution has recommended. Still, I beg to say that there is really no difference whatever between a Committee to enquire into the condition of the community, and the commission alluded to in his remarks. I am not going into a general discussion of the policy of the Government at this time. I will simply say that the right hon. gentleman will find at the proper time that this Government are not disposed to shirk one iota of the responsibility that belongs to them. We understand how to frame our policy and know how and when to bring it down to this House.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I do not object to the motion of my hon. friend, but I say it is a motion of want of confidence, as every motion of this kind is. I have not the slightest objection that this Committee should be appointed and that my hon. friend should sit in judgment on the acts of the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—As this matter stands over until after six on Wednesday, I think I shall be prepared at that time to show that the right hon. gentleman has somewhat different views of motions of want of confidence.

The House adjourned at Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, February 17, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Ten minutes past Three o'clock.

PRIVATE BILL.

Mr. SCATCHERD introduced a Bill to incorporate the National Exchange Company.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill to amend the Criminal Law relating to violence, threats and molestations. He said—A Bill on this question was introduced last Session by my predecessor, to ameliorate the existing condition of the law on that subject. Since then it has been extensively discussed, and legislative action has been taken by the Imperial Parliament. The present Bill comprises the points of that of last Session as well as new matter, which the discussion in England has shown necessary with reference to the law of conspiracy. I propose to introduce one new provision. With some slight modifications I propose to combine the provisions of the law in England with those of the Act introduced last Session, and will enter into a full explanation on the second reading of the Bill.

The Bill was read the first time.

CASES AGAINST THE CROWN.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved for leave to introduce a Bill "To make further provision for the institution of cases against the Crown by Petition of Right." He said—You will recollect that last Session the hon. member for Hamilton framed a Bill on this subject which became law. At that time it was the general sentiment of the House and country, while willing to accord to British subjects that remedy they enjoyed in England in matters in which the Crown in Canada was concerned, that the Court created by this Parliament, and whose procedures were controlled by this Parliament, should be the tribunal to administer this remedy—a delicate and new one in this country. There is also another reason for introducing an amendment. Provision was made by which the right of the subject was restricted to a greater degree than in England, a class of cases which under the English law can be referred to arbitration, are excluded from being cognisable by our Court. That clause embodied a very large class of cases in which the subject, according to the English law, has the right of complaint against the Crown. I propose by this measure to give the subject the right to apply for a petition in all those cases in which he can

file a petition in England, and to give to the Minister the right within two months from the presentation of the petition of determining whether the subject-matter should be referred to arbitration, or whether he will permit the trial to be granted. The other portions of the measure are almost entirely matters of detail. The old Bill was copied from the English law, and is very prolix and somewhat obscure. I have endeavored to simplify and transform it into a more intelligent shape.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought the amendments introduced were desirable. He enquired if there was any provision in the Bill for an appeal from the arbitration.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—No; there is no appeal.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Then I will ask if it is proposed that the Supreme Court, to whom the petition will be referred, will have the power of judging of matters of fact as well as matters of law.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Yes. In view of possible difficulties arising, I have inserted an express provision that evidence may be taken partly at one place and partly at another. I propose to try the cases without juries.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I am very glad to hear that. My experience in such matters is, that where the Crown is one party, and a private subject the other party, seeking for compensation, the Crown always goes to the wall. There is one more question I wish to ask. Is there a clause defining the discretionary power of the Minister?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There is no such clause. The subject is given precisely the same rights as he had in England at the time the Rights Act was passed.

The Bill was read the first time.

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved for leave to introduce a Bill respecting the North-West Territory, and to create a separate territory out of part thereof. He said—We find that there is likely to be a good deal of inconvenience from the North-West Territories, including all that portion of our country

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

east of Manitoba and west of the boundary of Ontario. The Province of Manitoba wishes to increase its boundaries northward, westward, and eastward; but until the question is decided as to where the limits of Ontario may ultimately be fixed, it is impossible to take any steps towards enlarging the boundaries of that Province without the risk of having it reconsidered, probably, at the very next Session. I have thought it advisable on the whole, to detach a portion of country immediately north and east of Manitoba, from the North West Territories proper, and to have its affairs administered by the Governor of Manitoba without the intervention of any council, and without incurring any expense whatever. The boundary proposed in the Bill is to commence where the western coast of Lake Manitoba intersects the northern boundary of that Province, proceeding northward along the western coast of that Lake to the portage between its waters and Lake Winnipegosis, thence proceeding on the eastern shore of Lake Winnipegosis to Mossy Portage, a small neck of land between the Saskatchewan River and this Lake, and thence due northward from that point. The Bill recapitulates certain provisions of the North-West Territories Act of last Session, which will be made applicable to that Territory. As soon as the boundary between the Dominion and Ontario is settled in that quarter, the probability is, Manitoba will have its limits enlarged. The Government of that Province have sought to have its boundaries enlarged at the present time, but we felt it would be inconvenient to have this done in the east at the present time without knowing the precise place to where we would go. If the conclusions of the hon. member for Bothwell be correct, Manitoba and most of the North-West Territory will belong to Ontario. As I judge it, a more reasonable conclusion may probably be safely predicted, that will send it a considerable distance east of the present boundary. This is simply a provisional arrangement, which will come to an end as soon as we have that boundary settled. My first thought was to make Lake Winnipeg the limit, but it seemed more convenient to have

that portion of territory—where there is a considerable settlement already, and where the telegraph line has been built and the railway located east of the other two lakes (Manitoba and Winnipegosis)—attached to the Government of Manitoba than to a Government situated several hundred miles west of that Province.

Mr. DEWDNEY suggested some special provision should be made for the government of the country lying north of British Columbia, in which valuable diggings had been discovered, and to which there would be a large emigration next spring. He had a petition from the miners of Cassiar regarding the matter, and he thought it might be convenient for the Premier to include a clause in this Bill respecting it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will consider any representation the hon. gentleman may make before the second reading of the Bill, although I fear it would hardly do to insert such a provision.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The territory referred to belongs to the Government of Fort Pelly, and my hon. friend suggests that a provision should be inserted in the Act conferring upon the Government of British Columbia the power of administering the affairs of that place, analogous to that conferred on the Government of Manitoba for the eastern section.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I shall be happy to consider the question before the second reading.

The Bill was read the first time.

BRITISH COLUMBIA SUBSIDY.

Mr. BUNSTER asked whether the Dominion Government have stopped any and what portion of the subsidy due British Columbia in January 1876, and if so, why? And whether the Dominion Government have informed the Local Government of British Columbia that they will retain any and what portion of the future subsidies due the Province, and if so, why?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—With respect to the first portion of the question, the whole of the January subsidy has been paid to the Government of British Columbia. With respect to th

second portion, an advance was made charged against the subsidy payable on and after the 1st of July, the ground urged being the necessities of the Government.

TELEGRAPHIC EXTENSION.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked if it is the intention of the Government, in the interest of the Fisheries and Navigation, to give or recommend the grant of a subsidy to aid in the prolongation of the Telegraphic Line from Malbaie as far as the County, or the eastern limit of the County, of Saguenay?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—There is no intention at present to construct the line to which the hon. gentleman refers.

EXEMPTION OF CANADIAN SHIPPING FROM THE OPERATION OF THE IMPERIAL SHIPPING BILL.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that an Address from this House be presented to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all papers and correspondence which have passed between the Government of Canada and Her Majesty's Government in relation to legislation which may be under consideration of the Imperial Parliament in relation to British Shipping, and affecting Shipping registered in Canada; also all correspondence between the said Governments in relation to the exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operation of the Imperial Bill: also any correspondence between the said Governments in relation to the Legislation passed by the Canadian Parliament for the inspection and classification of Canadian vessels, and as to how far the British Government will accept the Canadian classification and inspection, if the Law passed by the Canadian Parliament is put in force as equivalent to the inspection by Imperial Officer or British Lloyds. Sir, I may state to this House that the object I have in moving for this Address at this time, is one of purely national interest. I may say that I am not inspired by any party or political feelings of any kind whatever, as I know that on former occasions, when a kindred motion was made by myself, it was partially at least looked on by gentlemen on the

other side of the House, as in some way likely to be tinged by political antagonism, or by a desire to forward special and personal views. In relation to the treatment that this question should receive, my hon. friend the Premier, remarks that it was most unreasonable to consider it a party question, and I grant it. Such an opinion never ought to be entertained, and I hope that, with regard to the statements I made to-day, no misunderstanding of that kind as has existed in the past will prevail among the hon. gentlemen, and particularly that my hon. friend, my worthy successor in office, will disabuse his mind of any such feeling. Sir, it will be recollected that in the year 1870, when I had the honor of occupying the position my hon. friend opposite so ably fills, it was thought necessary to consolidate the laws affecting Canadian tonnage, and a measure was introduced into the Parliament of Canada for that purpose. The Imperial Parliament had, however, during the previous two or three years been vainly endeavouring to do the same thing in reference to the consolidation of the laws, the Merchants' Shipping Act and measures generally affecting the tonnage of the British Empire, and, at the special request of the Imperial Government, our legislation was permitted to stand over, the reasons given in the despatches which were submitted to the Government of Canada being, that it was most desirable that any legislation had relating to the tonnage of the Empire, and especially the tonnage of the great colony of Canada—a colony which stands on the same footing with many nations, and indeed above many in the world—being so important a portion of the British Dominions, should bear as nearly as was admitted by circumstances, a similarity with the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It accordingly stood over, and at the next Session of Parliament I came prepared with a Bill for submission, but again the Imperial Government not having sufficiently advanced their legislation or matured their views as to be willing to accept the opinions entertained by their Parliament, again asked us to let it stand over; and this was again done. However, the former undoubtedly thought it unfair

to the people of Canada that if defects were found in British legislation in this connection, any delays to which they were subjected should for so many years retard our action. And as the Parliament of Canada adopted legislation upon the subject, as is shewn on the Statute books of the country, and in particular regarding the Merchants' Shipping Act, which I think is no discredit to Canada. Sir, I may say at this stage that the great English agitator concerning shipping, Mr. Plimsoll, in a recent letter addressed to the Earl of Derby, on his own return from the examination of the ports on the Black Sea and Mediterranean, in relation to their methods of shipping grain, the character of the vessels engaged in the trade, the methods of loading practised there, and the treatment seamen generally received, he distinctly referred to the legislation of the Parliament of Canada as a model worthy of being followed. Sir, I take it that this was a great compliment to the Parliament of our country; that its legislation in connection with a matter of such extreme importance, which at the last Session of the Parliament shook the British Government to its centre, owing to the power exercised by a single independent and determined man, and the right it appeared his cause possessed, that he made it tremble for its existence, compelling the Administration to change its policy and reverse its line of conduct indicated by their assertions made upon the floor of the House, and pass a temporary Act, which whether owing to the sensational views propounded by Mr. Plimsoll, or the necessities of the cause he advocated, enabled him to call forth. It cannot be denied that the Bill adopted has affected the whole shipping of the British Empire during the past year. And, Sir, when we look back on the authority we possess—I will say, that we are independent in everything except the name—and when we find that regarding all matters concerning the Internal Government of Canada, we have practical independence, Great Britain having magnanimously and nobly said—make your own arrangements; endeavor calmly to consider your measures in a Parliament, which is as free and as intelli-

gent as any in the world; and pass your own laws with the sanction which the Crown gives to the Acts of Colonial Legislatures—I maintain, that we have the internal arrangement of our own affairs, having every liberty, right and power, which any Colony should demand. I contend therefore that England has given to us the control of legislation affecting the management of our maritime affairs, and as much power to this Parliament in this regard as we exercise upon land. Sir, some years ago, when we desired to obtain the right of examining and controlling the class of men who were acting as Engineers of Canadian Steamships, we passed a Bill, which received the sanction of England; and in this measure, the same standing was given to the Canadian classification of Engineers, as to the Board of Trade rating. At a more recent date, and since Confederation, we adopted a law, relative to Canadian masters and mates, feeling that it was necessary to give them a certain status; also that it was unfair to our masters and mates to oblige them to go to England to secure certificates with relation to their ability and capacity to enable them to take vessels across the Atlantic and to foreign seas, their examination before the British Board of Trade being requisite. One of the points which struck me at a very early stage in my administration of the Department, was the injustice with which such an arrangement operated upon our own seamen, and I at once reported to the Council on the subject, asking that our classification should have the status as that of the British Board of Trade. This report was sent by the Government to the Colonial Secretary, who referred it to the Board of Trade, which Board at first refused to give to the certificates, that might be given when we had established a system of examining masters and mates, the same power and status as to their own certificates, the Imperial Government doubting whether the standard of examination would be as high in Canada as in England. They felt that it might open the door for men rejected there, or found incapable owing to some infirmity of acting in the responsible position of master or mate, and they denied us the privilege

on that ground. The arguments they used were in my opinion unfair and unjust, and the matter was again brought before the Imperial Cabinet; and after nearly three years' negotiation, they conceded the right we claimed, and the law was passed. The experience of the last four years, with reference to the Board of Trade examinations, thus established, has given universal satisfaction, and I now appeal to the gentlemen in this House interested in our marine. I see several of them before me, and I ask whether these examinations have not only obtained the confidence of the mercantile and shipping interests on this side of the Atlantic, but also on the other this result was due to the judicious application and exercise of the powers bestowed by the Canadian Parliament, I might enumerate a number of instances, but I may merely say, that during my administration of the affairs of the Department, I found particularly on the part of high officers in England connected with the Board of Trade, a disposition with relation to our shipping legislation to meet us half-way, and I am confident that they will endorse the opinion I entertain, that such confidence has not been misplaced. Sir, the notice of motion I have placed on the Table of the House to-day, is one than which there is no question coming before us, or any other Parliament, of greater importance, touching, as it does, the success of our shipping and the prosperity, expansion and increase of Canadian tonnage. The farming interest engages a larger number of people, but I maintain that no other interest should receive at our hands any more careful deliberation than matters concerning the shipping of our country. We stand, as I have already said, in this regard, at the head of a great many nations, and by some it is held that we occupy the position of the fourth greatest mercantile power in the world. This is my opinion, although according to others, we are seventh on the list, but at all events the other three are very slightly, if at all, in advance of us. I would venture, Sir, in the humble position I occupy, assuming the possession of no influence beyond that exercised by my own voice, and the facts I may be able to submit, and as having had some

experience touching these questions, to call the attention of the people of Canada through this Parliament to the necessity of considering whether the time has not arrived when we should ask the Imperial Government to put us in all matters affecting our tonnage in no worse position than the shipping of the various nations with which both her ships and our own have to compete. I lay this statement down as a broad, bold platform, the correctness of which I presume, none would hesitate to dispute, and if we can accomplish this, we will have made a great stride towards our mercantile success. I do not wish to exempt the shipowners and masters of the Dominion from regulations protecting life and property, but I claim that we are empowered to adopt such legislation as we may consider necessary for the protection of our seamen our ships and the guardianship of our property. It is known that during the last year, after some five years' delay, Mr. Plimsoll forced the British Ministry to adopt an admittedly temporary measure for the then current year, until Parliament could again meet and adopt more practical legislation, and I notice in the cable despatches that since the meeting of the House of Commons it is proposed to adopt that measure, with the addition of many clauses, some of which are considered very objectionable to Canadian shipowners. The hon. member for Kent has submitted a petition from the shipowners of St. Johns, calling attention to the difficulties which are likely to arise, as well as referring to many which have already occurred, through the operation of the temporary law to which I have referred, affecting very seriously our tonnage and affecting its prosperity, and it is known as a fact, that this measure was passed under the influence of the greatest excitement, the Ministry having been shaken to its very centre by the bold and violent attack made upon them by Mr. Plimsoll. I felt at the time as I still, and as all ship-owners, both in the House and in the country, must feel, that legislation concerning a special industry which forms an important element in this nation's prosperity, and which is worth, as ours is, about fifty millions of dollars, ought not

to be endangered by sentimental enactments, inspired by the sensational enthusiasm of any man, however philanthropic and honest his intentions may be, who, without sufficient experience, takes hold of the question in the British Parliament. I am not going to reflect upon Mr. Plimsoll. I think that he has accomplished a great work; but I consider that whenever sentimentalism is brought into play in a matter so serious and important to the prosperity of the country, we are not likely to secure the most judicious or prudent legislation, especially when as under these circumstances, passed, as the act referred to was, in eight and forty hours, without that consideration and reflection to which such a subject is entitled. Shipowners should have the opportunity of being heard before any such measure is passed; and since that time Boards of Trade in many cities of this Dominion, and other public bodies as well as ship-owners, particularly in the Maritime Provinces, have called attention to the character of that enactment, and the dangers to which our shipping was in consequence liable, if some steps were not taken to prevent them. Some asked for one thing, and others for another. My own idea was, as I mentioned last year to my hon. friend opposite on several occasions, that our own legislation being defective in this relation, in one point alone we could not fairly ask for exemption of our tonnage from the effect of British enactments until the Act passed in 1873 for the classification and inspection of Canadian tonnage, and which remains inoperative until the issue of an Order in Council was made to give it effect, or until some other measure of a similar character was adopted. We passed the Portwarden's Act some few years ago, and its excellent effect was proven by the fact, that the year previously eight steamships, grain laden, left the Port of Montreal, of which but one was ever heard from, and she was wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, while since that time not one ship of that class has been allowed to go to sea unless provided with a Portwarden's certificate, stating that she is properly loaded, under his supervision and in accordance with the Law referred to.

Very few accidents have occurred to grain laden steamers since that time owing to the method of loading or the character of storage. The Dominion Line lost a steamer by running against an iceberg, an accident which no legislation can control or guard against. The evils which exist in the British Islands do not and have not existed in Canadian ports for the last four years, and there is only one single link wanting to make our appeal for the exclusion of our tonnage from British legislation complete, and that can be remedied by an order in Council. This question is of sufficient importance to elicit remarks from the several ship-owners and other gentlemen interested in this House, and I trust they will express their opinions. I have heard it put forward as an objection that we ought not to ask England to exempt colonial ships from the operation of Imperial Laws—that when our vessels go abroad they are now under the protection of the British Flag and their masters have the advice of British Consuls—and that there is no reason in withdrawing from these privileges. The same remark will apply to the exercise of our powers over the soil. We have all the advantages and protection of the British flag here with the advice and council of the British Government, and yet we govern our internal affairs, free from the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. Then why should we not control our property on the sea? I believe if we were to ask in a proper manner and put our reasons in a logical shape we could secure this exemption. Look at the consequences which will follow if our ship owners are subject to that legislation now going on in England. Two vessels may be loading side by side, as happened the other day in Cardiff, the one an old American, the other a nine-year's St. John's ship. They loaded in much the same way with the same cargo. The St. John's ship was ready to go to sea when a Board of Trade officer stepped on board and ordered 100 tons of the cargo to be taken out, and she had carried the same amount of cargo for years. The American vessel had just the same cargo, and was no better fitted to carry it than

the other, but she was allowed to depart. What will be the remedy sought if our ship-owners are denied exemption from this law. It will be a simple one, but one which will reflect no credit on our country. They will say—"If our registering in Canadian ports renders us liable to Imperial legislation, we will transfer our tonnage to some foreign nation—we will hoist the Belgium, Spanish or some South American Republic flag—and we will thus save ourselves from the operation of this harsh legislation." Some ship-owners have already made this change. I had sent to me the other day from London a copy of the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, which is one of the two leading maritime papers of England, and consequently of the world. With the permission of the House I will read its editorial on this very subject:—

"The memorial presented on the 1st of October last to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries for the Dominion of Canada, by Canadian Ship-owners and Merchants resident in England, complaining of the operation of the Unseaworthy Ships' Act so far as Canadian Shipping is concerned, has produced considerable sensation in the Canadian Ports, and in the adjacent Province of New Brunswick—the two portions of British North America most directly interested in the working of the new law."

I may state that so important do the ship-owners of Liverpool regard it that Canadian ships should be exempt from the operation of the Imperial Act that they sent a petition to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries asking the Government of Canada to use its influence to secure such exemption:—

"The memorialists, it may be remembered, before stating their objections in detail, took a preliminary exception to any Act which empowers the Board of Trade in this country to interfere with colonial vessels, as containing a violation of conditions which preserve to the colony the right to legislate upon all questions not involving Imperial interests; and the Canadian Minister of Marine was requested to consider whether such an Act as that of last Session was not strictly local, and not Imperial in character, and as such, therefore, should not apply to Canadian vessels. The portion of the Act objected to by the Canadians are those which relate to detention and survey, and to the loading of grain cargoes. They say, and no doubt truly, that these provisions place their ships at a disadvantage as compared with the foreigner. It is complained that the Surveyors appointed

by the Board of Trade to pronounce upon the seaworthiness of ships are, as a rule, men selected from the Royal Navy, without any special training to qualify them for the discharge of the special duties required by the Act. At a meeting held at St. John, New Brunswick, on the 12th of November, it was stated that a very small minority of the Surveyors appointed were competent to pronounce upon questions of seaworthiness, while on the same occasion it was agreed that the scale of three inches to the foot was the maximum which ship-owners could be expected to concede in the matter of loading. The Master of a ship arrived at St. John complained to the local journal there that at Cardiff his vessel was detained just as she was going to sail, after she had been four days loaded, and when the tides were at the springs. This correspondent asserts that he lightened his ship some ten inches before he was allowed to sail, although an old American ship which had been lying alongside, loaded much more deeply, was not, of course, interfered with. Mr. Henry Fry, of Qu-bee, recognized, and deservedly so, as a high authority on shipping matters—has addressed a letter to the *Montreal Gazette* in which he points out that the restrictions upon grain loading imposed by Section 3 of the new Act are calculated to produce a serious effect upon the shipment of grain from Canada to England, and Mr. Fry's views are endorsed by the journal in question as but too well founded, while the working of the Act is stigmatised as having already inflicted a heavy blow upon the trade of Montreal. No doubt the Canadians understand their own affairs, and it may be conceded that in this matter of grain loading and other interference with colonial shipping, they have ground for their complaint. But it is clear that, if they continue to suffer, the fault lies with their own Government. Our readers are aware that Mr. Mitchell, late Minister of Marine and Fisheries, had secured an arrangement with the Imperial Government that Canadian vessels, or vessels loading within the Dominion, should be exempted from the operation of the Imperial Statute, provided the Canadian Parliament should pass an Act regulating the loading and classification of ships."

This part of the article is not strictly accurate, though in spirit it is so, but it is accurate so far that negotiations for that purpose were opened, and I do not doubt that the British Government would have conceded what we want.

"The Act was passed with a clause authorizing the Governor in Council, by proclamation, to give it effect. But it would seem this has not been done, and a strong feeling as to the remissness of the Colonial Government has been created, more particularly in the ports of the Dominion. If the Canadians have the power—as unquestionably they have, and ought to have, of regulating their trade and the mode in which it is conducted, and take

no steps to do so, they cannot surely complain if their ships, when they come to discharge in the United Kingdom, find themselves within the provisions of the Imperial Statute. It is competent for the Colonial Parliament to pass any law they may think proper, regulating the loading and classification of colonial ships, and such an Act would be accepted here without question. We do not bring this subject, and the position of the Canadians in respect to it, for the first time before our readers. In our impression of the 17th of September last, we set out the provisions of the Port Warden's Act of May 1874, in which the duties of these officials in respect to the superintendance of grain loading are clearly defined. But this Act does not meet the provisions of the Imperial Statute of last year, and, because it does not, the late Minister of Marine and Fisheries in Canada, had procured the arrangement with the Home authorities, that Canadian vessels loading in the ports of the Dominion should be exempt from the operation of any Imperial law on the terms above stated. It would seem, therefore, that if the Canadians have any ground of complaint, it is neither against the provisions of the Act of last Session, nor against those to whom its administration is entrusted in this country, but against the colonial authorities, who have not brought the recent Colonial Act, regulating loading and classification into force. It is said that these authorities have been openly charged in this matter with indifference to the interests of the shipping and commerce of the Dominion. We have not yet seen their answer, but, if the charge is well founded, it certainly would seem to deprive the Canadians of any valid complaint against the provisions of the Unseaworthy Ships' Act, so far as Canadian shipping is concerned."

Now, Sir, I am not going to endorse the statements against the Government of Canada there referred to; it would be very unfair if I should do so; but the object of the motion is to find out what has been done on the subject and to have the papers laid before the House. I may say that my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, has favoured me with an advance copy of a very important document which has been transmitted to the Colonial Minister, containing a great deal of valuable matter, but which does not go so far as I should like. Perhaps, after the discussion of this subject, my hon. friend will see reason to add to the valuable Report he has already made with a view to getting an expression from the Imperial Government. Any legislation affecting this important interest should only be adopted after due deliberation, and should not be subject to sensationalism

or the views of unpractical philanthropists, men who simply look at one side of the question, and care nothing for the interests of the shipowners. I therefore move the resolution which I have placed in your hands, and I trust that any legislation which may be consummated will place our shipping on an equality with ships of foreign nations trading with the Empire. That course will be best attained by asking that Canadian tonnage be excluded from the operation of Imperial legislation.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I must express my gratification to my hon. friend for bringing this matter forward and discussing it in this clear and dispassionate manner. I generally agree with the hon. gentleman's observations, and it affords me great pleasure to say that his administration of the office I now hold met with my approval, for I was generally in sympathy with his propositions in relation to our Marine. I agreed entirely with his previous efforts towards the classification and inspection of Canadian vessels. But my hon. friend is blind to the fact that whether right or wrong—and I think entirely wrong—the shipowners of this country have been almost unanimously opposed to it. I have listened to everything they have said, and they have failed to convince me that there is any argument in their objections to this classification. The House will understand in a question of such importance as this it would be unwise, contrary to the wishes of those interested in this matter, to enforce the measure. I think in a little while the ship-owners of this country will see the wisdom of it, and I have reason to believe now, that their feeling is rapidly changing in consequence of the English legislation. If they do not see now, they will soon see it will be wise in us to carry into effect the law passed by my hon. predecessor. I understood my hon. friend to say that he took the ground that England had no right to legislate for Canadian shipping.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I did not say that. She has both the right and the power, but what I do hold is that Canada, having already provided all the safeguards for life and property that

are required, and there being none of the abuses complained of in England, if we make proper representations to the British Government of these facts, our shipping will be exempted from this severe legislation, and such I believe to have been the object of the Imperial Parliament when they passed the British American Act which gave to the Dominion Parliament the exclusive power to deal with navigation and shipping.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—In Canada we take the ground that vessels in our waters are subject to our laws, and we cannot take the ground that Canadian vessels in English waters should be exempt from British legislation; but we ought to take the ground that our ships should be placed on the same footing as foreign tonnage in British ports. We make no distinction between British and foreign vessels, and we cannot expect anything more than to be placed on the same footing as foreign nations in British waters. I am not disposed to go to the extent that some people do in condemnation of Mr. Plimsoll. He stands on a sound basis. He is an enthusiast, undoubtedly, and unreasonable in some of his demands; but after all there is something in his contention which challenges the sympathy and approbation of most people. He takes the ground that the Government of England should be responsible for the seaworthiness of a ship before she is allowed to go to sea. The Government of England have hitherto taken the ground that the owners should be responsible for unseaworthy ships, both civilly and criminally. Now, in this country, we have to a certain extent adopted very nearly, in relation to the loading of grain, what Mr. Plimsoll asks for in England. He asks that no ship shall be allowed to go to sea until she has received, from an accredited officer, a certificate that she is seaworthy. My hon. friend from Northumberland says by his legislation that no vessel shall go to sea from our ports until she has a certificate of seaworthiness; and during the loading of the ship she shall be subject to the superintendence of the Port Warden. More, that official has the arbitrary power, if the vessel requires repairs, to compel her to be made seaworthy. Unless the ship-

owner complies with his requirements the vessel cannot go to sea.

During the discussion of this important question in the Parliament of Great Britain, the legislation of Canada was frequently referred to in the highest terms of approbation. I know that Mr. Primssoll, in private as well as in public, has expressed his warm admiration of our laws, and has not hesitated to affirm that they are what he desires in England. In the Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed last Session, there are but one or two sections which the Government placed there; the balance was forced on them by Mr. Primssoll. So strong is public opinion on this subject and so popular the movement, that no less than one hundred amendments were proposed while the Bill was under discussion in the House. Now, this Act follows British ships to foreign ports. That seems to me highly improper. Half the time the crews are foreigners, and when the correspondence is brought down it will show I have taken the ground that this should not be, but that a vessel should be subject to the laws of the country in whose waters she is.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The law regulating foreign ships, except in the loading of grain, and timber on deck, are now the laws of the country to which the ship belongs, at least so far as the discipline and control of seamen is concerned.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—My hon. friend is mistaken in that. He knows that foreign vessels are subject to our law respecting the shipping of sailors, and I may add that law has worked admirably.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I think my hon. friend is wrong.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—No. The Act passed in 1873 is not confined to British ships; it extends to all vessels, and we do not find the Consuls of the countries to which they belong make complaints.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I think my hon. friend will find on reference to the records of his Department that the Consul of Sweden and Norway complained to the Canadian Government

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of an attempt on the part of our officers to control the seamen sailing under their flag.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I think there has been some slight complaint, but on the whole it has worked admirably. If we can legislate for foreign ships here, why can't they do so in England. I have heard that the British Government are afraid if they do that, foreign countries will legislate for British vessels. Let it be so. It seems to me that England, the first Maritime Power in the world, should take the lead in such legislation. She should have no apprehension in legislating for foreign as well as Canadian vessels. I shall be gratified to receive suggestions from my hon. friend on a subject with which he is so thoroughly acquainted. We shall use all the power and influence we have to frame legislation which will promote the maritime interests of the people of Canada.

Mr. McLEOD—I know in the Province of New Brunswick, and I believe in the other Maritime Provinces, there is a widespread disapproval of the establishment of a Canadian Lloyds. I am satisfied it would not cure the evils of which our ship-owners complain. The hon. member for Northumberland, I think, makes a mistake as regards the remedy he proposes. A mere repetition of such classification could not be a defence, for this reason—that our vessels when built are classed, and going on voyages to foreign countries do not return to our ports for years; and when they come back to the ports of Great Britain, before they are permitted to load or go to sea they require to be examined and passed upon by the Board of Trade Officers of Great Britain. Well, Sir, I am convinced of this—that if it were possible to obtain certificates from a Dominion Lloyds, to carry the machinery in detail, we should have the same system in operation as is in force in England under the Board of Trade—officers appointed by our Government to act in the several ports of Great Britain. The great feeling against the establishment of a Dominion Lloyds arises from a fear that, under such circumstances, political influence will influence the appointment of the officials who are to inspect

our ships and that we will have political ship-building. I do not think that this would be in the interest of this country, and I am satisfied that even were a Dominion Lloyds established, such action would not cure the evils of which complaint is made on the other side of the water. We have at present two classifications, in force for years—English Lloyds and Bureau Veritas—whose certificates are received by the underwriters in Great Britain as elsewhere, as guarantees of the character of our shipping; and I am confident that it would take some time for a Dominion Lloyds classification to obtain the same standing. I do not think, moreover, that Government control would enhance such classification. There is no doubt that the agitation arising from the Plimsoll movement is very widespread; but I think that the point about which our ship-owners more particularly complain, is this—and the Hon. the Minister of Marine has very ably made reference to it—the application of the Act in favour of foreign vessels as against our own. I believe that if it applied equally to the former, the one great evil of which complaint is made would be removed; and if the policy was adopted which the Minister of Marine has mentioned—the enforcement of the same laws in Great Britain with regard to foreign as to English vessels—as is done in this country, I think our ship-owners would be satisfied. A foreign vessel in Canadian ports can no more take a deck load than a British ship, but I notice in the evidence taken before the Royal Commission, the fear was expressed that if the law was applied to foreign vessels, foreign Governments would retaliate against British ships in their ports. If that principle, however, be still followed, and foreign vessels be given such advantage, they can ship British crews; and for my part, I cannot see what difference it would make to poor Jack, whether he is drowned on an English or a foreign vessel. Ships should not be permitted to load beyond a certain depth, in order that lives may not be sacrificed. I am convinced that if a Dominion Lloyds, so highly favoured by the hon. member for Northumberland, were established, that it would not cure the difficulty at all,

for this subject has received considerable consideration from the ship-owners in the Maritime Provinces, and I believe that they, with many such owners in this House, agree with me that its classification would not exempt our tonnage from examination in the ports of Great Britain, and that is the great trouble at present. We have our vessels classed in Bureau Veritas, and in the British Lloyds.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—But they are not exempt from Board of Trade certificates.

Mr. McLEOD—That is true.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—They are on the same footing.

Mr. McLEOD—They are exactly on the same footing. This Government would require to have a staff of officers in the several ports of Great Britain to carry out the machinery of a Dominion Lloyds' classification; and this would entail great expense. If the system was made non-compulsory, it would then be found that it would be necessary to make it compulsory, in order to secure sufficient fees to pay these employes; and I hold that they never could carry out the Dominion Lloyds machinery without providing this machinery. Ship owners complain, in connection with the administration of Board of Trade laws, of interference by officers appointed not so much because they are qualified for such posts, as from political influence possibly, and they may not in consequence be fit for these positions. That was the evidence taken before the Royal Commission. Of the surveyors in the ports of Great Britain only seven or eight had a practical acquaintance with wooden ships, the others being merely familiar with iron ships, and the great difficulty experienced regarding the former is, that their classification is restricted for loading and equipment, and consequently they are placed at a disadvantage. Iron ships are allowed to load more deeply, being considered of a better character. The point of the whole discussion is simply this: The object of the Address is to try and obtain the establishment of a Dominion Lloyds, the certificates of which shall be received by the British Government as equivalent in character to

those of the English Lloyds. It must be apparent to everyone who knows anything about shipping, that when a ship is launched she of course gets her character, and it may be years before she comes back. How is such a system then to be carried out, unless the machinery is provided in the ports of Great Britain.

Mr. KILLAM—I must confess that the suggestion of the hon. member for Northumberland has taken me, Sir, by surprise but I would not at present give my opinion, as to whether the suggestion he makes should be carried out or not. Speaking of the general question of British legislation as to ships, I must confess that I am to a great extent in favor of Mr. Plimsoll's ideas. The difficulties which have arisen under the English law are not, as the hon. member who has just spoken observed, so much in the legislation itself as in the way it has been carried out. Undoubtedly some cases of injustice have arisen, but with regard to the cases that have been quoted, I am bound to say that there has been a great difference of opinion. I remember reading of the case of the American and St. John ships. Some said that the former was loaded too deeply, and others the contrary; but at any rate, if she were, I think that the legislation was good. Ships should not be allowed to go to sea too deeply loaded, and if the rule did not apply to the American ship, so much the worse for it. I should like to know, by the way, what became of the old basket; also, whether the insurance on her cargo was as light as on the ship of St. John, from which one hundred tons were taken? I do not think that our friends should contemplate with so much anxiety the legislation likely to take place in this regard, in the English Parliament, during the present Session, because I find that the ship-owners in England, being precisely on the same footing as ourselves, are wide-awake, and that as long ago as November, they had taken action. They have placed their views, which are almost the same as ours, fully before the House, and I have no doubt that their representations will receive sufficient consideration. On the 29th of November a meeting of the United General

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Conference of Ship-owners was held at Glasgow, when it was unanimously resolved:—

“That the basis upon which all shipowners may unite is, that the time has arrived when a general codification of the Merchant Shipping Law may be pressed for, when all obsolete and unnecessary portions of the existing statute law relating to shipping should be struck out, and a definite code fixed, which may prevent the perpetual and harassing changes in the law, as now made, or proposed, in each Session of Parliament.”

There is no doubt that last year's legislation was sensational, and we have no reason to fear that the British Parliament will continue in the state of excitement under which it was at the hour when Mr. Plimsoll made his celebrated speech in the House, but will settle down into a calm and cool view of question.

This Central Committee went on to say that the means to be adopted for carrying out the object required, was, 1st. “By explaining and adducing evidence to members of Parliament and the public, in such manner as may be deemed best, that grievances do exist, so serious as to imperil the existence of the business of ship-owning as a trade in this country, and tending unmistakeably to throw the whole carrying trade of this country into the hands of foreigners to the consequent injury both of masters and men in the ship-building, engineering and other trades more immediately depending upon the ship-owning trade, and to the country generally, by the efficiency of the navy being threatened by the supply of seamen being reduced; and by directing the serious attention of the Government to the necessity of providing for the marine legislation of the country, being originated and carried out by officials and members of the Government really conversant with the subject. By the general conference appointing an influential representative Committee to watch the course of legislation in the ensuing Session, to press on Government the necessity of fixing the statute law relating to merchant shipping by revising the existing statutes and striking out all that is obso-

“lete and unnecessary, and there after to confer with the Government upon the proposed code after the statutory law has been dealt with.” I think, Sir, that the remedy for the evils which exist is to be found not so much in any legislation with regard shipping as to seamen; and that in most cases where difficulties have arisen,—when ships have put back, seamen have complained, surveys have been made and sometimes the discharge of the ship or the ordering of considerable repairs have been the consequence—the fault has lain indirectly with the seamen. And yet it is not really the fault of the seamen, but of the system under which seamen are procured and placed on board vessels. The English laws are not so good and stringent as our own concerning the offence of crimping, while the system of payment by advance notes is at the bottom of one-half of this difficulty. A ship starts to sea with sailors, who have never previously seen her, and know nothing about her cargo, while probably they have been on a drunken spree; the mate has perhaps had a parting glass or two himself, and is not in the very best humour, being perhaps, moreover, a man who does not believe in sailors’ brains; a difficulty at once arises, and the next thing is the laying of a complaint by the sailors.

The proper regulation for the system of shipping sailors will do more to remedy Mr. Plimsoll’s grievances than any legislation regarding ships. At any rate, I do not feel at all alarmed that the united action which is now being taken by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, by the Canadian Government, with the assistance of my hon. friend from Northumberland, and in England, will be injurious to the true interests of the ship-owners.

With regard to the matter of a Canadian Lloyds, I am bound to say that ship-owners have somewhat changed their views on the question, and a great many of them very lately. I had the honour of presenting a petition two years ago, I think, when some hundred of ship-owners strongly protested against the establishment of a Lloyds; and the hon. member for Kent has just mentioned that they have in some degree altered their opinions on

the subject. I believe that if a Dominion Lloyds is established, in a very few years its classifications will become as good and as generally recognized by underwriters and business men generally throughout the world as any classification existing at the present day.

Mr. DAVIES—Mr. Speaker, as a member coming from a ship-building Province, allow me to say a few words on this question—the establishment of a Dominion Lloyds under government control—which is looked upon with great disfavour in my Province. It is well known that the English and French Lloyds are associations of merchants, not, however, under government control, but purely private in their character, and there would be no objection to the establishment of similar associations in the Dominion; and, as the hon. member who has just sat down has said, I dare say that in a few years, their inspections would be found equal to the English or French examinations. The British Lloyds is an old-established institution, and its report carries great weight with underwriters, &c. The *Bureau Veritas* is of more modern origin, but it now stands very high.

With reference to Mr. Plimsoll’s legislation, I suppose, Sir, it will be generally admitted that some such action was necessary to protect the lives of seamen from the greed of ship-owners, who sometimes overload their vessels, and from designing persons who send unseaworthy ships to sea with the intention of losing them. This legislation took place beyond question under a good deal of excitement, but I suppose most people will admit that some such enactment will apply to our ships as well as to vessels built in England.

The late Minister of Marine alluded to the examination of masters and mates, and spoke of the measure as having given great satisfaction. I certainly know, Sir, that it has not been so in the Province from which I come, for this reason: We build a great many new ships to sell, and it has limited the number from which ship owners can select their masters. Some who were old and skilled, were very ignorant, and were

consequently unable to obtain certificates.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—They should have shown certificates of service.

Mr. DAVIES—But still, many of them could not get these certificates, so this narrowed the selection to the masters and mates who were otherwise situated. I am quite aware, Sir, that this defect will cure itself in a few years; but I simply speak of it as rather hard on ship-owners at present, particularly as we have not had a Board for the examination of masters and mates in our Province. I hope that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries will see fit to establish such a Board immediately.

Mr. MILLS—I do not propose to say anything regarding the merits of the legislation in question, whether in Canada or in England, for the classification of vessels is a matter on which those gentlemen who are familiar with the shipping interests of this country are much more competent to express an opinion than I; but I think that every member of this House ought to understand what our jurisdiction and our rights are with reference to the matter of shipping. Now, Sir, it seems to me, looking at the provisions of the British North America Act, under the authority of which we are sitting in this House, and undertaking to deal with important questions, there is none more clear than this—that so far as Canada is concerned it has an exclusive right to legislate upon the subjects of navigation and commerce. We are, Sir, not an ordinary Colonial Legislature, but a Parliament, and perhaps the first Parliament that ever existed in the British Empire outside of the British Isles. We possess the rights of Parliament, and the Queen assists us in our legislation, for Her Majesty, by and with the advice of this House and the Senate legislates for the peace, order, and good government of this portion of the British Empire, to the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Great Britain on all subjects designated in the British North America Act. Now, among the subjects so mentioned are those of navigation and commerce; and what does

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his mean? That we shall have the power to legislate for the shipping upon our internal waters; and will not our legislation reach our shipping beyond our coasts. I say that such a position is allowable.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Can we negotiate, independently, commercial treaties?

Mr. MILLS—The hon. gentleman asks if we can make a commercial treaty with another country? Certainly not Sir.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—It will come. We will have that power yet where Canadian interests are concerned.

Mr. MILLS—Not unless the Imperial Parliament chooses to confer on us the right, but it has given us every right with regard to legislation on the subject of navigation and commerce, and it is quite clear, then, that we are as much entitled to deal with our shipping interests upon the sea, as we are to take action touching such interests on the rivers and lakes of this country. If the Imperial Government undertakes to assume any other interpretation, it undertakes to withdraw from us those rights which have been conferred on us by the British North America Act. The Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries has alluded to the attempt of the British Government to reach their ships in foreign ports. Well, Sir, that cannot be done, whether it is attempted or not. A ship does not stand on different footing from other property.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Suppose we isolated our shipping from Imperial legislation, what protection would our vessels have in foreign countries? We have no Consuls, and, as a reference to the law on the subject will show, very important powers are conferred on those officials. Masters and crews look to them for protection when abroad, and to settle difficulties arising between them. I think it is utterly impossible to adopt a policy of isolation.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—With permission of the hon. member for Bothwell, I should like to follow the conclusion of the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries a little further. Could not the Consuls be authorized to

execute the laws according to Canadian legislation, and thus protect our seamen. Canada would not object to share the cost. Imperial Parliament, in my opinion, will grant anything that is reasonable, if asked in a proper manner.

Mr. MILLS—With regard to the objection of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, I don't see the difficulty which presents itself to his mind. The Chief of the Executive in this country is also Chief of the Executive in England, and Consuls in foreign ports are just as competent to enforce the legislation of Canada as that of Great Britain. But I was going to say, when interrupted, that there is no difference in the rights of shipping and other property. As a matter of comity, a contract made between two gentlemen here will be in force in the State of New York, if they happen to reside there; and as a matter of comity, an obligation existing between the captain and sailors of a vessel, according to the Bottomry Act and other laws relating to shipping, will be enforced in another country, so long as there is no law in that country which will operate against its enforcement. In this matter I set aside every consideration as to what may be the effect of Mr. Plimsoll's labours. I am inclined to think there is a very great deal of force in the objections which he has made to the existing Maritime Law of England. But whether his policy is wise or unwise, I hold that he is entirely out of court with regard to the rights of the people of this country. He has no right to touch them. The Imperial Government, I do not question, has the power to repeal the British North America Act and put an end to the authority by which this House has been convened—but until that is done it has no more power with reference to this question of shipping than in regard to any other matter upon which we are authorized to legislate. The fact that we are authorized to legislate precludes the possibility of concurrent legislation in Great Britain. You cannot have one shipping policy there affecting Canada and another in Canada itself; and if we have the power to make police regulations for the government of ships in our har-

bours, to regulate the manner in which they are constructed and loaded in our ports, our laws have just the same force beyond our territory as the laws of England beyond the limits of that country with regard to the ships constructed there. I think it is high time that the Parliament of this country, which possesses a shipping amounting to some millions of tons, should assert the rights of self-government conferred upon it. It is high time for it to cease to declare over and over again that it is incompetent to deal with those matters with which it is authorized to deal. If that policy is persisted in it would be better to say to the Government of England—"You have given us more power than we ought to possess, and we are incompetent to deal with the rights of property so far as the shipping interest is concerned, and we wish you to withdraw that power from us." I do not hold with this view, however. I am very anxious myself to see the rights of this Parliament maintained to their full extent, and I have no doubt in such event our maritime interests will be quite as well cared for, and our registration quite as highly regarded abroad as that of any other country.

I have one observation to make in answer to the hon. member for Kent (N.B.), who said that ships leave our ports after inspection and sometimes remain away three or four years, and therefore they ought to be inspected in England. But suppose they were cruising and carrying on commerce in the Mediterranean, I see no more reason, why the English Government should interfere in the matter than France, Spain or any other country.

Mr. McLEOD—I should like the hon. gentleman to explain how it is possible for our vessels, as British ships, to be exempt from the operation of the laws in the ports of Great Britain?

Mr. MILLS—They should be placed on the same footing as foreign ships. Foreign law is always respected as a matter of comity, and we should have the same rights as a foreign nation in this respect.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I am gratified to notice that there is no differ-

once of opinion between the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and myself except on one point—in regard to placing our ships on the same footing as those of other countries. According to a statement by the hon. gentleman, the British Government seem to object to legislate in that direction.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—J think the hon. gentleman misunderstood me.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.—We agree on every point, except as to the remedy. The House may rest satisfied that the British Parliament will not take that character of legislation which the hon. gentleman suggests. One of the principles of the Merchants' Shipping Act of 1854, which with amendments has been the only law on the subject up to the present, is not to touch foreign ships or sailors.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Foreign sailors are subjected to our laws in Canada.

Mr. MITCHELL.—So far as I remember that Act has been the only legislation on this point, and under it there is no power to arrest foreign sailors or take cognizance of their deserting their ships. I have no hesitation in saying, from the place where my words possess some importance, and speaking to the ship-owners of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and all Canada, that if we don't take a stand and secure from the British authorities this needed concession, our efforts will be futile. That is my deliberate opinion. The hon. gentlemen from Kent and Prince Edward Island have referred to the question of Canadian laws. As I stated at the opening of the debate, I am not at all tied to the question of Government survey by a Canadian Government Lloyds. If any other remedy can be devised which will supply the link, we are bound to supply it before we ask England to exempt us. I shall give it my support. By establishing an association such as Lloyds—and there is certainly enough intelligence, wealth, and talent in the country to effect such an organization—which would receive Government countenance, great good would be effected in this direction. If the matter is properly represented to the Home Authorities we will obtain our demands. Nothing has been asked of

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England which has not been granted, until from a small colony we have risen to a people with an Independent Parliament.

I was pleased to hear the views of the hon. member for Bothwell with regard to Treaties. I believe the day is not far distant when we will have the power of making Treaties. What is the Washington Treaty? Who made it as regards the portion affecting Canada? I admit the English representatives had a great deal to do with it, but let a question come up affecting Canada alone, and England would not attempt to settle it without consulting us and asking us to assist her. Hon. gentlemen may not approve of those views, but they will before long, and the time is not far distant when we will not be content that questions affecting Canadian prosperity shall be controlled entirely by people who may not understand or specially care for our interests.

I will show you how this legislation will affect us with relation to deck-loads. You will remember the hon. member for St. John, the Minister of Customs, resisted my efforts to regulate and limit the carrying of deck-loads. He fought it after everybody else had assented to the measure. I may inform him that the legislation now under consideration in the British Parliament proposes to sweep away all deck-loads, although we in Canada, who are practical men and understand the rights of sailors and ship-owners, regulated the system. I will just read a most ridiculous paragraph from a speech delivered by Mr. Plimsoll at Derby very recently. He said:—

“ I have, however, seen a statement in the report of the Royal Commission on Unseaworthy Ships, 1875, to the effect that the law against deck-loading had ceased to become operative, owing to evasions; that a ship would load in a Canadian port according to law, and crossing the river St. Croix, which divides Canada from America, would then take on board the deck cargo which was prohibited on the other side of the river; also that vessels loading in the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy would proceed down to Eastport in the United States, they having loaded in Canada in compliance with the law, and then availed themselves of the second point of departure to load in a manner prohibited by the law. Supposing these things to be so, &c.”

Now, upon the faith of such information, as that they are going to sweep off all deck-loads, have we not reason to be apprehensive? The hon. member for Yarmouth, while he approves of everything else I have uttered, has no fears on this score. He knows well that take the shipping owned and registered in British America, and it will be found there is no country in the world—I say it advisedly—where the uniform character of the tonnage stands as high as our own, and yet the legislation which they are going to pass is to be based, not upon the character of our vessels, or the capacity of their officers, but upon a state of things which has existed in England where rotten ships have been sold and sent to sea until the abuse has given rise to Mr. Plimsoll's movement. I warn hon. gentlemen in this House who are more interested in tonnage than I am, that no half-way measure in relation to their interests will do in a crisis like this, and unless this Government boldly ask the English Ministry and Parliament to exempt Canadian vessels from legislation that has grown out of English abuses and has no existence in our trade, that they will fail in getting the protection that is desired.

The hon. member for Kent's remarks in relation to inspectors are just. I believe four-fifths of the inspectors appointed under the Plimsoll Act do not understand or appreciate the quality of wooden ships, and therefore our vessels will not get justice from them. Let our Government adopt a manly course and tell the English Government what our rights are, and ask that our vessels be exempted from legislation to which they should not be subject, inasmuch as we have passed laws for ourselves, and that nation which has ever been a liberal and just mother to her colonies will not refuse compliance.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—We should not ask anything unreasonable. The British Government has conceded to Canada the right of legislating for our own vessels and all others in our waters for the last three years. We should be cautious not to ask for what they would not be willing to grant to us under the circumstances. What

Canadian ship-owners mainly require at present is, that their ships in British ports should be placed in the same position as foreign vessels; and if that be granted, we want nothing beyond it except that no legislation in the British Parliament shall have any effect upon our ships in foreign ports.

The hon. member for Northumberland says we should ask the British Government to instruct their Consuls in foreign ports to carry out Canadian laws in relation to Canadian vessels. That is almost asking what a nation might expect. If we should make such a request the British Government would be very likely to require us to pay our share of the expense of keeping up these officers. I hope the day is far distant when a line of distinction will be so drawn between Canadian and British ships that a British Consul cannot act in a foreign port for our tonnage as British ships.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—We have had a right to legislate for our own vessels for over forty years.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—This Act referred to has been only three years in force.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—We have had it in New Brunswick and you in Nova Scotia for many years.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—Not in regard to the loading of grain.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That has been the Port Warden's Law for years in Quebec and Montreal.

Mr. CARMICHAEL—I agree almost entirely with the remarks made by the hon. member from Kent with respect to the Canadian Lloyds. I have great respect, also, for the opinion of the hon. member for Yarmouth, who represents, perhaps, more than any other gentleman here, the shipping interest. In establishing a Canadian Lloyds we seek to do that which no other country has yet attempted to do. We are an important maritime people, but we surely may consent to follow in the track of England, France and the United States, and none of those countries have established by law a Government Board of Classification. We have now all the benefit of the most important Boards of Classification existing—English Lloyds and Bureau Veritas. Those classifications are used

through all parts of the world. As was well stated by the hon. member for Kent, we will require for a Canadian establishment a staff of officials, danger of political influence being exercised in their appointment. We will also have to establish agents in all the principal ports of Europe where ships require inspection and reclassification. This country would not be prepared, particularly in the present depressed state of the finances, to create such a staff and sustain such expense. It is also proposed not to make this law compulsory, and I therefore fail to see what good it will effect. We may succeed in driving away English Lloyds and *Bureau Veritas* from our midst without obtaining a compensating advantage.

The motion was agreed to.

IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. YOUNG—I beg to move, Sir, that in order to ascertain to what extent Canada has been made a sacrifice market for American manufacturers during the last two years, it be

Resolved,—That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General praying that His Excellency will cause to be laid before Parliament a statement shewing the total value of all articles imported from the United States into each Province of the Dominion during 1871, '72 and '73 paying 15, 10 and 5 per cent. duty respectively, and also a similar statement for 1874 and '75 of articles paying 17½, 10 and 5 per cent., together with such remarks and further facts as the Commissioner of Customs may be able to add touching the increased importation of American manufactures into Canada.

I hope, Sir, that my friend the Minister of Customs will consent to the adoption of this motion. Its object is to obtain a statement, bringing out, if possible, to what extent American goods have been sacrificed in our market since the commencement of the crisis in the United States in the fall of 1873; and I have purposely worded the latter portion of the resolution in such a way as to enable the Customs Department to bring down the returns in the most effective manner. My motion is seconded by Mr. Workman.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I would just suggest to my hon. friend, with reference to this resolution, that the information for which he moves is in

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the possession of this House. The Trade and Navigation Returns contain the information he desires, in an official and condensed form; not down, perhaps, to so late a period as the present day, but to the end of 1875. He might move for the additional statement, but I rather question, Sir, the propriety of asking for the opinion of any person in this country. The hon. gentleman demands a return of certain official data already in the possession of this House; and in addition, the views of the Commissioner of Customs.

Mr. YOUNG—No!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then I misunderstood the terms of the motion, which I thought contained the words:—and any remarks the Commissioner of Customs may choose to add.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is quite evident this phrase is to be understood in the ordinary sense, for the hon. gentleman will find that in the returns a column is left for remarks,—incidental, of course, to the extent of the subjects embraced; and this is all that can be obtained in such a relation.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—This is a motion for a return of certain data, and I imagined that his object was to get the opinion of the Commissioner of Customs—a subordinate—concerning the bearing of these figures, which will be otherwise contained. Now, I object to this, if that is his object.

Mr. YOUNG—That is not my intention.

After a brief discussion the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie altered the motion as follows:—

“That an Order of the House do issue, requiring the Minister of Customs to cause to be laid before Parliament, &c., with such explanatory remarks and further facts as he may be able to add, touching the increased imports.”

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That will do.

The motion being carried, and the hour being six o'clock, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

The debate on Mr. Mill's motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the causes of

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being resumed—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said: Mr. Speaker, I do not rise for the purpose of making a speech on the present occasion. After what has fallen from the Hon. Minister of Finance, I think it would hardly be fair to go into a general discussion of the questions raised by the motion before the House. I rise, Sir, for the purpose of giving my hearty and emphatic support to the motion of the hon. Member for Bothwell. I agree with the hon. gentleman in the opinion that the condition of this country is a very deplorable one. I am not old enough, and my acquaintance with public affairs will hardly allow me to go as far back as the hon. member for Montreal West, who says that in 40 years he has never seen anything like the commercial depression or suffering in the country which exists to-day; but I agree with the hon. member for Bothwell that the country is in a condition requiring the serious attention of Parliament. His Excellency has provided us with a Committee to deal with precisely such questions as these. The gentlemen who now sit on the Treasury Benches have been placed there for the very purpose of making such enquiries, bringing the result to the House and submitting them for the approval of Parliament. They are there not only for the purpose of analyzing the condition in which the country is now placed and the cause of the depression, but they are there also to present such measures to the House as may tend to relieve the country. I agree with the hon. member for Bothwell in the inference that his motion presents to every intelligent member of this House—that the time has come when we must have another Committee—that the Committee which His Excellency has provided the country with, to deal with such measures, have shown themselves entirely inadequate for the emergency. I go further, and will be prepared at another time to show to the House my reasons for entertaining the opinion that the hon. gentlemen to whom public affairs have been entrusted have entirely failed in devising such measures as were necessary to relieve the country

in such emergency. If the combined talent of the Administration had been devoted, from the time of their acceptance of office to this, to cause the exact condition of affairs we are now suffering from, they could not have discharged that duty with greater ability or success. Under these circumstances I accept the motion as one equal to the emergency. The time has come when we must have another Committee, to deal with this important question, and I have no doubt that when that motion receives, as I think it will, the support of a large majority of this House, and after that constitutional action has followed which must inevitably follow its passage, my hon. friend the First Minister will be able to suggest to His Excellency the Governor General the names of a Committee adequate to the duty proposed by the resolution.

Mr. NORRIS—I am not opposed to the appointment of this Committee. It is our duty to make enquiry into the present state of the country—provided it is not to burk the question. If it is the intention to go to work and prepare a report, I cannot see why there should be any objection to it. In my opinion it does not require a great deal of time to determine the causes of the stagnation of trade. All will agree, I think, that the lumber interest is suffering, not from any fault which rests with the country, but because other nations with whom we trade are experiencing financial stringency. That trade cannot possibly be benefitted until the cloud clears away from our neighbours over the borders. With regard to the agricultural interest, I think it is also depressed to a certain extent. It is said to be sound and prosperous; I believe it is sound, but I don't know that it is prosperous. This interest cannot flourish when the nations which we usually supply raise so much bread-stuffs as they have lately done.

Secondly, I think that no Government, no matter who they may be, can possibly furnish better prices for our agricultural interests. When crops fail in other countries we may expect to see our farmers flourish, by reason of the increased demand there will be for their produce.

Another drawback can be prevented a great deal. Our manufacturing interests are in a deplorable state; this has been admitted by every member who has spoken. I am not what you would call a Protectionist; neither do I believe in discriminatory duties, because I believe we should not disturb our relations with our friends across the borders. Without going into statistics or a discussion of the questions of free-trade and protection, which have been agitated long enough by the ablest men of all countries, I will merely refer to two nations with which we are intimately acquainted, and show that what suits one will not suit the other. I believe what gives prosperity to England is not suited to Canada. England to-day can be called a free-trade nation. She has prospered under that policy very largely, but how long has she been a free-trade nation? Her policy has been free-trade just as long as it was necessary. It is not 100 years ago since she took the duties off timber from this and other countries. And why? Because her home supply was growing scarce. It was the same with corn; she took off the duty to feed the people she had employed in her factories at small wages. When England had her manufacturing establishments and could compete with the world, she became a free-trade nation.

Take the United States, on the other hand. The policy of that nation has been protective from the commencement, and yet it has prospered even to a greater extent than England. I merely cite these two instances, to show that under different circumstances, a difference in policy was necessary and successful. The hon. member for Bothwell stated, in moving his resolution, and the hon. member for South Waterloo, in seconding it also stated that so long as we have the balance of trade against us we cannot possibly be prosperous.

Mr. MILLS—I did not say that.

Mr. NORRIS—I think it is a general opinion, at all events, that it must be so when the balance is so much against us as the trade and navigation returns show. I find that in 1873, we imported into this country \$117,500,-

000, and only exported \$89,000,000, which leaves a balance of \$37,000,000 against us. In 1874 we imported \$127,000,000 and exported only \$89,000. In 1875, we imported \$119,500,000 and exported only \$77,500,000, leaving about \$42,000,000 to be provided for, the balance against us. I think these figures must convince every person that so long as we have so large a balance against us, it is utterly impossible we can be as prosperous as we should be. I am sure the country is looking for an increase of the tariff or something of the kind. This must be evident to the gentlemen who are leading the House. The impression in the country is that the revenue will be short about \$3,000,000. If that is the case, I think it will tax every energy and ability of the Government to meet the deficit, and carry on the public works of this country, the abandonment of which would only intensify the depression. The only way to raise this revenue, that I can see is by increasing taxation. For the last year the people of this country have been getting wiser and decreased their importations instead of increasing them. I hope they will continue this. I have no doubt for a year or two our imports will fall very far short of what they have been. If we have not a higher tariff, I do not see how this large revenue is to be raised.

I know some will say that it is no matter where we get our goods; if we can get them a little cheaper, we are all the richer. I decidedly cannot agree with them on this point. I think it would be far better for this country to manufacture our own goods, or at all events a portion of them; that would leave within the country the money we have to send to foreign nations. Statistics have been furnished in this debate to show that since 1872 the importations from the United States have nearly doubled, while the imports from Great Britain have decreased on nearly every article. It is plain the manufactures of the neighboring nation are supplanting English goods in this market, and I have no doubt they will continue to do so, and in the end, to a certain extent, find their way even into the markets of England.

Mr. NORRIS.

Although largely interested in wheat and flour, I would say, at the present time at all events, I do not believe it is discreet that we should impose a duty on provisions going into the Maritime Provinces. We feel the injustice, however, of admitting them free into our country while a duty of 20 per cent. is placed on flour and grain we send to the United States. There could, however, be a duty placed on corn. By the trade and navigation returns, I notice that we imported 3,679,000 bushels of Indian corn last year, and exported 2,050,000 bushels, leaving 1,700,000 of a balance against this country. None this corn is imported to feed the people, but to make whiskey. Why should this not be taxed? If we must have whiskey, the coarse grains of our own Province could be used for the purpose, and there is also a large section of country along Lake Erie where corn can be successfully raised. A duty on this product would benefit our agricultural interests. I think it is time for this country to take a decided step on this matter, and put an end to such unjust and unfair competition with our own people.

I am very much pleased to find that gentlemen who were Free-Traders a few years ago, are Protectionists now. I remember how the hon. member for Cumberland rated the Finance Minister soundly because he increased the duty $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but now, if I understand him, he wants more. He says the policy of the Government is ruinous to the country, and the manufacturing interest is depressed for want of protection. But if the late Government had not reduced the tariff in 1867 to fifteen per cent. I am inclined to think this country to-day would have been in a more prosperous condition than it is.

But, Sir, if the country is ruined, as the hon. gentleman has said, certainly this Government is not responsible and it is hardly necessary to say anything more on this occasion. I am sure that the Government of the day would not ignore—what I do not believe they can—the cry for protection that has gone forth in this country. What do we find? That from every city in Ontario and Quebec—I will not say anything

about the Maritime Provinces, I presume they are free traders and I respect their opinions—but in every city in Ontario and Quebec, and in every town—not a man would be elected unless he avows himself in favour of incidental protection to our manufactures. Commencing at Quebec and coming to Montreal, Toronto, London and Hamilton, every candidate that would dare to avow himself a Free-Trader would be elected to stay at home. I think it is the time, and I am sure I think it is my duty to speak and tell this hon. House that these are the views of the people.

Mr. BOWELL—The question before the House, like the one under discussion a few minutes ago, has drifted to the general question of protection and free-trade. It is not my purpose, however, to discuss that question now. When the right hon. member for Kingston rose at the moment it was supposed that the motion was to be carried without debate, and called your attention and the attention of the Government to the fact that the resolution was worded so as to be to all intents and purposes a vote of want of confidence in the Administration, I supposed that the question, would have been settled between the gentlemen occupying the Treasury Benches and the Leader of the Opposition. However, the Hon. Minister of Finance took exception to the constitutional point which had been raised by my right hon. friend from Kingston, and in endeavouring to substantiate the position which he took, he cited a motion which had been moved in this House, and carried at the time when that gentleman was in the Government and Leader of the House. I was surprised after his attention had been called to the fact that the motion for the appointment of the Committee to enquire exclusively into the state of the manufacturing interests of this country was substantially the same as that which is now before the House, the right hon. gentleman permitted it to be carried, thereby admitting the force of the objection taken at the beginning of the debate. However, my present intention is more particularly to call attention to the remarkable speech of my hon. friend from North

York. My hon. friend the member for Frontenac designated that speech as an unmanly one. I shall not use that term, but I do say, after looking into that matter, I must express my surprise and give utterance to the strongest expression when I say that if it were not unmanly it was certainly a most unfair and one-sided speech towards the gentleman to whom he referred, and a mutilation of that gentleman's resolution and speeches at the Board of Trade. I shall endeavour to show that what I have asserted I can substantiate by the public records. I know that the hon. gentleman excused himself by stating that he had a right to refer to a gentleman out of the House with reference to his public acts, more particularly when these resolutions were moved in a public body like the Board of Trade. Had he confined himself to that, in all probability no notice would have been taken of his remarks; but he said this gentleman was the rising hope of the Conservative party in this country, therefore I suppose it was necessary for him to bring down upon that gentleman's head his displeasure and the weight of his great intellect. I do not doubt that he felt humiliated ever since that speech was delivered. I question whether he will be enabled to raise his head any more in any constituency where he may present himself; but what had the dinner given to Mr. White in Montreal to do with the proceedings of the Board of Trade? What had the speech delivered by the right hon. member for Kingston at the dinner to do with Mr. White's utterances and speeches at the Board of Trade? What had the defeat of Mr. White by my hon. friend the member for Montreal West to do with that gentleman's utterances at the Board of Trade? The fact is he thought it was necessary—to use a very familiar expression—to “squellch” that gentleman out of existence, and in doing that he evidently had bottled up in his mind an onslaught on the right hon. member for Kingston; and the member for Kingston also, I suppose, was completely annihilated by that hon. gentleman's utterances. That Mr. Thos. White, at the Board of Trade meeting, moved a resolution in favour of free-

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trade in 1873, and then in 1874 moved a resolution in favour of protection, and that the course suggested itself to him to carry out because his friends were in power at one time, and because at the other that his political opponents were in power, is certainly not borne out by the facts.

Mr. DYMOND—I beg that the hon. gentleman will allow me to correct him. I made no suggestion about any such motive having influence with the gentleman he has referred to. I quoted simply from the resolutions which were moved; I did not refer to any speech of his; I quoted simply from the record here word for word as it appears in this book. I made no suggestion whatever as to his motive.

Mr. BOWELL—The hon. gentleman has forgotten himself, I think.

Mr. DYMOND—No.

Mr. BOWELL—It is very fortunate for the hon. gentleman to forget sometimes, although it is not an excuse for any hon. gentleman to forget anything. I suppose he has the same frailties as other people; but I say to the House that the hon. gentleman did not quote the whole resolution, but a portion of both resolutions, and by a quotation to this House of only one-half, he left a false impression on the minds of hon. members; a proceeding which should be beneath the dignity of a gentleman occupying his exalted position in this country. With your permission, I will read the resolution, and I wish to explain that it was an amendment moved to a resolution which had been proposed by Mr. Robert Wilkes, a former member of this House—I think I may use the term—in the direction of free-trade, pure and simple, and one that would have met with the approbation of my hon. friend from Welland, provided that it included in it his pet theory of free money. Then I shall quote a few remarks made by Mr. White upon this motion, and also the view that was taken of it by Mr. Wilkes, who had moved a free-trade resolution; and I ask whether he was justified in attributing free-trade principles to Mr. White on that occasion:

“Mr. Thomas White, of Montreal, moved, seconded by Hon. Robert Read—who is cer-

tainly not a Free-Trader, as anyone who knows him is aware, and I think I know him as well as any man in the country)—“that, without offering any opinion upon some of the details of the present customs’ tariff, or upon the anomalies which are inevitable in all tariffs, this Board is of opinion that no change should be made in it unless the exigencies of the public service demand a larger revenue.”—

Mr. DYMOND—Hear, hear.

Mr. BOWELL—

“And in such case, any increase that is to be made should be in accordance with the principles of the present customs’ tariff, which, while not interfering with the commerce of the Dominion, will afford incidental protection to the manufacturers.”

Mr. DYMOND—Hear, hear.

Mr. BOWELL—

“That this Board is further of opinion that permanency in the fiscal policy of the country is most important alike to its commerce and manufactures, and that no change should be made in the tariff, not demanded by the absolute necessity of the revenue.”

Mr. DYMOND—Hear, hear.

Mr. BOWELL—If it pleases the hon. gentleman I am quite satisfied. Now, Sir, what did Mr. White say in introducing that motion?

Mr. DYMOND—Never mind what Mr. White says.

Mr. BOWELL—I have no doubt the hon. gentleman would like that suppressed, as he suppressed a portion of the resolution referring to incidental protection of our manufactures. Mr. White said:

“I wish to adduce some reasons for voting against the resolution proposed by Mr. Wilkes, which was a free-trade motion, and why I think the Board ought to accept the amendment I have placed into your hands. I have no hesitation in saying that I am a Protectionist to that extent. I believe that it is possible for the Government to adopt a fiscal policy to nurture, protect and promote the industries of the country. The free-trade principle on the contrary says that the Government should not interfere to this end, and that, just in proportion as it does interfere it injures rather than benefits the manufacturers’ interest. From this doctrine I entirely dissent.”

Then, Sir, he says further:

“The resolution, therefore, while it professes to be in the interest of native industries—(that is Mr. Wilkes’ motion)—is really an extreme free-trade resolution put

forward by the advocates of free-trade in terms which they hope may catch the vote of the Protectionists of this Board, with clap-trap phrases about the cost of living, and at the very time, when by its general policy it seeks protection for the largest interests of the country.”

Now, Sir, how did Mr. Wilkes take that motion in amendment to his own. He says the end of all such resolutions as Mr. White advocated is protection all round. Surely he was as capable of judging of the intentions of the mover, of the effect which the resolution would have had had it been carried—as the hon. gentleman who condemned and attempted to distort this motion to-day. “One man wants his raw material free, and his raw material is the manufactured article of some other person; therefore they must be protected all round.” Now, Sir, that is the view taken of that resolution by the gentleman who was then advocating an extreme policy of free-trade. Let me call the attention of the House to the resolution moved by Mr. White in 1874, and I ask you to pay particular attention to this to see wherein it differs from the other resolution in principle; in principle it is essentially the same as the resolution offered in 1875. You will observe, and this House will observe, that it is almost word for word. The resolution which he then moved, and which my friend from North York has designated as a protective resolution, is as follows:—

“Owing to the fact of the large obligations already assumed by the Dominion, and also that during the first half of the present fiscal year the expenditure has exceeded the revenue by a considerable sum it is probable that some revision of the fiscal policy of the Dominion will become necessary during the approaching Session of the Canadian Parliament; be it Resolved, That in the opinion of this Board the principle of protection to the manufacturing industries of the country should be embodied in such revision of the tariff, so far as it can be carried out consistently with the commerce and revenue requirements of the country.”

Mr. DYMOND—Hear, Hear.

Mr. BOWELL—I was waiting for that “hear, hear.” This is precisely the same language used in the resolution which the hon. gentleman declared was a free-trade resolution, while this other was a protection resolution, and

yet in that case he declares that enquiries should be made in accordance with the principles of the present customs tariff, which, while not interfering with the commerce of the Dominion, affords incidental protection to these manufactures. Why does not the hon. gentleman cry "hear, hear" again? It brought a "hear hear" at least from the hon. gentleman when I read it in connection with the former resolution. The last four lines are precisely the same as I read in the former resolution, also the language is precisely the same with that used in the resolution moved in 1873, which the hon. gentleman declared to be a free-trade resolution. I am not now going to defend Mr. White any further; there were reasons which induced him and every thinking man in this country to take the position he did in 1873. This country was flourishing in 1873; there was no necessity for raising the tariff upon any article then manufactured simply because the manufactures of our country were flourishing; and I think that the hon. member for Lincoln knows that as a manufacturer as well as any other man in this House.

Mr. NORRIS—Yes, yes.

Mr. BOWELL—And when he alludes to this state of things, or to what a former Administration did under different circumstances altogether, and with a different state of trade in every branch of our industry in this country, he certainly had to go a long way to find a cause or subject for attack upon an Administration that is no longer in existence. I know that it was a favourite theory with many that the ultra-Protectionists in the late Administration did wrong in reducing the tariff from 20 to 15 per cent., and it must have been amusing to this House, and particularly to those who knew the circumstances under which it was reduced, to listen to the hon. member for Lincoln's remarks upon that subject. In one sentence he condemns the late Administration for having reduced the tariff from 20 per cent. without adverting for one moment to the circumstances which surrounded that Government and the necessities of the country at the time; and in the very next sentence he pats

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the hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces on the back, because he knows that they are opposed, and have been ever since they have been in Confederation, to high tariffs. At that time Confederation had just been consummated; it brought into this Dominion Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, two Provinces in which the highest tariffs—if my recollection serves me right—were 12½ and 10 per cent., the former in New Brunswick and the latter in Nova Scotia. At that time it was necessarily the bounden duty of any man or any number of men in directing the destinies of this country, to cement as closely as they possibly could all sections of the Dominion, and not to carry any principle to such extreme lengths as to make them more dissatisfied than they were. At the time when that policy was adopted, all knew that they raised the duties 5 per cent. in Nova Scotia, and it created intense feeling in that country. We know that the Anti-Confederates in New Brunswick also used it as a great lever against those who supported the principles of Confederation before it was consummated; and I repeat that it was exceedingly wise statesmanship on the part of those who were then in power to adopt the policy they did. There is one other point to which I desire to refer before we argue the propriety of appointing the Committee. My own opinion is, from my experience of Committees in this House, they result in very little, and when the hon. member for Montreal West states that he only consented to become a member of that Committee because he had been assured by the member for Bothwell that the report of the Committee was not a foregone conclusion, I should like to ask if all the gentleman in this House or in the country could change the free-trade theories or the opinion of the member for North York; or whether there is sufficient in this House or out of it to convince my hon. friend from Bothwell that the theory of free-trade, I was almost going to say "pure" and simple—is not the true policy for all countries?

When you take that in connection with the speeches of the same hon. gentleman made in Montreal, it seems as if

there must be something behind the scenes. If I recollect aright, he stated that he had the assurance of the Prime Minister before consenting to become a candidate that there would be a change in the direction of incidental protection. At a later date he unreservedly said the change would be to raise the duty on manufactured articles, which were then languishing for want of business. These utterances delighted his hearers, and every man having a dollar's worth of goods in the customs hastened to take it out, and so saved the extra duty which the hon. gentleman had assured them would be imposed. I don't say that the Finance Minister has taken him into his confidence, or that he informed the hon. gentleman as to intended changes; but he made those speeches, one result of which was to injure the country by keeping money out of the Treasury.

The hon. gentleman from Lincoln made an onslaught on the hon. member for Cumberland for having, as was said, denounced the imposition of the 2½ per cent. last year. Now, the hon. gentleman did object to the duty for incidental or direct protective purposes. The hon. gentleman's position was this: The Finance Minister, when he made the Budget Speech, declared that there was a large deficit in the revenue of the country, and that it was necessary to impose this additional tax in order to meet it. The hon. member for Cumberland contended that this was not correct, and the result of the year's operations showed there was no deficit.

The hon. member for North York found fault with the hon. member for Kingston, and declared him to be a Free-Trader because he opposed the Motion to appropriate \$86,000 for manufacturers to exhibit their wares at the Philadelphia Centennial. The hon. gentleman's reason for opposing this was the same as that given by Mr. John Bright with reference to a similar proposition in the interests of British manufacturers—that it was useless appropriating money to show articles in a country which had such a high protective tariff as to preclude them from competition.

Mr. DYMOND—Mr. Bright did not make that statement in Parliament. He simply alluded to the carpet manu-

facture as an illustration of the disadvantages under which British manufacturers suffer. He did not discourage his countrymen from sending their goods if they chose, or Government aiding them if it chose.

Mr. BOWELL—If my hon. friend is satisfied with the explanation I am. If it applies to the carpet interest it applies to every other interest. It was the principle, without narrowing it down to any point, which Mr. Bright, as well as the hon. member for Kingston, opposed. But the whole intention of the hon. gentleman from North York appeared to be this:—There were two men in this country he desired to drive out of existence, and he thought the best possible way to do that was to bring the power of his giant intellect to bear upon them, and to relieve himself of a bottled-up speech. The cork flew out, as it generally does out of a soda water bottle, and the whole contents effervesced.

Mr. PATTERSON—It is not necessary to attempt to prove that there is a depression existing at the present time in this country. This is generally admitted and too painfully felt by many members of this House and by the people of this country to require any proof. It is natural, at a time like this, when such severe trials are being passed through, when so many find their fortunes are wrecked and the savings of hard labour for years and years swept away from them—that people cannot remain passive, but will endeavour to find some solution. The hon. member for Bothwell has moved for a Select Committee to enquire into the cause of this depression. There seems to be no feeling of hostility to granting the Committee on the part of any member of the House. It is true some of the opponents of the Government seem to think it is rather a serious question, and that the passage of the motion will be equivalent to a vote of want of confidence. The Ministry seem to take the matter unconcernedly, the whips are not seen about the House; no anxiety is manifested, and I suppose it is probable the Ministry will not resign if the motion is carried.

I must confess that I, for one, am slightly at a loss to understand the

object of this Committee or the good which may be accomplished by it. No doubt the hon. member for Bothwell, with that intimate knowledge of political economy and all matters which come before this House that he possesses, has reasons good and valid, feels confident that the gentlemen associated with him will be able to discover the true cause of the depression, and will be able to suggest the proper remedy. But I have thought that the Finance Minister would be in possession of knowledge, on this subject fuller than can be acquired by any Committee—that, from the position he occupies and the care he takes in studying the interests of the country, he is already in possession of facts of great volume and weight. I assume that the greatest good to be accomplished by this Committee will be in affording an opportunity for the audible expression of individual views in reference to business matters. In this House you will find a diversity of opinion as to the cause of this depression, and some would attribute the trouble to one thing and some to another. It is sometimes stated that it is the duty of the Finance Minister only to secure revenue and see that it is properly expended, but I think that official would admit that he should do more. If the securing of revenue be his only aim and object, then, Sir, it would naturally follow that he should arrange a tariff to produce the greatest possible amount, no matter what effect it might have on any industry of the country. And taking this view I conceive that the term incidental protection is meaningless. If the Finance Minister found by reducing the present tariff he could secure more revenue, it would be his duty to make such reduction. I will ask this House if it is true that large quantities of American goods are being brought into the market, notwithstanding our 17½ per cent. duty? Should such be the fact, and that some of our manufactories have been closed in consequence, it follows that a very slight reduction of the tariff would produce such a state of things that our factories would close altogether, and that would mean more revenue to

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the country from the importation of all the goods consumed.

I hold that the position is impregnable that there is a duty other than the collection of revenue devolving on a Finance Minister. I take the ground that I am the only Free-Trader in this House, except the hon. member for Welland. A great many are Free-Traders in theory, but not practically. At the present time we have a protective tariff on some articles, and the question that should engage the attention of the Finance Minister is whether an additional duty, no matter how much it may be on certain articles, will promote the interests of the Dominion.

Let us look for a moment at the article of boots and shoes. Within my own recollection almost all those goods were imported from the United States, and I remember that when the tariff was raised to 10 per cent. a great stimulus was given to that great branch of our industry, which now finds employment for tens of thousands of persons. I venture the assertion that if the present 17½ per cent. were reduced to 10 per cent. we would derive more revenue from those articles than at the present time. That being the case, it is true that the tariff we have at present is in no measure protective, and both a revenue and a protective tariff at one time seems impossible. Is it in the interests of the country to have a tariff for revenue purposes alone, or will the country prosper better under free-trade than protection?

I am not a Protectionist. I am not one of those who believe in erecting a wall so high that you cannot trade with any other country, but I must admit I am in favour of a defensive policy. I cannot view with complacency what we see in this country. We live beside a country with a population ten times greater than ours, whose industries have been fostered by protection until they are enabled, even in some articles in which Britain excelled, to challenge supremacy with her. While that nation has erected against us and other countries a hostile tariff, we have our hands bound, and give them a free and

unrestricted right to trade in our markets.

We must bear in mind in discussing this matter that the 17½ per cent. tariff that we speak of is not on a gold basis. It is well known that the difference between American money and ours, while it does not altogether pay the duty, very much reduces it. Then the statement is also made, and I have no reason to doubt its correctness since it fell from the hon. member for Montreal Centre, that the American manufacturers will sell to our people cheaper than to their own. I was told that a certain house in Brockville bought goods in New York for a firm in Ogdensburgh, because Canadians could get them cheaper. Considering this fact, and the difference in value of our money, there is no protection at all.

The hon. member for South Waterloo predicted the result of protection would be to stimulate our industries so much that more factories would arise than the country could sustain. That would bring down prices and ruin the manufacturers. If that be the case—and I believe the hon. gentleman is right—it would be the concern of those gentlemen who are asking for protection at the present time. Prices would be brought down, and consumers would get the benefit of cheaper goods than they now have. It would simply remove the competition from the American manufacturers to our own, the consumers receiving the benefit all the same, but the country being enriched by the industries. The Finance Minister should ascertain, if possible, what articles are being slaughtered in our markets, what industries are thus being crushed out in our midst, what enterprises could be successfully fostered in this country, and then frame a tariff that would be defensive in its nature. He, being the champion of our interests, should use, not offensively but defensively, the weapon that has been placed in his hands in order to prevent the life-blood of this country being drawn from it. I have confidence that he will arrive at a conclusion on this point. I know the difficulty he will have in satisfying all parties, but we should keep in mind the fact that we are one people, and when one of our industries prospers all must benefit,

while if one languishes all must suffer more or less.

I would remind the hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces that Ontario is not given up to manufacturing. That interest bears but a small proportion to others in this Province. It is the same in Quebec. That being the case, what is to prevent Halifax under a protective tariff from having its manufactories? What is to prevent the establishment of industries in St. John, Charlottetown, and the other towns of the Maritime Provinces? Protection does not mean Ontario's interests at the sacrifice of the interests of the Maritime Provinces. It is to stimulate the manufactures of this Dominion irrespective of Provinces; but if any part of Canada could more successfully compete in our markets I think it is Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, from the fact that they have coal and iron lying side by side. They would be able to manufacture cheaply and compete with Ontario.

It is well known that we pay a cash bonus to the inhabitants of other countries to come into Canada and settle in our midst. It is a fact that some of those who have been thus induced to emigrate to Canada have been compelled from want of employment to which they have been accustomed to go to the United States. I believe by a defensive tariff you would not have to pay to bring those men here. Adopt it and you will find the steam whistle of our factories will be the call for them to come.

The other year the Finance Minister in revising the tariff gave some encouragement to our industry which it never had before. The result was that a thousand men who were engaged in that industry in Germany were literally transported, by the change in the tariff, to Canada and set to work here. The cost of the article was not increased one iota, and Canada got all the benefit. The middlemen suffered a diminution of profits; but for them nobody seems to care much, the producer and consumer receiving all the sympathy. It is inevitable that a like result would flow to other manufactures under the same policy. If the Finance Minister finds such is the case, I trust that the wisdom which

led him to yield that point will induce him to grant the same to other industries, and that no sectionalism will tie his hands. I hope that other hon. gentlemen will speak on this subject, and whether the Committee is appointed or not, the interchange of views will lead the Finance Minister to bring in a tariff which will redound to the prosperity of the whole Dominion.

Mr. CURRIER—The hon. member for Bothwell did me the honour to place my name on this Committee without consulting me, for which honour I am thankful to him. I rise now to ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw my name from the Committee. The reason is that I have a suspicion that the report which it will make to the House is a foregone conclusion. I have not the same excuse for declining to act that the hon. member for Montreal West has; I am not engaged in promulgating a tariff. I hope my hon. friend from Bothwell will consent to the withdrawal of my name from the Committee.

Mr. OLIVER—I think this Committee would do a vast amount of good in investigating the commercial depression which seems to exist in the Dominion at the present time. The report of the Committee of this House on the manufacturing interests of Canada furnished valuable information to the country. The Finance Minister, I have no doubt, has all the information connected with the depression of trade; and I have no doubt he has, in his wisdom, devised some remedy for it, but the report of this Committee will be fuller and give more information than his statement.

I am sorry my hon. friend from Ottawa has refused to act on this Committee, for he is the representative of an interest in this country which is of immense dimensions—I mean the lumber trade. I think some gentleman connected with that interest ought to be on this Committee. He need not be alarmed about the report they will bring down, for it will no doubt contain the evidence and statements on which it is based.

I was rather startled by the speech of the hon. member for Brant, who

Mr. PATTERSON.

wishes to fill this country with factories. I would like that, too, if we had a market for the consumption of the manufactured articles. The representatives of the cities have either directly or indirectly advocated protection, but the hon. member for Brant wants a defensive policy, which in my opinion amounts to the same thing. Well, Sir, what does protection mean if it does not signify that a greater price is to be given by the consumer to the manufacturer for manufactured articles? The agricultural interest in this country has not the same opportunity to make their influence felt as the manufacturers and commercial men. They have no organization except a few Granges in the west of the Province, and they do not make their power felt by means of the press, and on the floor of this House. It is presumed, because they do not come in hundreds and wait in deputations daily upon the Finance Minister, they are willing to accept a protective duty, but this is not the case. The farmers are the most numerous class, and their interest is more important than any other; and because they do not act as I have mentioned, it is assumed that they are in favour of protection. It is amusing, therefore, to notice, that in the meetings of Boards of Trade and manufacturers, the first resolution generally expresses the opinion that the farming interest will be benefitted by such a policy.

An Hon. Member—So they will be.

Mr. OLIVER—Why do they not allow them to state their own opinions? Why should the manufacturer and the merchant assume this office for a community whose interests they do not understand? One statement has been made by my hon. friend from Hamilton, and, I think, by my hon. friend from West Montreal, and I believe, also by the last speaker, my hon. friend from Brant, that the Americans have made of Canada a slaughter market—a common expression at meetings of Boards of Trade and manufacturers. This is, however, denied by my hon. friend from Centre Toronto, who declares that English and not American manufactured goods are slaughtered on the market of Canada. I take it for granted, that with the extensive commercial experience of my hon. friend

from Centre Toronto, and his intimate knowledge of both the marts of America and Great Britain—

Mr. MACDONALD—Mr. Speaker, I wish to make an explanation. I only referred to a certain class of goods. I did not undertake to speak of lines of which I know nothing.

Mr. OLIVER—Of course, I accept the correction.

American commercial men of high standing could never have one price for the foreign and another for the home market. He could not entertain such an impression; it was impossible. A statement has been made by my hon. friend from Brantford, to the effect that an Ogdensburg merchant obtained goods at a low rate by deputing a Canadian merchant to make the purchases in his own country. I am glad that the hon. member explained that this was not to his own personal knowledge; for it was so absurd that no one having the most limited knowledge of commercial transactions could credit such an assertion at all.

Reference was made to my hon. friend from Montreal West as being very much engaged in the revision of the tariff; but my hon. friend corrected himself, and said that he was occupied answering communications with regard to the tariff, and had not time to act on the Committee. A great many gentlemen, not only in, but out of the House, may have their opinions in this regard. Every manufacturer, doubtless, in the country is exercising his influence in this connection, and my hon. friend from Hamilton has some idea as to what ought to be brought down. Many members in the House have alleged that certain influences brought about this depression, and my hon. friend from South Waterloo declared that it was due to the great expansion which took place in the business of the country. I believe that is correct; this great expansion occurred during the last five or six years, and I have no hesitation in directly charging this state of things upon the wholesale merchants who have imported so heavily, being determined to make their fortunes rapidly. These importers, by means of travellers who visited every hamlet and village in the coun-

try, forced their goods upon rural merchants until they were hampered with stocks they could not dispose of. In consequence, the retailer was unable to meet his obligations, and these difficulties have impaired business, which was conducted on unsound commercial principles. Then these reckless wholesale importers came to the Finance Minister and asked him to step between them and ruin. I know a house in Toronto which does not use travellers and is properly managed; its cash receipts for last month were larger than for January, 1875. Hon. members have said the depression has extended to the agricultural interest, but I am prepared to declare, so far as my section is concerned, at all events, that the farmers were never in a better financial condition. The truth is, we now manufacture more than we are able to consume; and why should a protective policy be followed? Can we not produce as cheaply as the Americans with $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty and freight in our favor? Can any reason be offered to the contrary? I think not. I know manufacturers who are protected with a virtual 50 per cent. duty, but I have no doubt they are petitioning for an increase;—if they were given 100 per cent. they would not be satisfied. It has been said by my hon. friend from Hamilton, while advocating protection, that the manufactures of the United States are displacing those of Great Britain; but is this an argument for protection? It is not. If we pay the money to the Americans, what difference does it make to us? Of course it is desirable to send as much cash as possible to the mother country; but we all know as commercial men, and no one better than my hon. friend from Hamilton, that business would not be conducted upon sound principles unless the purchaser goes to the cheapest market. If such displacement is a fact, it is for the English manufacturer to look after his own interests. We do not hesitate to sell wheat, barley and wool to the Americans, so long as the gold is forthcoming, and why should we not purchase articles from them, too. An unfortunate Treaty was before this country last year, proposing to place a number of our manufactures upon the same footing with those of

the States, and what was the result? Our manufacturers and an influential portion of the press cried out against it. What are you going to do for the farmer and the miner? My hon. friend from Cumberland says the Nova Scotian coal interest is languishing, and in a general system of protection it must be considered. What would be the result? The people of Ontario would have to pay duty for their imported coal. The farmer must also be protected, thus increasing the price of breadstuffs for the people in the eastern sections of the Dominion. The proposed duty upon American corn would be against the western farmer, who feeds it to his stock, taking it in exchange for his own products. It is urged that the tea importing interest has suffered through the abolition of the 10 per cent duty, but I hold that the great consuming public has been benefitted. I am a Free Trader to a certain extent.

Hon. Members—Hear! hear!

Mr. OLIVER—The present duties are sufficient to encourage our manufactures, but if necessities require further taxation, I will not say that I would not support any governmental policy brought down. I do not doubt the Finance Minister will be able to shew that it is in the interests of the people of this country, and as far as I am concerned, he must prove this before he gets my vote. It is wrong in principle to build up one class of the community at the expense of another. It should be remembered that the portion of the people asking for an increased tariff has but a small interest in this country. The true policy is to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will my hon. friend answer a question? Am I right in my recollection that he accompanied me as one of a deputation to urge upon a former Finance Minister the imposition of protective duties upon a number of articles?

Mr. OLIVER—Yes; I went with the hon. member to ask for the levy of duties upon American produce coming into this country—flour and coal.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—And salt.

Mr. OLIVER.

Mr. OLIVER—And salt.

Hon. Members—Hear, hear.

Mr. OLIVER—The experience of one year was such, I am willing to confess—and I hope the hon. gentleman who has put the question will make a similar confession—that I was convinced the experiment was a failure. When I found I was mistaken it was my duty as an honourable man to retrace my steps. I did so, and that was the end of it so far as I was concerned.

My hon. friend, the Finance Minister, has been taunted to-night with changing his fiscal policy last year. He forgets, however, that a former Financial Minister also changed his fiscal policy—not in a week—but in half an hour. That change was brought about by the hon. member who put the question to me just now, and was in accordance with the influence he wields over men at all times when they come in contact with him. I hope the explanation is satisfactory.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The recollection of the hon. gentleman is not accurate. He has not done justice to himself. He did not wait a year to ascertain what the result of his policy would be. After going with me as a deputation to the Finance Minister, when that hon. gentleman brought down his policy in accordance with his recommendations, the hon. gentleman voted against it.

Mr. OLIVER—That is a statement which is not correct, Mr. Speaker. When the Hon. Finance Minister came down with his first fiscal policy, wheat, flour and coal were mentioned as bearing a duty. When the change took place, wheat was left out. Why? Simply to benefit some prominent supporters of the Government at that time, who had a large milling interest in the country. The hon. member for Glengarry, who is now Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, introduced a motion to the effect that if wheat was allowed to come into the country free of duty, flour also should be undutiable. I voted for that motion, and that was the only vote I gave against the policy of Sir Francis Hincks at that time.

Mr. WORKMAN—The hon. gentleman from Oxford has given us a

lecture upon the proper manner in which to conduct mercantile business. I have had a little experience, and I should like to answer an assertion which the hon. gentleman made. With reference to a statement of mine made yesterday, he said it was quite absurd for any one to say that Canada was made a slaughter market for the United States. In proof of my assertion I shall state one fact. About five months ago, my firm in Montreal received a communication from a manufacturing establishment in Pennsylvania asking us to become their agents, at any price, for the sale of an article in Canada. We were then acting as the agents of an English house for the same description of goods. I declined the offer, giving as the reason that we were already engaged by another firm. In reply they said:

"We are very anxious to get possession of the Canadian market. We will send you a quantity of our goods; we don't care what price you realize for them. If the English goods are selling for 15 cts, sell ours for 14 cts; if at 12 cts, sell ours for 11 cts. We are determined to get the Canadian market."

I then wrote the conditions under which we would accept a consignment. At the end of the month when the account was sent out to the agent in New York, I supposed that the result of this first instalment would satisfy him as to the undesirableness of the Canadian market. But he acknowledged the receipt, expressed his thanks for the business like manner in which the transaction had been conducted, and enquired if we would take another consignment. This consignment came, and the prices were so reduced that the English article was driven out of the market. After the third month's account had been rendered, they expressed themselves delighted with the Canadian market, and continued to send their goods to a large extent. That is the position assumed by Pennsylvanian manufacturers towards us. If my hon. friend would like to see the invoice, I shall be happy to furnish it to him.

Mr. GORDON—This subject, Mr. Speaker, has been discussed very largely from the importers and the manufacturers' point of view. The problem of the depression is easily solved in my

mind. It is the same cause which operated in London in 1873, when the pressure of the banks was brought to bear on certain branches of trade, and financial difficulty was the result. The agricultural question has not been discussed much during this debate, and I may recall to the remembrance of the House that seventy-five per cent. of the whole population are engaged in that interest, whereas the mercantile and manufacturing interests represent only five per cent. I apprehend that any legislation that would tend to injure the agricultural interests would be detrimental to the general well-being of the whole Dominion. With permission, I shall lay before the House a few facts to prove that interest is not suffering at the present time.

The wealth of this country is represented by several leading articles—oats, barley, wheat, corn, peas and butter. The exports of the article of wheat last year amounted to 1,233,955 bushels more than the imports. This shows that the wheat interest requires no protection, because we produce more than we require for consumption. Barley, which is the next very important product, exceeded the imports last year by 5,419,000 bushels, and for the present year, up to 1st of January, the exports reached the enormous quantity of 8,530,000 bushels; and up to the 30th of June next I think it will foot up to 10,000,000 bushels. The imports of this article are *nil*. In the article of peas we exceeded the imports by 2,839,000 bushels, and with regard to butter, we export the immense quantity of 9,500,000 lbs. Our surplus oats amounted to nearly 3,000,000 bushels, and our imports are also *nil*. * The only article on which the balance seems to be against the farmer is that of Indian corn, the exports being 27,000 bushels, and the imports 4,000,000 bushels. After considering these facts, I think the House will agree with me that the farmer stands in need of protection.

Reference has been made to the article of cotton, the member for Toronto Centre stating that the Americans are obtaining entire control of the market. Now the reason for this is that the American article is infinitely superior to that supplied by British manufacturers. The grey cottons of the latter

have become a perfect nuisance, and the consumer is now willing to pay 25 to 50 per cent. more for American goods.

The hon. member for Montreal West called attention yesterday to the immense advantages the United States had derived from protection during the last ten or fifteen years. The facts, however, do not bear out his statement. In 1860 the shipping trade of the United States, before the protective tariff, was 74 per cent. of the whole trade of the country. In 1873 it was reduced to 28 per cent. From the year 1860 to 1873, I find that the price of twelve leading commodities increased 92 per cent.; and during the same time the value of labour increased only 60 per cent., which gives a balance of 32 per cent. against the consumer. If protection had been the blessing described, a convention of farmers which was recently held in Illinois would not have passed unanimous resolutions in favour of free trade as the only sound policy. I think the majority of the agriculturists are convinced that protection would not benefit the great bulk of the population. I hope wise counsels will prevail in our dealings with this subject, and that the claims of a few gentlemen representing the manufacturing and mercantile interests will not be entertained to the detriment of the farming interest.

I have been identified with agricultural interests from my youth, and I now represent one of the most flourishing agricultural constituencies in Canada. I think it is due to the farmers to say that there is no foundation for the attempt that is made by some persons to represent them as an injured class. They grow more than the country is able to consume, and it will be hard to convince them that it is in their interest that a protective policy should be inaugurated,

Mr. MCGREGOR—I hope this motion will pass, and I will reserve what I have to say for the Committee. The principal produce of the country I represent is corn. If any interests in this country are to be protected, the farmers of the west should also receive the benefit of the policy.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I think the ventilation of this question in the

Mr. GORDON.

House is of more value than the report of the Committee. The whole difficulty can be summed up in a very few words—over-importation and over-production. I am very glad to see there has been a decrease in the production of sawn lumber, the principal market for which is the United States. I am also pleased to know that there is a great reduction in importations, from which beneficial results must flow.

I cannot agree with the hon. member for Bothwell, with regard to what he says of the balance of trade. It looks to me improbable, while the balance is so largely against us, that we can be prosperous.

The hon. member for Oxford says protection means high prices. Perhaps to some little extent he is correct in that, but it is not so as a general rule. It has been stated to-night that the manufacturers of the United States find a market for their surplus productions. This is a simple business. If the manufacturers of Canada found themselves in the same position they would take the same course. None of them would cut down prices at home. They would prefer to send their surplus products to foreign markets, and sell them at a sacrifice abroad.

It has been said that we cannot compete with the manufacturers of the United States. We certainly cannot in every article, nor is this to be wondered at, our country being younger than theirs. Our neighbors not only compete with England in many articles, but even surpass them, especially in machinery. The reason is that in every town and hamlet in the country where there is a factory, there is a machinist who makes a speciality of some particular piece of machinery, and perfects it to the utmost of his skill.

While I am neither, strictly speaking, a Free Trader nor a Protectionist, I believe that we have a right to protect our manufacturers to a certain extent. If we do not, we must expect a continuance of our present condition.

Mr. McDOUGALL, (Elgin)—I think if there was no other ground for this motion, the debate which it has produced justifies its introduction. I do not understand it to affirm that either free-trade or protection is cor-

rect, but that a depression exists, the causes of which should, if possible, be discovered. I must say here that I do not believe, as some gentlemen represent, the country to be in such a deplorable condition. We are at peace with all the world, there is no war or desolation in the land, and the agricultural community is in a very prosperous condition. Providence has blessed us with a bountiful harvest, and if money is scarce we have the materials which bring money in abundance in the country. I think this House should have all the information that can be collected concerning a matter of such vital importance, and if a policy is to be adopted it will be for this House to consider what it shall be. We have now a policy which is part free-trade and part protective. What would be the effect of a protective policy? Its real object would be to prevent importation, and if so, what would be the effect to the revenue? I ask the Finance Minister, who has to provide for a deficit—if there be one—how is he to supply the revenue of the country if the sources of taxation are entirely removed? The manufacturers urge that they deserve encouragement and protection. I do not understand that there are any hon. gentlemen here who array themselves against the manufacturers, nor that the mover of this resolution had any unkind feeling or so expressed himself with reference to these industries. I think that all industries deserve encouragement, and I believe that the burden of taxation should be generally distributed so as to bear an equal proportion on all interests involved. I do not believe in one interest benefiting itself at the expense of others.

I infer from the statements of some hon. gentlemen during this debate that they believe it is within the power of the Government and this House to relieve the financial depression. I believe it has been brought about by causes over which this House has no control. We have had a time of exceeding prosperity, over-trading has been the result, and the true remedy is economy and industry on the part of the people of this country. This is not the only experience we have had of the same kind. I believe we have had

it at other times to a greater extent, and it is the result of causes which I have indicated. I am willing to render the Government all the aid and support I possibly can if it is in their power to relieve that distress in any possible way. I will not adhere to any principle as a hard and fixed rule, if I see that by departing from it, and circumstances demanded that departure, I could agree to it. I believe the Government are desirous, as far as they can, to meet the wants of the country. I believe that the Finance Minister will do all he possibly can to this end, compatible with the general interests of all. I do not think it is possible for the Government to make people rich or relieve distress to as great an extent as some people think, as the hon. gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House say they are capable of doing and are liable for.

Mr. GILMOUR—I have waited patiently for some gentleman from the Lower Provinces to speak on this subject. The debate is nearly closed, and it appears to me that some of these representatives should have expressed an opinion. The debate anticipates the report of the Committee, and it is not the question before the House. The only good I imagine can result from the enquiry is to counteract the impression very industriously circulated in the Lower Provinces that the present Government is responsible for the depressed state of the country. Their predecessors were undoubtedly prosperous, and there has been a very great change. It has been very industriously circulated that the Government is responsible for it, and the masses, without very much reflection, think it must be so.

The cry for help seems to come from the manufacturers only, and they form but a small portion of the Dominion. I am surprised at it, because they are the most wealthy class of our population in proportion to their numbers. How do they expect to get it? The drift of the whole argument in favour of that relief is that the consumer must put his hand in his pocket and help them. The depressed state of trade is the result of over-production. Several hon. gentle-

men have complained that the Americans come here and make a slaughter market of the Dominion. I am satisfied it is not a legitimate trade; but if they are compelled to come and give us their goods at less than what they cost, that will not impoverish but help us. If they gave us them for nothing, would it hurt us? Certainly not. Get them as cheap as you can. I grant it does not help the manufacturers, but they must look out for themselves. It is wrong to tax other interests to support them. One of the largest interests in the Dominion—the lumber trade—suffers more severely than any, and yet they do not ask for legislation to help them, although they have to pay duties on the articles entering into their industry, and depend entirely on the sale of their products to sustain their business. I am sure Ontario will not sustain a protective policy. I confess this policy looks like the entering wedge, and that the national policy is to be revived. It may suit certain parties, but it will not satisfy the Dominion; and I trust the Government will not adopt it. If these manufacturers are not able to sustain the business in which they are engaged, they must find something else to do, and invest in something that will pay them. One wants one duty—another, another duty; and one desires a duty on corn because it enters into the manufacture of whiskey. We import corn very largely into the Lower Provinces, where it is an article of food. We make no whiskey of it.

This defensive system just means protection. I have confidence that the Administration will do what is fair. I am satisfied they have a policy, and do not depend for one upon this Committee. I do not believe the resolution is a want of confidence motion, but if it is, I will vote against it. I have not yet lost confidence in the Government. I wish to tell the House and country, that the Maritime Provinces are not in favour of a protective tariff, but they are willing to contribute to the revenue, so far as the interests of the country require.

On motion of Hon. Mr. POPE, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at Eleven p.m.

MR. GILMOUR.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, Feb. 18, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Five minutes past Three p.m.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Mr. YOUNG moved that the Public Accounts for the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1875, be referred to the Select Standing Committee on public Accounts.—Carried.

SALARIES OF COUNTY COURT JUDGES.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved for a Committee of the Whole for Tuesday to consider certain resolutions respecting the salaries of the County Court Judges in the Province of Nova Scotia. Mr. Blake stated that the resolutions were the same as last year.—Carried.

ASSISTANT INSPECTORS OF PENITENTIARIES.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that the House do, on Tuesday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House to consider of the following resolution:

"That it is expedient to provide that the Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries, to be appointed under the Bill intituled "An Act to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia," shall each receive a salary not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars per annum and travelling expenses, to be determined by the Governor in Council."

Carried.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that the House do, on Tuesday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House to consider of the following resolution:

"That it is expedient to provide that the Minister of Agriculture, or such other Minister as is mentioned in the Bill intituled "An Act to make provision for the Collection and Registration of the Criminal Statistics of Canada," shall cause to be paid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for that purpose, to any Clerk, Officer or Sheriff filling up and transmitting the schedules required under the first section of the said Bill the sum of _____, and the further sum of _____ for each _____ comprised in such schedules; and to any officer transmitting the returns required under the second section thereof the sum of _____"

Carried.

THE ESTIMATES.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT presented a Message from his Excellency the Governor General, transmitting the estimates for the year ending June 30, 1877.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved that the Message, together with the Estimates accompanying it, be referred to the Committee of Supply.—Carried.

THE BUDGET.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked when the Finance Minister proposed to bring down his Budget?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I cannot give my hon friend that information now, but I will give it to him as early as possible.

SUPPLY.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Cartwright, the House went into Committee of Supply—Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

Item No. 2, Governor's Secretary's office, \$8,150, was passed.

The Committee rose and reported the resolution.

THE FINANCIAL DEPRESSION.

Mr. JONES (Leeds), resumed the adjourned debate on the motion of Mr. Mills, for the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the causes of the present financial depression. He said—I think this motion is the most extraordinary one I have ever seen. I don't know what we have been brought here for if it is, to be allowed by the Government. I don't know what those hon. gentlemen have been doing for the last year, or what the Blue Books mean, if they require this information. As a manufacturer of twenty-five year's standing, I think I may be allowed to make a few remarks with regard to the policy which has been brought into this debate, not that I believe this to be the correct time to do so. This discussion should take place on the Budget, but since it has not, I may be allowed to say something on the subject. This country should have some fixed policy, instead of a tariff which changes from time to time. I do not understand what the rulers of this country have been about, not only for the last two years, but for the last twenty years,

in not having fixed a tariff to promote our industries. Can you expect capitalists in a land like this, with a comparatively small population, scattered along the line of a country ten times as populous, to establish manufactures, when one year the tariff may be twenty, and the next fifteen per cent.? We have heard hon. gentlemen rise in this House and speak for half an hour, and when they sat down we could not tell whether they were Free-Traders or Protectionists. It is this incidental protection which has left this country in its present position. It has been said, why should the people of Canada put their hands into their pockets and pay the manufacturers a certain sum of money? I ask do these gentlemen think the manufacturers are beggars? Do they see us petitioning this House for relief? The request comes from the Dominion Board of Trade, not one third of which is composed of manufacturers. The others are wholesale merchants, farmers, etc. The truth is, our interests must all be blended in one. The hon. member for North York says "if a poll were taken to-morrow in Ontario and Quebec on this question, the verdict would be in favor of free trade." I believe the result would be very different, and that the gentlemen on the Treasury benches who are Free Traders would be ousted. I represent a farming constituency with 25,000 inhabitants, and though the *Globe* warns those who represent the farmers in this House against declaring themselves adverse to free trade, I say I am a Protectionist. I stand here to advocate a national policy, and a tariff which will not be changed from year to year, as may be thought necessary by those who favour incidental protection. The man who opposed me in my election, when he saw how the wind blew, trimmed his sails accordingly, and said he was a Protectionist; but notwithstanding this policy—of course I say nothing against him personally—I carried the election in a constituency, which the *Globe*, and other papers in sympathy with it, contended was, as containing a farming population, opposed to protection. We must all, however, be blended into one, and adopt a system which will

make all prosperous. It has been said by the hon. member for Bothwell, that the protective principle in other countries is not beneficial, but I suppose that the hon. member wishes to back down on the word "principle." He is a little theoretical, and what we need is more practical and less of theoretical legislation. I would ask him to glance at the old world in a practical way; and he will find that England, under protection, grew to the power, station, and might she has attained; while on the Continent, France, under the same principle, has paid an extraordinary indemnity in connection with the Franco-German war. Again, come nearer home, and what do we see? The United States may not be flourishing at present, but she has passed through a terrific struggle, in which everything was exhausted; she is endeavouring to come back to a specie basis; and yet in the face of all her difficulties, with a high protective tariff in a great many staple articles, she is underselling the whole world beside. As has been so forcibly stated by the hon. members for Hamilton and Montreal West, she is doing so in cotton, hardware, woollens, and in the staples of iron and steel—I am obliged to use a great deal of steel, which for the past twenty-five years I have purchased in England, and still I am forced to go to the United States for a portion of the steel I require. It is an acknowledged fact, that great Sheffield manufacturers cannot supply steel and iron at the same price as Americans. One of the oldest of these houses on November 1st, 1875, writes me: "We see that American fork steel is now much reduced in price; in fact, lower than we can afford to sell it for, at present." This shows, Sir, that though they make a speciality of bar steel, and though the houses have been established for centuries, it is acknowledged that in connection with such a staple, even Sheffield itself, under the great Free Trade principles of Great Britain, the Americans are able to undersell in a British Colony; and not only is this case in this article, but in many others, such as iron, cotton, woollen goods, &c. Now, how do our neighbours manage their affairs? Do not they give every

facility for the prosecution of enterprises in their country? With regard to their bonded system—

Mr. MILLS—I would like to know what that is.

Mr. JONES—Yes, possibly the hon. member for Bothwell would. I do not believe that he does know.

Under their bonded system, they import from Sweden and Norway large quantities of iron at a very heavy rate of duty; and then it is rolled into sheets, strips, and bars, or very roughly manufactured. They allow this to be done in bond, when the articles are exported to this or any other country, utilizing their labor for the benefit of their farmers and the population generally. So with the drawback system. Regarding every article manufactured in the United States, when sent here, the duties levied on the component parts are returned. I can make a dozen of shovels as cheaply as they can be turned out in any other country, and I ship them to British Columbia in the face of the San Francisco market; and a great American firm which makes the enormous quantity of four hundred dozen of shovels a day, when they ship them to the Dominion, are paid back the duties received on such exports, obtaining in fact \$1 per dozen, actually a fair profit. What have we done during the last twenty years? We have quarrelled amongst ourselves when we should have looked at the great interests of the country. I do not care what party is in power; so long as they are faithful and true to our flag, and so long as they act justly and rightly on the floor of this House, they shall have my true and loyal support. Who pays the great proportion of our duties? You would imagine that the farmers did so, judging from the remarks made in this House; but I contend that this is not the fact—they are not the great consumers, but the great producers. If they buy luxuries, they must pay for them like other people. They produce home-made coats, such as I wear here to-day, and flax, woollens, hides, and everything they require; but they do not pay taxes in proportion to the other sections of the population—the labourers, the mechan-

Mr. JONES,

ics, the merchant princes, the millionaires, &c. If we only build up our manufacturing industries, and do not shut our eyes to the fact that we have forty millions of people on the other side of the line, with a barricade against us which will never be opened, we will adopt a proper policy. We have been looking for a change during the past ten or fifteen years. I remember in 1865, that I walked down from the back seats of the Parliament in Quebec to Sir John A. Macdonald—the Reciprocity Treaty had been abolished—and said, “Sir John, I think that this is a good time to prepare a tariff, which will build up our industries.” What did the hon. gentleman say? “Wait a little. Wait a year or two, we will get back reciprocity.” It has been waiting from that day to this; and you will be waiting many a long day before you get it from these high-minded merchants of the United States. They have kicked and cuffed and knocked us about in every way, from pillar to post, and have laughed at us in their sleeves; they think that we are fools. Talk of retaliation, and the consequent irritation some think it would produce amongst the Americans. Why, when we adopt a defensive policy, they will begin to think a little of us, and say we are business men, and not before. How have they treated us during the last ten or fifteen years? Have they done what is right, true, or honest? Have they carried out the Washington Treaty in regard to our canals? Do they not charge a duty in regard to fish oils, as well as in that paltry matter of lobster tins? We are similarly situated, as far as manufacturing powers are concerned, to the United States—indeed, I think we are better situated. In the Eastern States, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Maine, they have good water power, but no coal or iron. Yet the East is the great manufacturing centre of the country. How are we situated? In the Lower Provinces, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, we have, as at Boston, connection with the sea, and coal and iron lying side by side, and I believe with a proper system, with a true national policy persisted in for ten or fifteen years,

instead of the dilly-dallying policy now pursued, we could manufacture as cheap and make the country as great as the United States. The high-mindedness of the people across the lines, which has been so often talked about, was exemplified yesterday by the hon. member for Montreal West. I can mention here an instance of their efforts to undersell us which came under my own observation. In a hardware shop in Detroit I saw an article selling at \$9 gold, which they were delivering at Windsor to Canadian merchants at \$7.20. When I travel, Sir, I blush for my country, which has had railroads for twenty-five years, and still imports rails, locomotives, axles, cranks and all the other things needed. In the Dominion now we have but one small locomotive company at Kingston, which is kept alive by a sop thrown to it now and then. If a sound policy had been pursued millions of dollars for wages in this industry would have been diffused throughout the country. But the effect of the policy adopted by the Government has been to cripple the railroad, manufacturing, mercantile, mechanical and farming interests, for I hold that they are all blended together, and that when one flourishes the other flourishes, and *vice versa*.

The hon. member for Bothwell said he did not see why a duty should be placed on the agricultural products. I don't think there should be a duty on rye, oats, wheat and perhaps upon flour, because we raise good wheat and can manufacture flour to compete with other countries. But, in this connection, we must remember that the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railroads will deliver a cargo of flour from Michigan to Montreal or Halifax as cheap as they will to Toronto, Oshawa, or Whitby. This should be remedied by the legislation which was promised last year in the Railway Committee. The matter should be regulated by *pro rata* rates, there should be no difference.

On the article of corn I think there should be a duty. We grow a considerable quantity in the Western country, but not sufficient for the distilleries, in whose interest the duty of 10 cts a bushel was taken off. If we

were to have a protective tariff we might have to pay a little more than we do now for some things, but I don't see why we should not have the same patriotism and desire for the advancement of our country as the United States have. See what love they have for their country. They bear the duty placed on those things; but what is the consequence? In many articles they are underselling us. And I ask the hon. gentleman if, seeing that the United States can undersell the world, whether it would be any disadvantage to the consumers here to have a high protective duty? I believe in a fixed policy which will build up our industries. We should encourage our trade with the West Indies, and have a line of steamers to effect an exchange of products. But what has been the policy with regard to the West Indies? Our sugar refining trade is closed by a duty of 25 per cent. on the raw material. I say if we would build up this country let us carry out our solemn contract in regard to the Pacific Railway. We have borrowed money on the faith of it from the British Government, to whom we are pledged for its construction. It may not be built in ten, fifteen or even twenty years, but let us do what we can. Our canals meet the requirements of our own trade for the present. Let us drop unnecessary works in which we are expending large sums. It may cause an outcry here and there, but the country will be the gainer. The people of British Columbia do not insist on the completion of the railroad in ten years so long as we can show an earnest desire to construct it as fast as possible. Let us build that road in advance of settlement as is done in the United States, and it will give employment to the men who are loitering about our streets and prosperity to every interest in the Dominion. I believe that is the true policy of this country, and I would not like to say what I believe will be the consequences to this country if it is not carried out.

Mr. DAVIES—In the Maritime Provinces we have to compete with the world. Some time ago we had protection when it was the policy of the Imperial Government. There was a protective duty on timber at one

time, but since then we have had free-trade. Our products are now shut out of the United States, and if, in addition to that, we have to bolster up certain industries in Ontario, it would be hard for us to live. If protection were adopted as a national policy, I am not prepared to say that it would not be good for this country, since the United States has prospered under the system. We should, however, have the whole or none protected. It is not fair that one class should be protected at the expense of the others.

There is no doubt that small manufacturers, such as I suppose we have in this country, can compete very well with large ones. Large manufacturers can produce at very much cheaper rates. Possibly it may be a good policy to afford some additional protection to some of those industries. That would be a very good subject for a Committee to inquire into.

In our Province the Government have been very generous. They not only admit the Americans to our markets, but have given up part of our coasting trade to the United States flag. A line of steamers is allowed to coast to Halifax and various ports of the Gulf in violation of our navigation laws. I am quite aware this is an advantage to others who have no shipping, but it is very unfair to those who have. These steamers are injurious to the Dominion railroad through the Lower Provinces, and monopolize to a great extent the trade which should fall to our own vessels. I think, seeing the United States have refused to allow a boat of ours to carry a cargo on their coast, we have been over-generous in this respect. Although it is a small matter, it is a violation of principle. The hon. member for Leeds says we should show our patriotism by agreeing to submit to protection for the benefit of a certain class. Now, I cannot see why this should be done. In Prince Edward Island we are largely interested in agriculture. We send our products to the neighboring provinces and England. I think we may get a good deal of information from the labors of this Committee. If we see clearly it is necessary, in order to build up large manufactures here, that some small pro-

tection should be afforded, I would not like to say I would go against giving them something of the kind, but I should very much prefer, if we are to have protection, we should have a national policy. I am not prepared to say it would not be the best policy.

Mr. ORTON — It is not my intention to make many remarks on this subject. The statement has been made by some hon. member of this House, that the manufacturing and agricultural interests of our country are diametrically opposed to each other. Representing as I do a large agricultural constituency, it is my duty to make a few remarks in that connection. I am not one of those who have any idea whatever that what will benefit the manufacturers will injure the agriculturists of this country: but I believe that what will add to the prosperity of one will add to the prosperity of the other. I am of the opinion that what will advance the interests of one section of the Dominion will be beneficially felt by all. I think we should look back for the last ten years and consider our position. When we look at the agricultural or manufacturing interests we see that up to the last few years this country has had an unusual period of prosperity, and it would be well to seek the cause of that. I believe our farmers and manufactures are wealthier now than in the days when reciprocity existed with the United States. But there came a period when the United States was disturbed by war, when the commercial power of that country was crippled; and the consequences to us were the same as though protection existed in this country: it gave our manufacturers a chance of springing into existence. There never was so prosperous a time with our manufacturers; and that prosperity was further advanced by the great wars that afterwards occurred in Europe. What we have to consider is whether merchants and manufacturers have done their duty in trying to prevent the rebound which must be expected after a period of prosperity brought about by exceedingly exceptional circumstances? The present state of things the people of this country feel is to some extent chargeable upon the Government en-

trusted with our destinies, and with the advancement of our agricultural and manufacturing prosperity. Only last year our whole trade was disturbed by the financial policy which brought ruin to many; sugar refining and many other establishments have, in consequence, been closed, and this may be traced to the injurious measures taken by the Hon. the Finance Minister. It is not my intention now to treat this question extensively, as I hope to have another opportunity.

Hon. gentlemen—Hear, hear.

Mr. ORTON—But I do say that hon. gentlemen who hold that a system which would increase the prosperity of our manufacturers would injure the farmers, argue on a false basis. I believe that the farming population is thoroughly alive to the importance of any manufacturing interests. Looking abroad we see what has occurred in sections of other countries; and comparing the State of Massachusetts with Virginia, we find that the latter possesses a more prolific soil than perhaps any other part of this continent, still in the former where manufactories abound, its rocky soils are cultivated with more profit than the rich lands of the South. With the assistance of the manufacturers the produce is consumed and to the soil is returned its strength and its virtue. Also, compare even Ireland with England, and we find the property is of very much greater value in the latter than in the former, simply because it is a manufacturing country, while Ireland is not. It is true that England now pursues a policy of free-trade; and it is equally true that she once exported agricultural produce; also, that under a protective system her manufactures and commercial interests grew to vast importance, consequently the farming interest of the country was prosperous. In no country can grain be produced to the same amount per acre, or a larger amount be paid for what is produced than in England and Scotland, while in Ireland the land is not so valuable and the better class of it much scattered. I believe that in a great agricultural country like this the principal apology for protection is the providing of a market for those who have

made the real wealth of the country. We shall have distress amongst the farmers if the system be not changed ; it is already beginning to show itself and the prices of coarser grains and products are less than they were two years ago. For instance, beef has fallen much lower in this relation. The drovers say that the people being out of employment cannot pay the same amount for meat as formerly. No small blame is in consequence attached to the policy of the present Government, and I thought to a certain extent with great justice. The manufacture of cheese was greatly encouraged by protection. I do not believe in such encouragement of manufactures, which cannot prosper here. If manufacturers are protected, so should the farmers be, who should have the first preference in our market. Indian corn should be taxed, and our whiskey made out of rye that we raise. The increase of our industries, even with judicious protection, would not decrease our revenue. I believe that the Pacific Railway should be built, for I have no faith whatever in the great bug-bear of a large national debt. It would give employment to idle men ; and during a time of depression railways should be constructed, as material can then be purchased cheaply.

Mr. DECOSMOS—I do not believe that the appointment of the Committee in question will be productive of much good.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear.

Mr. DECOSMOS—I therefore propose to offer an amendment to the hon. gentleman's motion, with the object of obtaining the sense of the House as to whether it is in favour of protection, or a revision of the tariff, or of free-trade. In doing so, I take occasion to ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments in order to make some allusions to the state of matters in British Columbia, where, as far as I am aware, business has been in a very healthy condition during the past year. I am informed by merchants from all parts, that it was never more so ; also that the Dominion revenue in that point, never reached so high an amount—over \$500,000 between the 1st of Janu-

ary and December 31st, 1875. Our prosperity in proportion to our population has been greater than in any other section of the Dominion, but I fear that the depression will reach us during the coming year unless the Government endeavours to carry out the promise made to British Columbia in regard to the construction of the Pacific Railway.

There is another point in this connection. Our Province is the only part of the Dominion which has the balance of trade in its favour. It imported during the year ending 30th of June to '75, \$2,490,593 worth of merchandise, and exported to \$2,824,812 worth of products, with foreign goods to the value of \$50,000. The balance of trade is in its favour, without taking into consideration the large sum of money, possibly half a million, in the shape of gold carried away by parties leaving the Province. This leaves about \$350,000 to the credit of our Province. When we take the Province of Prince Edward Island, with a population of 100,000 we find that the balance of trade is against it to the extent of \$600,000. It is against Manitoba to the extent of \$700,000, New Brunswick \$3,000,000, and so on. I may, therefore, conclude this point by saying it affords me gratification to see that our much-abused Province has the balance of trade in its favour.

The Hon. Minister of Justice took occasion to remark during a recent election in Toronto, that British Columbia only contained about one-third the population of that electoral district, which on enquiry I found to be 20,000 and a fraction. This would allow the Province a population of about 7,000, and of the \$500,000 paid into the Dominion it could give us something like \$7 per capita, while only \$3 per capita is paid in Ontario.

The subject of the Pacific Railway will come before this House in a short time, and I think it is right, in order to have a fair discussion, we should understand what is the population of British Columbia. The Customs Report of 1874 credits us with a different population than that estimated by the Minister of Justice. That report places it at 50,000, and gives the per capital at \$8 and a fraction.

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The Indian population is about 25,000, and with a consuming population of 25,000, the per capita tax would be \$20, which is seven times that paid by the Province of Ontario, four times that of Quebec, six times that of Nova Scotia and four times that of New Brunswick. This will give the House a fair notion of our population and the tax we pay, and will show that a Province with so small a population, which imports \$2,490,000 of merchandise in one year, and exports nearly \$3,000,000, does not deserve the abuse it receives. Having made this statement, I will make a further one. I am in favour of a protective tariff, but I am not in favor of a prohibitory one. So far as my information goes, every nation that has risen to any manufacturing prominence has been at one stage under a protective tariff. The United States, Germany, Russia, and other countries have been in favour of protection until they could stand alone and compete with other nations of the world. Following their example, I think it will be sound policy to revise our tariff and discriminate in favour of home industries. In order to afford the House an opportunity to express its opinion on this question, I ask leave to offer the following amendment:—

Resolved, That the early revision of the tariff is very desirable, and that a revised tariff discriminating to a greater degree than the existing tariff in favour of home industries and manufactures, but not unduly stimulating one section of the country or one industry against other sections and industries, would be productive of great benefit to the whole Dominion.

Mr. SPEAKER—I think the hon. gentleman has not put the amendment in a shape to be submitted. As it stands it is certainly not germane and cannot form part of the same resolution, and it is not proposed as a substitute. Perhaps the House will allow the hon. gentleman to put it in such a shape as it can be submitted to the House.

Mr. MILLS—It seems to me there is another point besides the one the Hon. Speaker has made. Not only is the amendment not germane, but it proposes to commit this House to the principle of increased taxation.

Mr. SPEAKER—If the amendment is so worded as to be admissible, in the

language of the authority it is such a resolution as is "barren in result." It is a mere abstract expression of the House, even supposing it to mean a revision of the tariff. I think the hon. member will find, if he consults the books, some extreme cases of that kind.

Mr. DE COSMOS amended his resolution and submitted it to the Speaker, who still thought it was not in the proper shape to be presented to the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—This amendment either involves some change in the taxation or it involves nothing. It either involves a re-distribution of something at present existing or nothing, and a re-distribution of existing duties imposes extra charges upon certain classes and lighter charges upon others. An expression of opinion in that direction is clearly imposing a burden on certain classes.

Mr. SPEAKER—The principle on which abstract resolutions is based is this: That the Government is not really bound by them, even if the whole House adopt them. Mr. Todd is very clear and strong on that point.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I think a resolution of this kind is strictly within the privileges of this House. It is not such a resolution as pledges the House in any way. It would be unfair to deprive this or any other Parliament of being a free Parliament, as would be done if we could not express our views generally on the system of taxation, the collection of the revenue or the re-adjustment of the tariff. I think the rule of exclusion of the power of Parliament does not go so far as that. But, however that may be, I am strongly impressed that this is not the proper time to offer such a resolution. It is not fair to bind the hands of Government before maturity. The Government are coming down. It is their duty to come down, and they have informed the House that they will come down at an early day; and they have the right to claim from both sides of the House that they shall have full opportunity to lay their views on the question of taxation—whether there shall be an increase or decrease, a

re-distribution or re-adjustment of the tariff—before the House. No hon. member by any motion of this kind should attempt to force the Government into a false position by forcing them to resist the motion or to come down with their policy before they are ready to do so. The hon. gentleman ought not to press this motion, and if he does press it and you, Mr. Speaker, shall decide it in order, I certainly shall not vote for it.

Mr. MILLS—The only way such a motion can be in order is by making it express regret that the Government have not brought down a policy increasing the tariff.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That is the same thing.

Mr. MILLS—No; the resolution makes this House declare positively that an increased tariff is desired, and it cannot do that according to the English precedents.

Mr. SPEAKER—May it not express regret that it has not been done and a desire that it should?

Mr. DECOSMOS—I believe that resolution is strictly in order. It is an abstract resolution, and does not in any way interfere with the exclusive rights of the Government to initiate money bills. It will simply give an opportunity to hon. gentlemen to express their views on this subject, and possibly attain the end sought by the hon. member for Bothwell.

Mr. DEVLIN—The constituency which I have the honour to represent has a large interest in the question of Protection, and if it was presented to the House fairly I should feel it my duty to offer a few remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER—If the hon. member has some observations to make he might be allowed to proceed while I am looking up the authorities with regard to the amendment.

Mr. Devlin, however, elected to defer his remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER—Speaking almost entirely from my general impressions of the subject, I think the amendment is in order. I find in May the following:—

“But the rules applicable to grants of money and motions for increasing the bur-

thens upon the people, do not apply to resolutions expressive of any abstract opinion of the House upon such matters. Such resolutions have been allowed upon the principle that not being offered in a form in which a vote of the House for granting money or imposing a burthen can be regularly agreed to, they are barren of results, and are, therefore, to be regarded in the same light as any other abstract resolution. But for that very reason they are objectionable; and being also an evasion of wholesome rules they are discouraged as much as possible.”

I find in Todd a great many cases cited in which abstract resolutions of this kind were objected to as highly impolitic; but in no instance were they spoken of as out of order.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said if this amendment were passed it would commit the House to a re-distribution of existing taxation, any recommendation for which should come from the Crown. That was the objection which he had taken at first.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked how the House could in that case express its opinion on a question of this kind.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it could be done when the Government measure was brought down. It would be for the hon. gentlemen opposite to propose a motion expressing their regret that a certain course was not taken, and issue would at once be joined. If the amendment should be carried the consequence was well known.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he believed the amendment was inexpedient, but still it was a matter of very great importance, because upon it depended very largely the freedom of Parliament. The House was not obliged to wait until the Government had taken a step before expressing an opinion. They might wish to express a regret that such a step was not taken. He was satisfied the amendment was in order and the question of its expediency should not be considered. If it were carried it would be an expression of the House. If the Government wished to yield to it they could bring down a measure based on it; if they did not they could say they did not think it expedient to advise Her Majesty to send a message in favour of a re-adjustment of taxation. In that case, then, would come the action of the House if it chose to insist upon its first-

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proposition, by expressing regret that the Government refused to carry out its views.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was no doubt difficult to draw the line in a question of this kind, whether a motion was in or out of order. No dependence could be placed upon the principle that because a resolution, if passed, would be barren of results, therefore, it would be in order. The hon. member for Victoria might move that it is expedient to increase the duty on certain articles by so much per cent. That would be barren of results, yet no such resolution would be in order. He did not think there would be found any case in which the House has been allowed by the Chair, except at the instance of the advisers of the Crown, to propound an opinion favourable to an increase of taxation. He would be sorry to say a word that would tend to deprive the House of any of its privileges, but the nearer they approached in the direction of permitting the House to take initiatory steps—even though they be abstract—towards imposing charges on the people, the more they reached the old system which was rejected in the Province from which he came after it had produced very bad results indeed. He hoped the House would not pronounce upon the motion, because the authorities agreed that while some of these resolutions might be in order, they were much to be deprecated. He thought it was the duty of the House to avoid inconvenient motions.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE wished to raise another point. A resolution of this kind could only be proposed in Committee of the Whole, and notice must be given by any hon. gentleman proposing an abstract resolution affecting trade and commerce and the taxation of the people in the most remote degree. Notice must be given of the intention to move the House into Committee of the Whole. He asked for the ruling of the Chair on this point if the other was not considered well sustained.

Mr. SPEAKER—With reference to the last point raised, it seems to me it is quite possible so to frame a resolution on such a subject, that an hon.

member may be able to take the sense of the House on the general question. Such a course, however, is irregular. It is possible but highly objectionable. I am not prepared to rule the amendment out of order, but if the hon. member desires to establish the practice of the House on this question I would like him to withdraw it for a day or two.

Mr. SCATCHERD cited Todd, Vol. 1, page 44, for a case in point. In 1830 Mr. Thompson moved the appointment of a Committee for a Committee for a revision of the general system of taxation. This was ruled out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER—That is the principle the Speaker laid down, but he goes on to show that it is not the practice with regard to abstract resolutions. I confess my own feeling is not in favour of limiting the powers of the House of Commons more than they are at present.

Mr. IRVING—However much I may agree with the remarks of the Minister of Justice and the right hon. member for Kingston, it appears to me if the amendment is withdrawn, the original motion should also be dropped. The hon. member for Bothwell has sown the wind and may have to reap the whirlwind. It was somewhat inconvenient that this matter should have been brought up, inasmuch as the true responsibility was upon the Government in a question of this kind; but the debate has proceeded to some considerable length, almost every one has taken part in it except the members of the Government. The hon. member for Bothwell has piped and a great number of us have danced. Perhaps other amendments will be moved which will narrow the question down still closer; but it does appear to me to be a pity that a resolution should go forth to the country made by the hon. member for Bothwell, and in principle not in accordance with his views.

Mr. DECOSMOS—I wish to know from Mr. Speaker whether the amendment to the motion is in order or not.

Mr. SPEAKER—I think that it is an amendment, as it has some relation to the motion.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—If this is the case, the rule amounts to nothing; because if an hon. member propose an amendment which is not germane to a motion, then you destroy the effect of the rule which obliges hon. members to give notice of any motion dealing with the question of trade.

An Hon. Member—What rule?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The rule requiring notice to be given of any intention to submit anything relating to a trade question to the House.

An Hon. Member—That only relates to a Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER—My present impression is, that the amendment is in order.

Mr. BUNSTER—Well, Mr. Speaker, I feel proud of your decision. It is in my opinion a step in the right direction. Two years ago I had the pleasure of bringing before this House a matter which was in the interests of the country, and I have had since, Sir, occasion to feel stronger than even at that time, that my judgment in this connection was well founded, from the way I have seen the Americans flooding our country with their produce to the ruin of our own interests. I state this, Sir, for the information of the Government, inasmuch as I know that they have very little knowledge of our district; none of its members having ever been there. It is well known that Canada is a slaughter market for Americans, and particularly with regard to their produce. The British Columbia farmers suffer very severely in this respect, the produce being brought from California and Oregon. The vessels take thither our lumber and coal and bring back grain, &c., which is sold at a nominal price, or even given away. Then our farmers are the victims of this system. Not only so, but this portion of the population labour without confidence, as they are well aware that their market will be so flooded. The merchants are also discouraged, and I presume that the same thing can be said with relation to Ontario. It has been agreed by some hon. gentlemen that the farmers do not require protection; but this is not the case, for whether a spade or shovel, as was well said by the hon. member for South Leeds, or a bushel of grain was in

question, the same principle is at stake. Competition among manufacturers will regulate all difficulties that may be feared; and what our farmers want is not to be shut out from their own local markets, as was properly stated by the hon. member for Montreal West. If an article of English manufacture is sold for fourteen cents, the Americans offer it for thirteen cents; and if the farmer place it on the market at thirteen, the latter lower the price even to ten cents, their aim being, at all hazards, to run the English goods off the market. In the same way this argument applies to our own case. It has been shewn by the hon. member for Victoria that we import goods to considerable value; and I ask hon. gentlemen if it would not be more desirable to purchase goods of Canadian manufacture? I hope to see the day—particularly when the Pacific Railway is completed—when British Columbia will be supplied by her own and Canadian, instead of foreign manufacturers. The United States is the great example after which we should pattern. We are almost debarred from the San Francisco market, save as regards the article of coal, and we must find a mart elsewhere on the Pacific coast for our lumber, fish, and other articles which we export. The Americans are so keen, and the line is drawn so close, that they tax the very tins enclosing goods free of duty, and it will well become us to retaliate. I think that our country and our manufacturers would be more prosperous with a higher tariff, and agricultural produce should be included in the list. It has been mentioned that corn has been brought into Canada from the United States by distillers and others; and this is injurious to us, as it deteriorates the quality of the liquor we manufacture. It is well-known that it is not as good as the liquor with which we were supplied many years ago, owing to the use of Indian corn. There is too much oil in it. Now, it would be desirable to check the importation of corn for distilling; and I would recommend gentlemen in favour of prohibition to advocate a duty on this article of produce, in order to improve the quality of liquor manufactured in Canada.

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Then there is the question of reciprocity. We had it once and were dissatisfied. Will forty millions trade with four millions unless they have the best of the bargain? I for one think not. The Americans say—"Keep them in suspense; we will send in our goods and flood them out; we will drive them into annexation, and take down the "British Flag." But if we take advantage of our own resources, which are abundant—and we might if we had only the brains and ability—we need not for a moment depend upon the Americans. We have the British market as well as they. They have a high protective tariff, and still export goods worth millions to Europe, in vessels, varying in size from one to two thousand tons. If we protect our industries, we can also do this; and I claim that the agricultural interest is above all others. The farmers would rejoice to see the manufacturers prosperous, instead of having shops closed or running on half time; and even though the Government is not building the Pacific Railway, as it should—as it promised to do—it is to be hoped that it will take the case of our agriculturists into consideration, and more particularly, the vast domain now traversed by the buffalo and the Indian alone; enable five hundred thousand Canadians to return to their native land from which they were driven by want of employment; and make the country flourish. Then there will be no general cry of depression, and no such notice placed on the paper as is under consideration. Let the Government build the great Pacific line, which can be laid without exacting one dollar more than has already been promised in the way of taxation. Thirty millions of dollars and fifty millions of acres of land will do it. I heard an hon. gentleman say last Session that it would cost \$30,000 or \$40,000 per mile; but I was conversing with a railroad man while coming across the continent, and he told me that in his country they were building a road through a tract more difficult than our own, at the rate of \$14,000 per mile. At this rate the work can be accomplished on the terms I have mentioned. We need not feel

so nervous about a little extra taxation, owing to the increased amount this undertaking would eventually bring into the public Treasury, and the addition to our population it would cause. We should not forget our true interests. I do not think that it is creditable for a statesman to make such remarks as did the Hon. the Minister of Justice regarding our Province, British Columbia, which is as large as Ontario and Quebec together. It is, besides, no inhospitable country, as I can say from experience. A man can make his fortune in it more quickly than in Ontario or Quebec, if endowed with energy and perseverance; and the sooner it is developed by means of the iron horse the better. We want the railway, not in our own interest simply, but in that of Canada. If we were disloyal to our Flag, at a hint from us the Americans would build this railway and give us a large sum of money. But we do not see fit to turn traitor to the Flag under which we were born. What did the United States give for a country not worth one two-hundredth part as much as our Province—Alaska? Seven millions. I do not doubt that Canada would give seventeen or eighteen millions for British Columbia, and when the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald purchased our Province, with the promise of building the railroad, he got an extraordinary bargain. The United States would run ten lines across the continent to secure such a prize. Still I have read in the Canadian press that the scheme was wild and visionary; and hon. gentlemen in this House have affirmed that it could not be built. Why not? I know the reason—it is simply because the Government does not possess the ability. I make this statement fearlessly, and if they do not carry out the project, I will continue to say so. England has an abundance of sovereigns, and the Government has only to go there to obtain the bawbees. She, Sir, would take pride in assisting one of her colonies, and while we are dilly-dallying in this connection, Disraeli has bought a controlling interest in the Suez Canal so as to command the carrying trade for Britain. Would he not rather have invested this money in the

Pacific Railway? I for one think he would. A good deal has been said on this subject, and I know that any mention of British Columbia affairs is disagreeable to certain hon. gentlemen in this House, whom I have heard abusing it, not only here, but outside these walls. I will merely ask them to be more liberal in their views, and to pay our Province a visit—they will be welcome.

The hour being Six o'clock the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS,

The debate on the financial depression was resumed by

Mr. WOOD—He said:—I had no idea when this discussion commenced, it would take the wide range that it has done. I did not think that the question of protection, pure and simple, was to be discussed. The amendment of the hon. member for Victoria brings the issue squarely before the House this evening. The question is one of great importance to this country and deserves the most careful consideration of every hon. member present. In discussing it we must be careful to keep in mind that protection is not what Free-Traders would wish us believe, namely—purely in the interests of the manufacturer, and that he only is to be benefited by an increase of the tariff. If the advantages to be derived were simply to benefit one class of the community at the expense of all the rest—I for one would not be found in my present position. It is because I am convinced that protection to our infant industries is in the interest of all classes of the community, that I am and have been for many years, an humble but earnest advocate of its adoption.

The great problem of employment for the masses is one that has caused much anxiety to able and experienced statesmen in other lands; and I regret to say, that up to the present no real solution has been found, and as Canada grows older and increases in population she, too, will have to meet the difficulty, and prevent, if possible, such scenes as have been witnessed in Birmingham, Manchester and other large towns of England and on the Conti-

ment where the working classes were clamouring for work or bread.

You are aware, Sir, that for many months all branches of trade have been suffering severely, the manufacturing interest particularly. Many of the factories have been running on short time, or closed up completely, thereby throwing out of employment thousands of industrious mechanics and artisans who, for want of work during the present winter, have been compelled to ask relief from charitable institutions in order to keep themselves and families from starvation. Such a state of things should not exist in a young and vigorous country like Canada, and I venture to say it would not exist to so great an extent if the Government would only courageously meet the difficulty and deal with it as it ought to do.

I am not one of those, Mr. Speaker, who like the right hon. member for Kingston charge the present Administration with being the cause of all the suffering and distress that is now felt throughout the country, nor am I prepared to say that any legislation that could take place would completely cure every case of wretchedness to be found in the land. But, Sir, if we point out in a clear and intelligent manner some of the causes of the present distress amongst the mechanics, artisans and labourers particularly, and then if the Government refuses to remove them, if in its power, I venture to predict that the country will hold them to a strict account. But I have faith that the gentlemen charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of this country are equal to the occasion, and that they will take hold and deal vigorously with it in such a way as to give satisfaction to the country at large.

It is a well-known fact that for two years past the Americans have been flooding this country with their surplus stocks, selling them at prices that make it impossible for our people to compete against and get cost for their goods. They sell irrespective of cost in order to raise money for some pressing necessity, and by so doing they are enabled to keep their factories in constant operation. They know quite well that in consequence of their high tariff our manufacturers cannot

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retaliate. Could we reach the American markets with the same facility that they reach ours, the present practice of underselling would not be resorted to. But as we are completely shut out of the States, the American manufacturers can keep their prices well up at home, sell to this country 15 to 25 per cent. less than they will do to their own people, and at the same time not reduce the price on their average productions more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent., which is a small matter to them, when they can take away our gold in payment which should go into the pockets of our own people for goods made at home. They are at the same time destroying our manufacturing industries, and will be able at some future day to recoup themselves at our expense by charging us what they please when all competition has been crushed out.

The question now to be considered is how can legislation alter the present state of affairs? Will any action that the Government can take be such as would give employment to the thousands of industrious mechanics and labourers now suffering for want of work, and at the same time prevent our manufacturing industries from being completely ruined by the unequal competition that is forced on them by our foreign rivals? I think the answer to this question is one that could easily be given by every gentleman in this House who has given the present depressed state of the country any consideration whatever. It is the answer expected from the Government by the people of this country, and, if given, will put in motion numbers of factories that have stood idle for months, affording relief to thousands of artisans that have been suffering for weeks, and impart new life and energy to all classes of the community. The answer is: Simply increase the tariff $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on such articles as can be manufactured in this country to advantage, admitting at the same time all raw material that we do not possess ourselves, at the lowest possible rate of duty. Such a course will secure our home market for the productions of our own people both of the factory and of the farm. Where is the revenue to come from? There is a strong feeling amongst many of our

people that we should assimilate our tariff to that of the United States, so far as that country is concerned, and to advance it very slightly to England and other countries. Personally I would willingly adopt this course, as it is from the Americans we receive the greatest injury. But I question the policy of such a course. The United States is the very best market for our barley, cattle, and lumber and other productions of the farm and forest, which might be completely shut out of that country if we undertook to legislate against them particularly; and while I contend that we have the right to do so, I am convinced that it would not be in our interest to take that course. They could trouble us in many ways that would work against our mercantile and railway interests, which are now to some extent depending on them. The bonding system that gives us access to the sea-board at all times might be done away with. Some of our largest railway corporations are depending on them for the through traffic that keeps them afloat; and any action on our part that would give them an excuse for stopping any of these privileges would be unwise. If we take their tariff as a basis for ours and treat all nations alike, then the Americans can have no cause of complaint. It is now a settled fact that we are not to have reciprocity with the States. Let us therefore adopt such a tariff as will make us independent of such a treaty—a tariff that will build up all over this country large manufacturing centres, with a population that will consume the produce of the farmer. We will not then have to beg for a reciprocity treaty which would enable us to supply New England with cheap bread, while she is manufacturing for us the very goods we ought to make for ourselves. "Import the labour and not the product of his labour," should be the motto of this country. To place the producer and consumer side by side should be the aim of every true Canadian. By doing so a vast amount of wealth as well as of unproductive labour, would be saved to the country.

As matters now stand, our manufacturers have no chance to compete with the Americans. Our hands are tied, while our American rivals are at perfect

liberty to strike us when and where they please. The fences round our pastures are almost level with the ground, while theirs are built seven rails high, and the gates constantly locked and guarded. They have no difficulty in getting into our green fields, but we scarcely dare look over their fences. The American Custom officers throw every obstacle in the way of exporting goods into their country. The competition is unreasonable. They are possessed of large capital, the best of machinery, and long experience, and, to crown all, a prohibitory tariff; whilst we, as manufacturers, are but of yesterday, with little capital, less experience, and almost a free-trade tariff. But if we had our own markets, for a very few years, until our feet were firmly established, I am quite sure that with our industry, energy and economy, we would not be afraid to compete with them in any market.

The advocates of free-trade say that it is unfair to tax them for the benefit of a few manufacturers, some of whom have grown rich under the present tariff. They wish to buy their goods where they can get them the cheapest, and to sell in the dearest market. This is just what the advocates of protection claim that that system will do for the country. I deny that protection means an increase of price to the consumer, but the very opposite. Protection will secure competition amongst our own manufacturers, and this will secure fair and reasonable prices, which few object to pay. For instance, when the duty on boots and shoes was 25 per cent. we did not import a single pair. The country was well supplied. No one was ever heard to complain of high prices. Home competition secured this, and the duty might just as well have been 100 per cent. as 25 per cent. for prices would have been the same to consumers. I contend, therefore, if three-fourths of the goods that are now imported, that we could make for ourselves, were excluded from the country, the consumer would not pay a cent more for his requirements in ordinary times. Protection means much more than all this. It will secure the influx of a large amount of foreign capital for

manufacturing purposes that would never reach us as long as our present free-trade tariff exists. Is this not a complete answer to those who say that an increase of duties means an increase of price to the consumer? The point I wish to make is, that while the farming community secures better prices in the home market where there is a large manufacturing population, they buy at prices equally as low, if not lower, than the same can be imported in consequence of internal competition.

Admit, for argument's sake, that we would have to pay more for what we have to purchase. If protection gives us constant employment and fair wages, we will be able to procure what we want even at the advanced price. While, as we now stand, with free-trade for all the world, we are not able to procure a day's work. Of what use are the very cheapest goods to us if we have not the means to purchase them? Would you not rather pay high prices, and be able to secure what you want, than have low prices without the means of so doing? If I, as a mechanic, am earning \$2 per day under protection and have to pay 10 per cent. more for such goods as I require, am I not better off than if offered the same goods at 20½ per cent. less, but on account of free-trade, was unable to get work at any price, and I cannot earn even a dollar day to provide such things as I require for my family? I think that all will admit that high prices, good wages, and constant work are much preferable to low prices and no work.

Mr. Speaker, so long as we are subject to such ruinous competition, will we see want and distress amongst our own manufacturing population, as there is a determined effort on the part of our American neighbours to crush out all opposition, even at the sacrifice of their profits for a few years, in the hope of recouping themselves when all opposition has ceased to exist, which will soon be the case at our present rate of progress. They will then secure such prices as will repay them for any loss they now sustain. Our people are struggling manfully to maintain their existence. Many of the large mills are barely paying expenses in the hope that the Government will

consider the position they are placed in and come to the rescue. Take a single instance, which is one out of many that could be named. The Dundas Cotton Mills, with a capital of \$400,000, employ about 400 people, and pay out a large amount of wages monthly, most of which is spent in the town and neighbourhood in procuring supplies for the operatives and their families. This mill has not paid a cent of dividend to the stockholders for months, as they have made up their minds to fight the Americans as long as they have a dollar, in order to retain their customers. If they do not get relief very soon by an increase in the tariff, the mill must close. Then 400 people will be thrown out of employment, the large amount of wages paid monthly will cease to circulate, and the operatives and those dependent on them will have to seek for work in a country whose Government takes good care that the manufacturing industries of its people are not interfered with by the influx of the surplus stocks of outsiders.

There are four or five cotton mills in the Dominion, with a capital of \$2,000,000, employing 1,600 hands, paying \$300,000 per year, and the value of goods they produce amounting to \$1,500,000 per annum. Not one of those mills is paying a cent to the stockholders, nor even putting into a sinking fund a single dollar for repairs. The consequence will be that unless a change takes place very soon, every wheel will be worn out in the next few years, and every spindle will cease to revolve, as no person will think of putting fresh capital in for the purpose of sinking it. The Americans will then have the trade to themselves, and our free-trade friends will find out to their cost how cheap they can purchase cotton in the future. The Americans are beating England in almost every market of the Old World, and even invading Manchester itself with the production of their looms; and if they can do this so successfully there, how can Canada, in her present condition, be expected to cope with them? Nothing but a considerable increase in the tariff, and that fixed for a number

of years, can save the manufacturing industries of this country from being completely crushed out of existence.

The American tariff has secured to the American people their own market and freedom from outside competition, and their manufacturers are so firmly established that to-day they are driving free-trade England out of many of the markets where she at one time was the only source of supply. Take as a sample the iron market—pig-iron—a large portion of which is now imported from the States. All used to come from England three years ago. In bar-iron, more than one-half of the imports into Ontario are from the States. Three years ago there was scarcely a bar from that country; all came from England; and this is the country Free Traders declare is protected to death. So far as I can see, there is not any sign of death taking place at an early date.

Mr. GORDON—Will the hon. gentleman give his authority in regard to that matter?

Mr. WOOD—I refer the hon. gentleman to the trade and navigation returns. If the hon. gentleman knows where to turn, he will find the statement I vouch for its correctness. What use, I ask, is there in spending thousands of dollars every year to induce immigrants to come to this country unless some effort is made to give them employment? All that reach our shores are not suitable for farm labour. If we wish to build up a nation, we must have diversity of employment. No country can ever become rich, prosperous and populous simply as a nation of farmers and shop-keepers. How have the New England States with their rocks and mountains and unproductive soil become so rich and powerful? Not surely by confining themselves to farming operations. It is their manufacturing enterprise that has placed them in the position they are to-day. Let us look at the capital invested in Massachusetts since the year 1850 and see how it has increased in twenty years, with the amount of wages paid out, the value of the raw materials used, and the value of finished goods produced in the years 1850, 1860 and 1870.

	1850.		Increase		1860.		Increase		1870.	
	\$	cts.	percent.	\$	cts.	percent.	\$	cts.	\$	cts.
Capital Invested.....	88,940	292	50	132,792	327	75	231,677	862	00	00
Wages Paid.....	41,954	736	36	56,960	913	107	118,051	886	00	00
Value of Raw Material.....	85,856	771	57	135,053	721	147	334,413	982	00	00
do Finished Goods.....	157,743	594	61	255,545	592	117	553,912	568	00	00
Average Wages per annum.....	236	00	11	262	00	.....	422	00	00	00
Number of Hands Employed.....	177,461	.....	.....	217,421	.....	61	279,380	00	00	00

This same State invested in Cottons, Woollens and Boots and Shoes alone in 1870 :-

	Cotton.	Woollens.	Boots and Shoes.
Capital Invested.....	\$42,153,175	\$20,622,440	\$19,559,738
Wages Paid Out.....	12,914,023	7,296,752	27,265,283
Value of Raw Material.....	35,447,617	24,866,118	51,363,406
do Finished Goods.....	56,285,580	39,489,242	86,393,583
Hands Employed.....	41,455	20,551	54,831

	Capital Invested	Hands Employed	Wages Paid.	Raw Material.	Value of Products.
In Ontario.....	\$ 37,874,010	87,281	\$ 21,415,710	65,114,804	114,706,799
Quebec.....	28,071,868	66,714	12,389,673	44,555,025	77,205,182
New Brunswick.....	5,976,176	18,352	3,869,360	9,431,760	17,367,687
Nova Scotia.....	6,041,966	15,595	3,176,266	5,806,257	12,338,105
Making a total of...	77,964,020	187,942	40,851,009	124,907,846	221,617,773

The total value of property of all kinds, real and personal, in this State, in 1870, was \$2,132,148,741.00. The population is 1,457,351. Compare this with the wealth of the same number in this country, where farming receives the principal attention, and you will find that the balance is in favour of the people who turn their attention to manufacturing enterprise.

Massachusetts has 114 per cent. less population than Ontario. She has 612 per cent. more capital invested in manufactures; pays out in wages 575 per cent. more than Ontario, paid for raw material, 514 per cent. more than Ontario; and the value of the finished productions is 483 per cent. more than Ontario. She employs 320 per cent. more hands in manufacturing, and pays 721 per cent. higher wages than

Ontario. Massachusetts has $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more capital invested in cotton alone than Ontario has in all kinds of manufactures, and the value of the finished cotton is equal to half the value of all our productions. Woollens is in the same position as cottons, but with this exception, that the value of woollens is only 30 per cent. less than all Ontario's production in that line.

In boots and shoes there is about half the capital invested that there is in all the manufactures in Ontario. The value of finished work is only 30 per cent. less than all the Ontario manufactures, and pays $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more wages than is paid to all engaged in the manufacturrs in Ontario.

Pennsylvania has a population of about 1 per cent. larger than the Dominion. She has invested in manufactures over 525 per cent. more than Canada, pays out 310 per cent. more wages, and the value of finished production is 325 per cent. more than all Canada.

In iron alone there is just about as much capital invested as there is in all industries in the Dominion, paying only about 40 per cent. less wages than is paid in the Dominion for that purpose. The value of finished iron is only about 45 per cent less than all the production of our factories together.

The average earning of each operative engaged in manufacturing in Ontario in 1871, was \$245.00—just what was paid in 1850 in Massachusetts, 11 per cent. less than was paid in 1860, and about $72\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than was paid in 1870 when the United States Census was taken.

We are told that in protected countries like the States the profits to the manufacturers are enormous, and that they come directly out of the pockets of the consumer.

Let us compare the returns on investments in manufacturing in the New England States, where they have protection, with Canada, where free-trade practically exists, and we will find that protection actually reduces the cost to the consumer.

In Canada, up to the time when the Americans began the slaughtering business, after setting apart 6 per cent. for interest on plant, and interest on

working capital, the manufacturer got a larger profit by $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. than the protected manufacturer in New England got. The result is that where protection exists home competition secures fair prices. But where free-trade is the order, as in this country, people will not invest their means in manufactures, and competition does not exist, and the consumer pays higher prices. This was the case up to 1872.

Here we see the source from whence the wealth of Massachusetts is derived, because of her large manufacturing population. Land that our Canadian farmers would think dear at any price, brings from forty to sixty dollars per acre, because every article that can be raised brings a large price in the market created by the manufacturing interests scattered so thickly over the State.

The capital invested in manufacturing in the State of New York in the years 1850, 1860, and 1870 was as follows:—

“1850—Capital invested, \$99,904,405; wages paid, \$49,131,000; value of raw material, \$134,655,674; value of finished work, \$237,597,249; hands employed, 199,349. In 1860—Capital invested, \$172,875,652; wages paid, \$65,446,759; value of raw material, \$214,813,061; value of finished work, \$378,870,339; hands employed, 230,112. In 1870—Capital invested, \$366,994,320; wages paid, \$142,465,758; value of raw material, \$452,065,452; value of finished work, \$785,194,651; hands employed, 357,803. The capital invested in manufactures in Pennsylvania for the same period, was:—In 1850—, Capital, \$94,473,810; wages, \$37,163,232; raw material, \$87,205,377; finished work, \$155,044,910; hands, 146,766. In 1860—Capital, \$190,055,904; wages paid, \$60,369,165; raw material, \$150,477,698; finished work, \$290,121,188; hands, 222,132. In 1870—Capital, \$406,821,845; wages, \$127,976,594; raw material, \$421,197,673; finished work, \$711,894,344; hands, 319,487. In 1870—Iron only—Capital; \$78,668,802; wages, \$24,680,024; raw material, \$80,637,261; finished work, \$122,605,296; hands, 47,134. In Ohio for the same period the statistics are:—1850:—Capital, \$20,019,538; wages, \$13,467,156; raw material, \$34,678,019; finished work, \$62,692,269; hands, 51,491. In 1860—Capital, \$57,295,303; wages, \$22,302,989; raw material, \$69,800,270; finished work, \$121,691,148; hands, 75,602. In 1870—Capital, \$141,923,964; wages, \$49,066,488; raw material, \$157,131,697; finished work, \$269,713,610; hands, 137,202. In 1870—Iron only—Capital, \$22,856,774; wages, \$7,905,101; raw material, \$20,852,529; finished work, \$35,625,157; hands, 14,943.”

We have here a large amount of the wealth of the States named, invested in manufacturing enterprise, which would not be the case if the country was not favoured with a protective system that prevents their country being made a slaughter market of by foreigners. What secured for England the position she now occupies in wealth and influence amongst the nations of the earth? Certainly not selling the produce of her cultivated farms, nor even the riches of her multitude of shop-keepers, but through the enterprise of her manufacturers who forced their productions into every market in the world, securing vast stores of wealth for themselves and respect for the nation which they represented, and at the same time giving such an impetus to commerce as makes England to-day the first Maritime Power in the world. Then again take Germany, France, Prussia, Belgium and other countries that might be mentioned, all thickly populated; are they supported by tilling the soil? Not by any means. In the countries mentioned every little hamlet, village, town and city is a busy hive of manufacturing industry, and to this fact alone they owe the position of influence and wealth that they now enjoy. All these countries early enjoyed a sound protective policy, and most of them continue it to this day. It is a fact that cannot be disputed that all countries that manufacture for themselves are, as a rule, rich and prosperous, while those countries that import to supply the home demand, are generally poor to what they would be if they manufactured and supplied their own wants. Canada, I regret to say, is in the position of being poor, because she imports much more than she manufactures and will continue to do so until such a change is made in the tariff as will give confidence to capitalists to invest their means in manufacturing industries that will supply a much larger portion of the home demand than is done at present. If the Government will make the present 17½ per cent. tariff 25 per cent., and carefully revise the free list as well as the other rates of duty now charged, and fix them permanently for a definite length of time, I venture to say that

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you will at once see such a change in the industrial affairs of this country as will astonish the most advanced Free-Trader. One thing more than another that prevents capital from being invested in manufactures in this country is the constant changes that are made in the tariff, and this fact enables those who are in some lines of business to take advantage and charge higher prices than they would if the tariff was settled for a length of time, which would induce others to go into the same lines of business, and thus create competition.

Let us contemplate for a short time the position of some of those countries that have for various reasons adopted the system our opponents are so much in love with. I will ask the House to give me their attention while I read a few extracts from the pen of one of England's ablest writers on the question of protection, as to the effect of free-trade on the manufacturing interests of Ireland. The gentleman is Sergeant Byles, well known to the legal profession.

Another instance of the ruin that free-trade works you will find in Turkey. Her commercial system is a very liberal one, no part of the vast dominions of the Sultan exhibits the good effects of this tariff. Distress and misery meet you in the face at every turn. No manufactures exists there on account of the Sultan's enlightened free-trade views. Many of the Free-Traders of England who hold the bonds and securities of that unhappy country would be rejoiced, I think, if the Sultan would turn Protectionist.

Then we have Spain, Portugal and Mexico, all with a system of low tariff, but no manufactories. How do we find them progressing socially and financially? Will they compare in general intelligence and wealth with many other countries, with advantages far inferior to theirs in soil and climate, but who has the benefit of established manufactures conducted by intelligent energetic mechanics and business men?

One more sample of the baneful effects of free-trade, forced by England on a country that could not resist—the case of the Decca weavers of India—is almost too well known to need repetition. This industry that existed

for generations, and prospered in that country, giving employment to thousands of its inhabitants, producing such articles as were required by the natives and for want of a reasonable amount of protection, England, with her large capital and improved machinery, brought utter ruin on all engaged in the muslin trade. Many of the weavers died of starvation, and their families were scattered all over the country. I will ask your attention to a few extracts from the pen of Horace Greeley on this point— He has given the question of free-trade and protection long and careful study.

We have seen what free-trade has done for Ireland, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Mexico and India. I think the most ardent admirer of the system would not like to see our Dominion reduced to the level of any one of these countries. We will now reverse the picture, and take a view of the position occupied by those countries where a carefully arranged tariff protects their home industries from being crushed out by the influx of the surplus stocks of outsiders, who sell their goods at what they can catch, irrespective of cost of production; and as it is broadly stated by political economists, that protected manufactures are weak and sickly, I undertake to prove that it is only such that are strong and healthy; and that wherever a judicious system of protection exists the country is generally rich and prosperous; its inhabitants producing and exporting to those free-trade countries that do not manufacture for themselves. Do we need stronger arguments than these to convince us that if we are ever to take our place as a manufacturing country we must adopt a system of protection, that will prevent our manufactures from being swamped before they get well and firmly established.

In looking over the trade and navigation returns for 1874, I find that we imported \$39,961,654 more than we exported. For 1873, the balance against us was about the same amount, and so on, back to 1868; so that the total imports over exports, in seven years after Confederation, amounted to the enormous sum of \$154,866,212, and we are still continuing in the same course.

Need I ask what the result will be if we do not soon put on the breaks? The Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Johnson, takes the free-trade view of this state of things, and argues that the more we import the richer we are, and therefore the balance of trade is a myth. The logical conclusion of this argument, is that a man earning \$2,000 per annum may spend \$2,500 and still he is getting richer all the time. Will any person credit this conclusion? I admit that for certain improvements, such as railway building, canal enlargement and such like expenditure. We may occasionally run in debt to England for a considerable amount without injury to ourselves. But if we are to continue, year after year, importing what we could make for ourselves, and sending the gold, which is the life blood of the country, to pay for it, we will soon find to our cost that the balance of trade is a reality.

The question—where will the revenue come from if we put on a tariff that will enable our own people to compete with outsiders, under the present exceptional circumstances—is one that is often put by Free-Traders in order to confound the advocate of protection. My answer is, that for some time to come our own manufacturers would not be able to supply all that would be required; and, therefore, with the advanced rate of duty, the necessary amount of revenue would be raised, even if the imports should fall off materially; and when our own people were fully prepared to supply the home demand, the manufacturing population would have increased so much that their consumption of dutiable-paying goods, that could not be produced in this country, would be quite sufficient to supply any deficiency that might arise from the falling off of goods that we were making for ourselves. This is the case in other countries, and should be the same here.

Free-Traders point us to England, and say that she has advanced much more rapidly since she adopted free-trade than she did when she had a protective tariff; and that if we wish to prosper as she has done we must pursue the same course. I answer that the circumstances of the two countries are quite different. If Canada were in England's position she could do as

England is now doing, and perhaps with profit. But when England was as Canada is, she did what the advocates of protection say that Canada ought to do now—that is, increase the tariff in the interest of home manufacturers. And when Canada has accumulated anything like the wealth and experience that England and the States have done by manufacturing in place of exporting her raw materials and importing them back manufactured and fit for use, having lost the labour and profits which should have been in the hands of our own people, then perhaps she may try for a time the experience of free-trade. I think after a discussion of the whole matter, the conclusion will be that the Government will bring down a tariff which will give encouragement to our manufacturers. I do not ask them to place a Chinese Wall around this country and keep everybody out of it. If our manufacturers had fair play, they could compete with any country in the world. It is impossible for them without a protective tariff to resist the great experience and enormous wealth of foreign competitors. Some gentlemen in this House cannot believe that the Americans sell their goods here at less than cost, but I know, because I have tested it. I know that in our own goods they are flooding the market with their surplus production. The constituency which I represent is largely interested in the question, and I would be recreant to the trust confided in me if I did not raise my voice in favour of those people who are doing everything they can to compete fairly with the manufacturers of other countries. They are entitled to such encouragement as the Government can give them. If we pursue a policy of free-trade which some hon. members advocate, our factories will be closed and our artizans driven to other countries to find employment. We have large resources, and if we had a protective tariff, capitalists would be encouraged to come in and develop them.

Mr. BERTRAM—I hoped that the motion of the hon. member for Bothwell would carry. It did not contain anything calculated to give rise to this discussion, but the amendment contains

within itself matters which would call for a discussion of the great question of protection. It asks for a revision of the tariff, discriminating in favour of home productions. Now, my hon. friend from Hamilton has spoken at considerable length and with a great deal of force from his point of view, asking this House to assent to the proposition that we in Canada should have a protective tariff. Sir, I believe that those gentlemen who have argued this question in this House have somewhat misapprehended the real issue before the country. They say the issue is betwixt Free-Traders and Protectionists. Now, this I utterly deny. I do not think that there is any gentleman in this House, with the exception, perhaps, of one, who has avowed himself to be an absolute Free-Trader. We have a tariff for revenue purposes. I am a believer in a national policy for Canada; but I do not believe in all that is said by those gentlemen who advocate such a policy. I look at it in this way:—Our system differs from the systems of Great Britain and the United States. In England, a customs tariff includes goods such as tea and coffee, goods which do not come into competition with its manufactured articles, and therefore they may charge on them, even with their free-trade views, what duty they like. In the United States again, we have a tariff that is arranged for the absolute purpose of prohibiting the entrance of foreign goods on their market; while in Canada, we have, I think, the happy mean betwixt these two systems—a tariff which, while it encourages what are called our infant industries, brings revenue to the country. This must be sufficiently clear to every gentleman. If we take into consideration the position we hold, and assume for the purpose of argument, that 17½ per cent. represents the difference in the cost of manufactured goods in the United States or in Great Britain, and here in Canada, and if the tariff is raised, as my hon. friend from Hamilton proposes to increase it, to 25 per cent., it is their bounden duty to show that the amount of loss which we will sustain by the loss of 17½ per cent. on all manufactured goods, will

be made up to the Dominion by some means which these gentlemen have failed to point out, as I understand it, in connection with the establishment of manufacturing industries. I confess that in approaching this subject I am entirely free from trade prejudices; and I may say further, that while we have protection speeches from hon. gentlemen who represent city constituencies and manufacturing districts, and probably free-trade speeches from gentlemen representing rural constituencies, I stand among the members who represent constituencies partly rural and partly manufacturing. In these constituencies are all the interests of the Dominion which we have to take into consideration in discussing this matter. I would ask if the tariff was raised to-morrow to 25 per cent. would it make the manufacturers of this Dominion continuously prosperous? Why, Sir, we have only to point to the United States and Great Britain in this relation. I saw lately in the newspapers, that in Glasgow, more mechanics were at present idle than ever had been so previously within the memory of the oldest inhabitant; and if we examine the condition of what is generally known as the Black Country, we will find an immense number of artisans out of employment. Why, it is one of those things concerning which any gentleman who understands anything at all about financial or trade questions, knows that these periods of inflation and depression come just as regularly and as surely as any natural phenomena; and it would be absurd to say that manufacturers in this country would be continuously prosperous if 25 per cent. duties were to-morrow imposed. I would ask the hon. gentlemen, who have a particular interest in the farming community—and I believe that there are many such here—if it would enhance the price of agricultural products in case such a tariff were put in force to-morrow? I think not. Viewing the question and from an unprejudiced stand-point, I am free to admit that certain articles of foreign produce would most certainly obtain a higher price if there were more manufactures in this country. I allude to the little etceteras, which farmers

who live in the neighbourhood of cities would buy; but I utterly deny that the great products of this Dominion—wheat, barley, oats, butter, cheese, and everything else almost that we raise—would secure advanced prices to the extent of one single dollar. The prices of these articles depend upon those ruling in foreign markets.

Many manufactures in this country do not demand or require protection. I need not instance many of them; but I may cite the great industry of making manufacturers' implements. As to the question brought up by my hon. friend from Hamilton—the iron trade—I happen to know something about it; and I do not take his view as to the causes leading to the difference between the prices paid for articles imported from England and the United States. The period of collapse comes sooner in the latter than in the former, where bar-iron rose from somewhere about £7 17s 6d a ton in 1872, to £15 per ton; and she having the market of the world at her feet, did not so soon feel the pressure of hard times and over-production as our neighbours. We had, therefore, this spectacle—that while the price of bar-iron was kept up in England a very considerable time, it fell in the United States, inducing our own Western merchants to import it. This, I believe, Sir, is the reason why iron has been so imported. Now, I contend that our manufactures have prospered and thriven under the present tariff. I do not know of any class in Canada which, during past years, has done better; and if you examine the commercial newspapers, you will find that a much larger proportion of our merchants have failed in business than of manufacturers. I had the honour of meeting a few days ago, a deputation of the latter in a constituency near Ottawa, where they claimed an addition of amount of duty. I asked them what I consider a very pertinent question indeed—to show their balance sheets during the last year or two, and in what condition their business was; and I then said, what I have no doubt is the experience of many commercial men, that during this period the amount placed on the right side of the

profit-and-loss account in their ledgers is very fair indeed.

Now, if these industries have generally thriven—and I can remember when, not many years ago, our manufacturers were very few in number—it seems to me that the Ministers have to-day a very serious matter to face in raising the tariff, arranged by the late and present Administration to obtain revenue merely; and it would seem to me that it would upset all our calculations if we entered on the new phase of preparing a tariff with the pure object of protection in view. I urge them to consider in what condition such a mad course would place Canada.

We hear a great deal about the slaughter process. I admit that it is indeed a great hardship for Canadian manufacturers if American goods can be sold here at less than cost; but with their high protective policy they are worse off than we are, who have no such tariff to shield our industries from the competition of the foreigner. Under such circumstances it would not become us to enter upon the very same course that led the American industries to such a condition. I am surprised that we have never heard during the long course of this debate, of the Canadian lumbermen, who are to-day forced to slaughter their goods on the American market; but do we grant them protection? Certainly from the point of view of my hon. friends from Hamilton and Wellington, we should do so; and I think that it would be very pertinent to ask for a Committee to enquire into the reason why the lumber trade is depressed, &c. My hon. friend from Hamilton made a very extraordinary statement. I think that it must have by error slipped into his speech. He alleged that manufacturers obtained larger profits in Canada than across the border by some 6½ per cent. I say then, so much the better for Canada, and also by all means let us remain in our present position under these circumstances, and not fly to evils we know not of. Every Canadian ought to take a deep interest in these questions. I know of none more important than the trade policy, and I only hope that every gentleman in this House—as I am sure they will do—will endeavor to under-

stand them perfectly, treating them with the great consideration which they merit at the hands of every well-wisher of the Dominion. Our manufacturing industries have prospered during the last fifteen years, and it is a question whether protection should be increased to twenty or even twenty-five per cent. I am sure, at all events, that it will meet with that consideration from the Ministers of the Crown, and members of this House, which it deserves.

Mr. WALLACE—I have read that, in the multiplicity of counsel, there is wisdom; and if this be true, the Committee for which my hon. friend from Bothwell asks can have no difficulty in arriving at a correct opinion regarding the causes of the depression from which we are suffering. Notwithstanding the many theories volunteered, I am going to take the liberty of submitting to this House the view I hold concerning these causes. I am aware that this will not meet with the sympathies of the members of this House; nay, I am sure, that it will be ridiculed by the majority; yet it will not stagger my own faith in it unless I am shown that my reasons are incorrect. I believe that the depression is due to the system of credit, a necessity under our policy. It is false and vicious, impoverishing the many and enriching the few, destroying industry and degrading the people. Now, we are told that this country has been to a very great degree prosperous; and we have mentioned as evidence of this prosperity the trade returns, showing the volume of business transacted. We are told that the whole of our business has increased immensely in the past year, but I should like to ask if importations are necessarily an evidence of prosperity or of increasing wealth? I think that a careful analysis of the facts set forth in the trade returns will show that our imports are rather an evidence of indebtedness than of our wealth. The imports of the past year were \$123,000,000, the exports \$77,000,000; making a difference between the imports and exports of \$45,000,000. I would like to ask how is this? How are we going to pay this \$45,000,000? The English bankers, merchants or other persons must be

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carrying this indebtedness for us. I have yet to learn that the amount of a man's or a people's indebtedness can be considered as an evidence of wealth or prosperity. From 1868 to 1875 the volume of our exports has exceeded the imports by something over \$200,000,000. Now, if we go on at this rate, what must the result be? What are we suffering from now? Nothing more than this: That the English creditors are calling upon Canadian debtors to pay their liabilities, and the payment of these liabilities is depressing the industries of the country.

I have said that credit is a miserable system. We have a monetary system that does not expand as the industry of the country expands. It is impossible make a limited and slightly increasing quantity measure a larger and much more quickly increasing quantity, and the tendency of that system is to destroy the industry of the country. What I think would be the remedy for the evils under which the country is suffering is not, as some gentlemen have been advocating, protection to industry. It appears to me to be the greatest absurdity imaginable to tax industry for its own protection. How can you benefit industry by taxing it? Taxes to my mind are a necessary evil—a consequence of Government. If we could carry on the Government of the country without taxation, we might dispense with Government; but I cannot understand the logic of taxing industry to protect it. I had always thought that taxation tended to the destruction of an industry. The article taxed is not increased in value to the consumer, neither does it benefit the producer; but I think it is possible to levy duties in a way that would be more conducive to prosperity than they are at present levied. As long as revenue is raised by taxation it should also be so raised as to stimulate and encourage industries that are natural to the country, without encouraging a hot-house growth of manufacturers. Would it be wise to tax tea, coffee, sugar and rice so as to protect their growth in this country? I think it would not be in the interests of the consumers of this country to have such a system as this would im-

ply. I therefore hold that the true policy is so to levy taxes as to give an impetus to manufactures, the raw materials of which are our natural products.

I believe that credit is the cause of the periodical panics that we have; that they are as certain to follow as that the sun shall shine; that they are a necessity of the system. Our currency in its volume is not in a ratio corresponding with the industry of the country. Therefore credit has to come in and fill, as it were, the vacuum existing between them. And what is the consequence? The country which, under this system, is most quickly prosperous, the more quickly do reverses come. It is impossible that it can be otherwise, for the simple reason that the basis of the superstructure of our industry is false; and as we raise the superstructure, it widens and extends until it over-balances and down it comes to the base again. It is something like this that causes the trouble. Suspicion is breathed, confidence is destroyed; and the whole superstructure, which looks fair and reasonable, tumbles down like the card-house of a child; and where apparent prosperity was, there is nothing left but ruin and misery. That is, I believe, what we are suffering from at the present moment. Some gentlemen have said that it is inflation. Well, what is it that causes inflation? It is the same abominable system of credit. No man will give more for a thing than it is worth if he pays for it, but he who deals on credit, buys on speculation in the hope of an advance in value to make money. If we had a monetary system equal to the wants of the people this thing would be remedied.

Again, I am told that it is over-production from which we are suffering. This appears to me extraordinary. I have always been led to believe that production created happiness, and how can it be the cause of misery? I believe that over-production is of itself an impossibility—that the wants of men are as illimitable as human thought—and man is able to consume all that he can produce. They talk of over-production! Why look around the world and see the millions that have not enough to clothe them, not enough

food to feed them, nor enough houses to shelter them. Is there over-production when many of the the citizens of Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal are starving? Is it because of over-production that they are suffering? No; it is for the want of the means to get that which is necessary for their sustenance and comfort. Our credit system, I believe, will be the ruin of this country. We boast of the prosperity of Canada, but is a man prosperous who builds a house on credit? Our public works are carried on with borrowed money; our banks do business with borrowed money; our railroads are run with borrowed money, our municipal indebtedness we owe in England; and if the English creditor came and demanded payment of our liabilities, where would our prosperity be? Would we be able to liquidate our liabilities?

Some speak of a retaliatory tariff. I don't believe in anything of that kind. We ought to adopt a policy, not in opposition to other countries, but conducive to Canadian interest. It is not for the people of the United States or Great Britain that this House is called upon to legislate. It is for the Canadian people, and a policy which will benefit our industries is the only one which should have the sanction of this House—not a retaliatory policy, but one which will stimulate Canadian enterprises. I believe that the monetary system is the real cause, not only of the difficulties of this country, but creates the conflict between capital and labour all over the world. No question can come before the people of the civilized world to-day that is so important to humanity as this one of the relations between capital and labour. Between the two there is an apparent antagonism when there should really be none, and I believe the monetary system is responsible for the Trades' Unions in England and America, and the International in France.

There is no antagonism in reality, because capital is only labour realized, and what is injurious to one must be destructive to the other. The interests of the one are identical with those of the other, and this whole trouble, this financial crisis, under which Canada to-day is suffering, is not con-

finied to, this country. It cannot be for the reason that has been assigned—the want of protection to manufactures—because as the hon. member for Peterboro' has shown, the same evils exist in the countries where manufacturers enjoy great protection. It cannot be because we are a free-trade country; because the same troubles exist in England. Some better reason than either must be assigned for the financial depression that afflicts nearly every country in the world at the present time. I believe it is the faulty monetary system that is now paralyzing the world.

Mr. BLAIN moved in amendment to the amendment, that the word "financial" be struck out, and the words "manufacturing and commercial" be substituted in lieu thereof.

Mr. SPEAKER said this would alter the original motion.

Mr. DECOSMOS said he would relieve the hon. gentleman of his difficulty. It was the wish of hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House not to press the amendment to a vote; and he was perfectly willing to meet their views, as he could not see how any good to the cause of protection could be got by voting on it. He moved for leave to withdraw the amendment.

The motion was carried.

Mr. BUNSTER—I believe I was the seconder of that amendment; I do not feel bound, nor can I see any good reason why it should be withdrawn.

Mr. SPEAKER—I have declared the amendment withdrawn.

Mr. BLAIN moved his amendment to the original motion, and said—It seems to me that the original resolution does not cover the ground that is desired. The House admits there is a serious financial depression. It will be found to exist among the manufacturers and mercantile men; the agricultural interest is very prosperous.

I have always favoured protection, and I do not hesitate to say I am a Protectionist. I know it requires some courage boldly to avow this. There are many in this country who acquired their ideas of trade and commerce under different circumstances from

those in which our country is; and in the face of the many able men who have written on the subject it requires some courage to assert that Canada should adopt a protective policy.

I conceive protection arises out of nationality, as naturally as the stream flows from its source to the sea. If we desire to have a national or central power for the purpose of defence or attack, it becomes absolutely necessary that we should protect our people and look to the national welfare. I conceive we have looked to the welfare of the nation when we have guarded all its different interests. I do not think the gentlemen in this House have looked to the consequences of free-trade in England; where it has enriched some, it has impoverished many more. What is the result when you examine the question? Nearly every working-man has retrograded from the little property he owned, and is on the rent-list. Look at the legislation that has had to be enacted in the British House of Commons, in order to protect the people against this system of holding men's labour. The first legislation was to relieve the children, then the women, and then the men; and the moment the capitalist was limited in his dealing with the workingmen, when he was no longer able to compel them to work eighteen or nineteen hours instead of nine or ten, for a day's labour, then he could no longer monopolize the markets of the world. It rises naturally from the doctrine laid down. They will tell you that a capitalist ought to be allowed to make as large a return on his capital as he can. It will be found that the whole system of political economy in England rests upon three great pillars. Smith's Book, written a hundred years ago, is the first pillar of the system; then Menlins' system of population which was the second great discovery in this science; and Mr. Ardles' discovery of the system of rents is the third. Through the whole system of political economy these three principles run. Menlins lays it down that the population increases so fast that the production of the necessaries of life cannot keep pace with it. This does not apply here. We have abundance of land, and we want population to till

it, so that it is a fallacy. There they have reduced free-trade to a science. I find it asserted in the *London Times* that those who do not believe in free trade are simpletons, and those who dare to dispute it are not entitled to be heard at all. A very great many people will dispute it, notwithstanding what the *Times* says. I believe that political economy is not a science. I deny to it the right to be ranked among the sciences. You will find no two of its exponents agree on its principles. I believe this system of protection affects the population of this country to a very great extent. No less than 500,000 native-born Canadians have gone to live in the United States, where they have greater opportunities to better their circumstances. I think we ought to endeavour to keep our own people in our own country, and induce others to come and settle amongst us by building up our manufacturing industries. I represent an agricultural constituency, and I deny that the farmers are going to be injured by protection. So long as we continue to export the surplus products of the country, instead of bringing the consumer and manufacturer here, we must of necessity suffer. Our farmers have only two or three different articles that they can export—wheat, peas and barley. They also send cheese; but it is a very late industry. We find that wheat alone is the grain we can send to the markets of the world, we can send barley only to the United States. The farmer has not a satisfactory market for his oats, peas, turnips and the thousand and one things that the farm can produce. If he had the consumer beside him he would have a profitable market for all he could raise. The consequence of this want of market in Ontario for years was that the farmers were obliged to crop their soil with wheat until they exhausted their farms; and thousands of square acres along the St. Lawrence have been absolutely impoverished simply because farmers have been compelled to raise wheat and barley year after year in order to pay off their lands. If we had manufacturing industries there would have been a home market for the farm produce, and these elements taken from

the soil could have been returned to it to enrich it again, while the farmer would realize increased prices for everything he raised. I remember about thirty years ago when eggs were sold at $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence per dozen, because the farmers could not take them to market, and nearly every other product of the farm was the same; now we have a more dense population, and everything the farmer has to raise finds a ready market and high prices, so that he can carry on his agricultural operations on scientific principles and improve the soil. But if you go back to the newly settled parts of the country, where there are no markets, you will find that the very difficulties that existed in the older neighbourhoods thirty years ago prevail in that neighbourhood at the present time. I feel that I should like the Finance Minister to come down with a policy that would enable us to protect our home industries, that would enable us to bring the producer and consumer together.

Mr. MILLS—I make no particular objection to the amendment of the phraseology of my motion in the direction suggested by the hon. member for West York. I think that the motion will remain substantially the same. My motion is not open to the objection which the right hon. member for Kingston and the hon. member for Cumberland have raised.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—No objection.

Mr. MILLS—It certainly is an objection from our point of view. The right hon. gentleman says he has no objection to the motion, but he did say that the motion was in effect one of want of confidence in the Administration. I may tell these hon. gentlemen that they show a very great deal more courage on the Opposition benches than they displayed on this side of the House. If my motion is a motion of want of confidence, certainly there were a great many motions proposed by hon. gentlemen, when they were on this side of the House, entitled to this appellation. I remember when certain gentlemen had claims against the Government, instead of the Government assuming the responsibility of disposing of these claims, they permitted

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their friends on this side of the House to propose the appointment of Select Committees to enquire into their validity. Then I find that the right hon. gentleman had promised in the Speech from the Throne in 1869 an Insolvency Bill, but after the measure was introduced, he seemed to think that the Administration was not competent to decide what the character of that Bill should be; so he moved for a Select Committee, and the measure was placed in the hands of Mr. Abbott, at that time member for Argenteuil. Then I find on the 21st day of April of that year, Hon. Mr. Rose moved for the appointment of a Select Committee, consisting of Hon. Mr. Rose, Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. J. S. Macdonald, Hon. Mr. Wood, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Blake, Mr. Street, Sir George Cartier, Sir A. T. Galt, Messrs. Holton, Chauveau, Dunkin, Tilley, Smith, McLellan, Macdonald, (Lunenburg) and Hon. Mr. Campbell to take into consideration the subject of banking and currency of the Dominion. The Finance Minister of that day did not see proper to bring down to the House a measure on that subject without referring the whole question to a Select Committee. The hon. gentleman referred to Hume's motion. He said Hume in 1826 moved a resolution substantially the same as mine, to consider the state of the nation, as a Committee of the Whole House—not a Select Committee. But Hume did not move that the House go into committee of the whole; he moved that an Address be presented to the Crown (His Majesty), praying that he will be graciously pleased to take into consideration the present state of the nation, and cause an enquiry into the cause of the wide-spread distress. This was considered a direct attack on the financial policy of the Government.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear.

Mr. MILLS—These resolutions were forty-seven in number, attacking the whole financial policy of the Administration. It was impossible that the Government could consent to the motion without admitting their financial policy had been exceedingly mischievous to the country. Hume says:

“He had, however, for a considerable time taken a view of the country very different

from that which seemed to guide their policy, and which induced them to continue imposing a rate of taxation much greater than our resources enabled us to bear. His desire now was to remove from their minds the erroneous impressions they had taken upon that subject and to show clearly to them and to the House that the course which they were pursuing would, if not checked, bring ruin and misery upon every class in the Kingdom."

That was the statement made by Hume. Further on he says :—

"For the first part—the currency—he could say boldly that Ministers had done very great mischief in their late measures with respect to the system of banking. They had in all their regulations confounded the principles of currency with the principles of banking, and been led by that mistake to do infinite mischief. In order to show the course which, in his opinion, ought to be adopted, he would begin by pointing out what was the cause of the evils; and they would then better understand the remedy. He should, at the same time, he hoped, remove the impression which prevailed upon the subject of the taxation under which they now suffered, and which was greater than had ever been borne by this or any other nation at any period of history."

Hume's resolutions were therefore a direct attack upon the whole fiscal policy of the Administration. It was impossible that they could vote according to his motion without voting a want of confidence in themselves. But when I look at the discussion which took place in England in 1847, immediately after the financial crisis that occurred in that year, I observe Parliament was called together at an earlier period than usual in consequence of this financial crisis, and we find Sir Chas. Wood, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, moving, observe, the following resolution :—

"That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the causes of the recent commercial distress, and how far it has been affected by the laws for regulating the issue of banknotes payable on demand."

Now, I ask the hon. gentleman if my motion is for a vote of want of confidence, coming from a supporter of the Administration agreeing in the policy of the Government. If Sir Chas. Wood's motion was not a motion of want of confidence neither is mine. It is perfectly clear with regard to any one of these matters whether it be relating to the commercial distress, the currency of the country, or the banking system, to it is competent for the House take such steps as are necessary to

enquire into the causes of the financial depression. When the right hon. member for Kingston said he saw a vote of want of confidence in my motion, he saw what was not there, and what I am sure the majority of this House did not discover. When I introduced this resolution to the House I endeavoured to avoid discussing the question of free-trade and protection. I pointed out as perfectly as I could some considerations which I think would show all those gentlemen who profess protective views that what they predicted as absolutely certain as a consequence of the alteration in the tariff, did not flow from that source, and we were justified in asking for this enquiry. We have heard some extraordinary statements in this discussion; no two of those who advocated protection made the same allegations with regard to the cause of the depression; and I am sure that the majority of this House would consider, from the different opinions advanced, that I am justified in asking for a Committee for the purpose of collecting evidence to enable every man in this House to come to a conclusion for himself. Some gentlemen adopt a line of argument that would seem to indicate that a large debt was a great blessing; that if we were suffering from serious financial depression, that we should increase the burthen of the population at large. I have no doubt people understand how this conclusion was arrived at. As far as I am concerned I am justified in asking for a Committee to make further investigations and say from what particular point of view these gentlemen look at our financial position. I remember Sir Francis Hincks saying that he never heard a people so anxiously clamouring for increased taxation. That was exceedingly gratifying to the Finance Minister of that day, and I have no doubt if the Finance Minister of to day should deem it necessary to impose further burthens on the people, he would be greatly encouraged to do so by the gentlemen who have expressed themselves so strongly in favour of protection. I have heard all sorts of opinions put forward with regard to our condition; and one hon. gentleman from Hamilton informed the House this evening, that

we are not in as favourable condition as Massachusetts—in fact he thought that a State 200 years older than we are should not be any more wealthy or prosperous than we are; that the wealth of Ontario, which is not three-quarters of a century old, ought to be as great in proportion as that of a country with two centuries of improvements.

Now, it is quite true the Americans have, since the civil war, increased taxation from an average of 15 per cent. to an average of something like 40 per cent. The effect on the New England States generally was to reduce the assessed value of land. In Massachusetts, where it averaged \$100 per acre, the reduction was from that sum to \$84.24 per acre. The assessed valuation of the State fell about \$1,000,000, so that the fixed capital of the agriculturists was damaged to that extent by the duties imposed on imports coming into the United States. The whole real estate of New England was reduced 15 per cent., that of Pennsylvania 10 per cent. We find that the United States, after all, is essentially an agricultural country. Agriculture represents \$3,500,000,000; cottons, \$77,000,000; woollens, \$69,000,000; iron, \$119,000,000; shoe and leather interest, \$222,000,000.

Mr. WOOD—Is that the whole of the United States, or Massachusetts only?

Mr. MILLS—The whole of the United States. These are facts which cannot be overlooked. In this investigation we are obliged to look at the effect upon the whole country, and every class, and not upon a particular class whose business may be for the moment suffering from depression. I have examined the trade returns of the United States since this discussion commenced, and I find in 1870 the imports were \$452,875,665; in 1871, \$578,759,518; in 1872, \$573,912,888; in 1873, \$684,633,736, of which \$200,000,000 was nearly free. We find the importations of free goods gradually increasing, and the importation of those highly taxed to some extent diminishing. When we look at the exports for the last year, we notice that they were \$644,000,000, or something over \$40,000,000 less than the imports. That includes \$44,472,000 in gold, and

Mr. MILLS.

\$33,000,000 in silver, which some hon. gentlemen do not consider articles of ordinary exportation. Deduct these from the exports, and you find the exports reduced to \$567,000,000 against imports \$684,000,000.

Mr. WOOD—Does that include all the foreign bonds of the United States shipped to England?

Mr. MILLS—It does not. I shall not trouble the House further. I have briefly noticed the objections raised by some hon. gentlemen, but I express, myself, no decided opinion with regard to them. I think it is quite right and proper for this House to make an enquiry. I believe there is a general agreement among hon. members that it is not desirable to make frequent alterations in the tariff, and in order that ultimately it may be possible to place the tariff upon a rational and permanent basis, it is necessary that a full enquiry should be had into the causes of the financial and commercial depression.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My hon. friend who has just sat down disputed the position I took the other night, that this amounted, at the time and under the circumstances when it was moved, to a motion of want of confidence in the Government. Of course I knew perfectly well my hon. friend was a devoted supporter of the Administration, and did not want to injure his friends, but I said his motion would go further than he desired. I think it is quite clear from the readiness with which my hon. friend accepted the amendment of the hon. gentleman from West York, he must have come to that conclusion himself. He must have seen that a motion to appoint a Committee to enquire into the financial condition of the country, the Government being specially charged with that duty, was a different thing from a motion to investigate the cause of the depression in the manufacturing and commercial interests. I am quite satisfied when my hon. friend from West York moved this amendment, he had some understanding with the Treasury Benches.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—He had no understanding with me whatever. Until he got up I was not aware that he was going to move an amendment.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It looks remarkably like it, because the resolution as moved by my hon. friend at first asks for due enquiry into the causes of the present financial depression, and it assumes that there is a financial depression; but the amendment, instead of asking for an investigation into it, seeks to enquire into the causes of the financial and commercial depression. Therefore, my hon. friend has really abandoned the whole of his motion in accepting the amendment, limiting the enquiry to be made; and I say that this is the greatest proof to my mind of the real secret feeling in my hon. friend's own breast—of course we cannot expect him to exhibit it openly here—that the objection I took is admitted and has been well grounded. So we are to have a very harmless enquiry as to the state of two branches, and not of the two most important branches of the industries of this country; and after discussing the matter for three days, we come to have a limited and partial Committee to make an investigation, not into the whole of our financial affairs, which, in my opinion, would have been the case if left to a Special Committee, or discussed in Committee of the Whole—substantially an enquiry into the condition of the nation. My hon. friend says that the late Administration allowed a number of Committees to act. Of course, if the Government of the day asked the assistance of the House, or of the Committee of the whole House, or of a Special Committee of the House, they had the right to do so. They could take the whole House into their confidence, and ought to do so in most cases when they ask the assistance of Special Committees.

My hon. friend did not, it is quite true, move the motion in a hostile feeling towards the Administration; and when I asked my question the other day, it was simply a matter for common sense. I think that it must have, so struck the common sense of this House, that when we have a Speech from the Throne, declaring the fact that there was stagnation in business and trade generally, from sympathy with the depression in the United States that economy was required, and that the estimates were

going to be prepared in an economical spirit, owing to the loss of revenue caused by this stagnation; and when the Minister of Finance informed us that the Budget was to be brought down in a few days, and the estimates laid before us—they are before us now—previous to which time we would not be in a position to know what the policy of the Government was, my hon. friend came behind the reasons given in the Speech, and moved for a Committee to enquire into the causes of the financial depression, the Committee, of course, being empowered to report from time to time, and send for persons and papers, sitting—if the proceeding were to be of any value—for weeks, and until very late in the Session. When we were told that the Government was coming down at an early date with their financial policy, it was equivalent to saying we will take out of the hands of the Government that question. This was what I demanded the other day, and this was the necessary result of my hon. friend's motion if the Committee were granted. A Committee of this kind, however, is a perfectly harmless one; and its enquiries have been limited. I dare say that a desire to get rid of the inconvenience of having substantially a vote of want of confidence on the Journals, has induced my hon. friend to accept the motion in amendment. Why, were it otherwise, did the hon. members who agreed to sit on this Committee, feel that they must keep their minds open regarding the subject and causes of the financial depression? My hon. friend in his speech has just said, that he did not intend to express any opinion on these questions until the evidence was taken. Another hon. member, who is on the Committee, yesterday stated that he would not give an opinion, and he thought that he ought not to do so on account of his position. Well, what is the consequence? Although he would not express an opinion in this House as to the causes of the financial depression, he would be called upon to vote, whether he intimated his views or not, and express his opinions in the strongest manner possible by giving his vote concerning the best means of relieving the depression.

They will be obliged to vote; and therefore give their views with reference to the Government's policy touching this depression; the extent of it, the nature of it, the causes of it, and the means of remedying it, before the result can be known. And thus those gentlemen, who felt themselves prohibited from doing so, with respect to the financial depression and the means of remedying it, may be, and certainly will be called upon to vote both after the Budget is brought down and the financial policy of the Government is disclosed. These are the grounds, which I took the other night, and to which I still adhere.

The motion in amendment, which has been accepted by my hon. friend, makes it a very harmless enquiry, like the motions made during previous Sessions concerning the state of agriculture, and the state of manufactures. All these are very well in their way, as I said, when I took the position I first did; and I tell my hon. friend that he has altogether changed the position he took originally, when he accepted the amendment.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—My hon. friend remarks that an enquiry into the causes of depression in one branch of industry is very well, and so with regard to two branches, but as to three, four or five, it is a vote of want of confidence. My hon. friend from Bothwell pointed out that two very large branches of occupation—the commercial and manufacturing—are in a state of stagnation, and that this caused a financial depression. He moved an enquiry into the causes of that depression. My hon. friend from West York pointed out what these two subjects are, in terms embraced in the amendment, and the hon. member for Bothwell accepted that amendment. This is substantially what it was. He was right then and he is right now.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I suggest as an amendment that the word "ruining" be embraced in the motion.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The amendment to the motion is not yet carried. Perhaps the hon. member might ask the hon. member for West York to introduce that suggestion into his amendment.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I would just say, that of all the industries in this country, there is none of greater importance than the mining interest; and I regret to state that of all our industries none is suffering in so remarkable a degree. I wish that it be added to the list.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I would suggest something of the same character with relation to other branches of trade.

Hon. Messrs. Mackenzie, Blake, and other Hon. Gentlemen—Hear, Hear.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I am glad to find that my suggestion meets with so much approval in the House. I allude to two other branches in which the prosperity of the country is very deeply involved,—I mean the great shipping and lumbering interests.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I would suggest that there should be also included the branch of manufacturing tariffs.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—My hon. friend the Finance Minister will excuse me. I find that for the purposes of taxation, the lumber and shipping interests are considered, irrespective of manufacturing interests, for the purposes of the Administration; and when it suits the purposes of the Administration to specially consider them, then I prefer to have it done in my own way.

Mr. GORDON—I just rise to correct my hon. friend for Hamilton, regarding one statement contained in the statistics he quoted. He stated that the bulk of the iron imported into Canada during the past year came from the United States and not from Britain. Referring to the trade returns, I find, Sir, that the amount of iron imported from these respective countries during the last year, was: Great Britain 53,422 tons; the United States 6,986 tons; or altogether about 80 per cent. from the United States as against Great Britain.

Mr. WOOD—The statement made by the hon. gentleman is not correct.

Mr. MILLS—Mr. Currier having refused to act on the Committee, I ask that Mr. McDougall of Renfrew be his substitute.

The amendment being carried,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said—I move, seconded by Sir John A. Macdonald, that the original motion, as amended, be amended by adding the words “the mining,” after the word “manufacturing.”

This amendment was adopted, and

Hon. Mr. TUPPER expressed it as his opinion that the shipping and lumbering interests were included in the terms of the motion.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I have no doubt that my hon. friend is very sincere, but if he will tell me how ship-building, one of the great industries in our country, is a manufacturing industry, then I would be satisfied with the suggestion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I suggest that my hon. friend for Cumberland do that at his leisure after we adjourn.

Mr. MASSON—Since such a scope is to be given to the enquiry, the agricultural interest might as well be added. I am told that at the present moment this interest is suffering in Quebec. Produce cannot be sold, and there are practical agriculturists in the House who could act on the Committee. I suggest that Mr. Benoit be put on the Committee.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT — A motion will be made for a Select Committee for that special purpose.

Mr. SPEAKER—The amendment suggested, is out of order.

The amendment of the Hon. Mr. Mitchell was seconded by Mr. Masson.

Mr. KILLAM—I do not think that there is any depression in the shipping and fishing interests.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It ought to be enquired into. What is proposed to be added is unnecessary.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—People who know more about it than the Minister of Justice think it necessary.

Mr. SPEAKER — It rests entirely with the House.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I was glad to hear from a gentleman so well acquainted with the shipping interest as the hon. member for Yarmouth, that the shipping interest is in an eminently prosperous condition. While

paying great respect to his intimate acquaintance and knowledge of that interest, I must say that my information is of a totally different description. My information is that this most important interest in this Dominion has rarely been in a state of greater depression than to-day—that the owners of ships throughout the country are suffering somewhat, and instead of receiving money are very frequently called upon to pay money for the capital they have invested. While I should have listened with great pleasure to the statement, if correct, I listened with greater surprise than pleasure to the statement the hon. gentleman has made.

Mr. MITCHELL—I should like to call the attention of the hon. gentleman for Yarmouth to one fact. I have received a communication from New Orleans, a port which gives employment to a large portion of our own tonnage, to the effect that vessels there are not earning money, and are not therefore in a prosperous condition.

Mr. KILLAM—I must explain that these hon. gentlemen have somewhat misunderstood me. The fact is that the shipping of this country is employed in all parts of the world, and in some parts freights are low and unprofitable. But what I wished to convey was that as a general rule if the trade was not sufficiently prosperous, we need not enquire the cause in this House—that we should leave matters to take their course and the depression in time will disappear in itself.

The amendment proposed by Mr. Mitchell was then carried.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, the name of Mr. McDougall was substituted for that of Mr. Currier.

The House adjourned at Thirty-five minutes past Ten p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 21, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. WOOD (Hamilton)—To amend the Act to authorize the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. CHARLTON—To amend the Act regarding the Transportation of Cattle.

REPORTS.

Hon. Mr. SMITH brought down the Supplementary Report of the Marine and Fisheries Department.

PRINTING RETURNS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries whether any steps had been taken to get the papers laid before the House relating to the Shipping interests printed for distribution among the members of this House?

Hon. Mr. SMITH said he had not taken any such steps, but he would be very glad to have them printed.

After a brief discussion—

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved that the papers be referred to the Printing Committee. Carried.

GUYON ISLAND LIGHT-HOUSE.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton), asked whether the Government intend constructing the Guyon Island Light-house, for which an appropriation was made last year?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Tenders were invited last summer, and a man by the name of Cameron sent in the lowest. The contract was awarded to him. He was notified accordingly, but he declined to enter into the contract. His tender was \$2,130. The next lowest was \$2,960, and the contract was awarded to that contractor, who has entered into it, and by the terms of the agreement the light-house will be finished by August next.

THE PATENT ACT.

Mr. LANDERKIN asked whether it is the intention of the Government, during the present Session, to introduce any amendments to the Patent Act so that the public may be better guarded against persons selling Patent rights?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There is no present intention to amend the Patent Act. I took the opportunity of seeing my hon. friend with reference to the precise meaning of this question, and I will confer further with him on the subject, but as I at present understand

Mr. KILLAM.

it, I do not propose to make any amendment to the Act.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND RAILWAY FENCE.

Mr. McINTYRE asked whether the Government has accepted of any of the tenders for the construction of the Prince Edward Island Railway Fence; if not, what action do they intend to take regarding it?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government did not accept any tenders. They were all considered too high, and instructions have been given to the engineer in charge of the road to get out some of the materials in order to do the fencing by day labor.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. MASSON asked whether it is the intention of the Government to adopt any means to assure the construction of a line of railway to connect Portage du Fort, proposed terminus of the projected Quebec Government Railway, with the subsidized portion of the Canada Central Railway?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The matter has not been brought under the consideration of the Government in any way further than this, that I requested a year ago the Chief Engineer of the Northern Colonization Road to join with the two other engineers, and ascertain whether a crossing could be had and connection made at that point. There has been no further communication, I think, between any of the Companies interested and the Government on the subject up to the present time. I may say I will be very glad to show my hon. friend the report of these engineers if he desires it.

INSPECTORS OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Mr. GORDON asked—1st. What amount of salary is intended to be paid to District Inspectors of Weights and Measures; 2nd. Amount of salary to be paid to Deputy Inspectors; 3rd. From what date will salaries of Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors be paid; 4th. Will return of expenses of Inspectors and Deputies be required to be certified to under oath; 5th. When

will the Inspection Act come into operation?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The amount of salary is graduated by the population of the districts. Nearly all the salaries, however, are \$500, except in some of the larger cities and districts where there is a much greater amount of work. The salaries will date from the time of the Inspectors sending in their bonds. The return of expenses will be made according to the Act. The Inspection Law will come into operation as soon as the Inland Revenue Department have all their arrangements completed, and I believe they are finished now. I may add the Inspectors are paid not exactly according to population, for in the large cities of Montreal, Quebec and Toronto the mercantile business controls the salary to a large extent, as ten times the business will be done in these particular cities that is done in rural districts of the same population.

HARBOUR OF REFUGE ON LAKE ONTARIO.

Mr. GORDON asked whether it is the intention of the Government to create a Harbour of Refuge on Lake Ontario between Toronto and Kingston with sufficient depth of water to accommodate vessels drawing fourteen feet of water?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to propose anything of the kind this Session, either there or elsewhere.

PROPERTY AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

Mr. BLAIN enquired whether it is the intention of the Government in commencing the work of consolidating the Statute Law to take any steps to bring into uniformity all or any of the Laws relative to Property and Civil Rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and of the procedure of all or any of the Courts of those three Provinces under Section 94 of the British North America Act?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Two matters are referred to in the question which may no doubt be connected with each other. It is not the intention of the Government to take any steps towards the latter.

LIGHTHOUSE ON BALD HEAD ISLAND.

Mr. BIGGAR enquired whether the Government intend constructing a Lighthouse on the Island of Bald Head, in Lake Ontario, in the Province of Ontario, for which an appropriation was made last year?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I can inform my hon. friend that it is the intention of Government to construct a lighthouse there. The plans are now ready, and invitations for tenders will be issued during the week.

THE HARBOUR OF QUEBEC.

Mr. FRECHETTE asked whether it is the intention of the Government to have the South Shore represented among the five Commissioners to be appointed by the Executive for the Harbour of Quebec?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The matter is under the consideration of the Government at present.

GRAVING DOCK FOR QUEBEC.

Mr. FRECHETTE enquired whether the Government have come to a decision with regard to the site of the proposed Graving Dock for the Harbour of Quebec; or whether it is the intention of the Government to send their Engineers to examine the different contemplated sites in the proper season to ascertain the action of the ice?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government Engineers are at present examining the sites, and we can come to no determination until their report is received.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I thought the site was settled some time ago.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My hon. friend is mistaken. There has been no intimation of the Government, I am sure, or of any member of the Government, that it was settled.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Or expecting it to be?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Or expecting.

RAILWAY RETURNS.

Mr. IRVING asked what Railway Companies have made Returns to the Honourable the Minister of Public

Works in accordance with the second and third sections of the Act of last Session entitled "An Act to extend "and amend the Law requiring Railway Companies to furnish Returns of their Capital, Traffic and Working Expenditure;" and whether the Returns required by the fifth section of the said Act will be laid before Parliament within twenty-one days from the commencement of this Session in pursuance of the said Act?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not observe the first part of my hon. friend's question asking to give the names of the Companies; but I may say that the Returns have not been very well furnished. Comparatively few, I believe, have sent Returns, although I have issued circulars repeatedly on the subject. Those furnished, such as they are, will of course be presented to the House in conformity with the statute. I may perhaps take advantage of this opportunity, although scarcely within the scope of the question, to inform the House that the Government find a difficulty in obtaining accurate statistics under the law to which my hon. friend refers. We have taken steps to get complete and accurate statistics of all the railways, and those will be published in a volume showing the location of all roads built, in the course of construction, and the lines projected, so as to place complete information on this subject in the hands of the public.

BRANCH RAILWAY.

Mr. BLANCHET enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to build a branch railway from St. Charles, County of Bellechasse, to St. Joseph de Lévis, in order that the western terminus of the Intercolonial Railway should be fixed near the Harbour of Quebec?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to build this railway.

MAILS TO THE OCEAN STEAMERS.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired whether the Government have entered into a contract with the Messrs. Cantin, of Montreal, for the construction of a steam tender to transport mails from Father Point to the Ocean steamers;

Mr. IRVING.

and if so, whether tenders were publicly invited before such contract was entered into?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government have entered into a contract with Messrs. Cantin, their offer being the lowest of the shipbuilding firms to whom circulars were sent inviting tenders for this service.

BOUNDARY LINE.

Mr. ROSCOE asked whether the Government have taken any steps to procure a settlement of the Boundary Line between Alaska and British Columbia, especially where said line crosses the Stikkeen River?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government took steps by asking a vote for this purpose, but we have not found a willingness on the other side of the line to join in a commission at the present time to ascertain the boundary. We have, therefore, invited the United States Government to fix upon a boundary on the river. That Government have complained that some Canadian settlers have located upon the United States side of the line of that river. The Government will endeavour to obtain a settlement of that particular point, but we cannot proceed without the sanction of the United States authorities.

TRADE WITH THE WEST INDIES.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL enquired whether any and what steps have been taken by the Government to open up a trade with the British and Foreign West Indies and South America; whether any and what person has been appointed in connection with that service; also what instructions have been given by the Government to such person or Agent in connection with the same?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman is aware, I believe, that we invited tenders last year for a steam mail service—ostensibly for the mail service, but really with an endeavour to open up a trade between Canada and the West Indies. Those tenders were not so moderate as to justify us in accepting the lowest of them. Since that time we have been endeavouring to collect such information as would enable us to take some action with regard

to the West Indian trade. The abnormal political state in some of the principal islands, however, is such that we cannot make much progress until existing differences are settled. No person has been formally appointed to go there on behalf of the Government, but we are at present engaged in prosecuting some enquiries which we hope will lead to some result. We have nothing to bring down to the House on the subject, but I will inform the hon. gentlemen privately at any time of all the facts in our possession.

FISHERY PRIVILEGES.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all Orders in Council, instructions to officers, reports from officers, with all correspondence to or from officials or private individuals or public bodies in connection with the arbitrary attempt of the Government to compel the occupants of Fisheries in the Maritime Provinces to an enforced attornment to the Government and an arbitrary deprivation of their rights which have for at least a quarter of a century been used and enjoyed by them. The hon. gentleman said:—"I may state for the information of the House, that the Fisheries in the Maritime Provinces, for the last three-quarters of a century, have been used and enjoyed by the people owning the lands in front of the rivers, bays and estuaries of those Provinces. It has been universally admitted and publicly recognized that such persons have the right to fish in front of their lands; and any change which disturbs the relations of not one, but the whole Provinces, must necessarily create a great deal of public excitement and interest. I was surprised in the month of May last to find that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries--and in dealing with this question I wish to refer to him with all courtesy and with that respect which I generally try to engraft on to any resolutions I make in regard to this Department--I was surprised that the hon. gentleman sprang upon the country Orders in Council which revolutionised and created more excitement in the county I represent than anything has done since Confederation. The hon. gentleman will understand that I

don't desire to use any offensive terms, but to speak of facts as they strike my mind. My hon. friend knows that during the agitation of the Confederation question, in which he took a considerable part, some very strong arguments were used by the opponents of the movement. If I remember rightly, one of the principal points made by them was addressed to the fishermen and farmers in this manner. "If you go into Confederation, what do you think you will gain? What do they desire to unite with you for? First, to pay their debts. Well, how will they accomplish that? By taxing you in every way." The argument advanced by myself and others who advocated the other side was, that there was no such intention on the part of the Canadian gentlemen who represented at the Quebec Conference the public sentiment of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. We told the people that there was no desire to do anything which might wrong any class in the Maritime Provinces. There is not in this House a member, whether he represents Ontario, Manitoba, or the Pacific Province, who desires to impose upon the people of one Province a tax in violation of pledges given at the time of Confederation. It will be in the recollection of hon. gentlemen that during the first year it became the duty of the gentlemen at the head of the departments of Government at Ottawa to carefully revise the existing laws, and to consider how far they should apply to the different Provinces that came into the Union. Some of those laws were models to be followed and were well adapted for all the Provinces; and it became my duty to pass upon the laws connected with the Department over which I then presided. Sir, one of the measures it became necessary to consider at a very early stage in the legislation of the Dominion related to the fisheries; and I appeal to your honour to bear testimony to the correctness of the statement I now make, and to my hon. friend from Cumberland to endorse it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That measure, now in the Statute Book, was submitted to the House by myself, not as anything new, framed for the purpose

of being applied to every portion of the Dominion; and when this was done, no man could dare say that he could pretend to give to it the construction my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries does, in the report he has made to the Council, and by the Government in its adoption and the issue of the Order in Council I hold in my hand. It will be recollected by hon. gentlemen,—and I regret that my late leader is not in the House—I did not have the honor of then sitting in this Chamber—when the measure was under consideration the question was asked from this side of the House by my hon. friend from Cumberland, whether or not it would deprive the people of the Maritime Provinces of the rights and privileges they had enjoyed for years and years; and it will be remembered that my right hon. friend, the member for Kingston, in reply, stated that it would in no way alter the relation of these fishermen towards the Government and their property. These pledges coming from the Government, responsible for the legislation of the country, were accepted as satisfactory. I will not pretend to say that I took the responsibility, any more than any other non-professional member, of the legal construction of all measures I had any share in submitting. But Sir, when the leader of the late Government, the Minister of Justice, who was responsible for the advice he gave, distinctly declared what I have mentioned, in relation to these fishermen, concerning the use of the property they had held in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for three-quarters of a century, and in some cases for a century, I was satisfied. What however do we find? My hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in May, 1875, launched upon the country a series of Orders in Council affecting these privileges, and I notice that the original date was March of that year, but before issue March was struck out, and May substituted. I will have something to say at a later stage of this debate in this regard; but in the mean time I will state I think it was the duty of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, before he took action to have submitted to the

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

House resolutions of such importance and so seriously affecting so large a portion of the people of this country and further a breach of faith, in fact, with the Province from which I come. He should have given the representatives of the population interested an opportunity of addressing, and seeing whether this House would deliberately assent to such action. Since the first settlement, and I may say at the first settlement, of the country in that part—I speak more particularly of the locality I know best and the county to which I belong, through which the second river in the Province runs—families from father to son have held such privileges upon the fisheries; upon them they relied chiefly for subsistence, for it was not until long afterwards that the lumber interest became important and a great source of wealth, they occupied farms, and owned the fishing limits in front of them without restriction or taxation in any way whatever. When we were struggling to obtain the union of these Provinces, it became necessary to consider the effect which the Laws of Canada would have on the people of our own Province; and I communicated to these people my belief that no interference would be attempted with their rights; also that I would take an early opportunity of submitting their claims.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Did you put it in the Act?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I will tell my hon. friend I believed I did put it in the Act, and I challenge him to find authority in it for the construction he endeavours to put upon it. I will read the only authority which he pretends to possess for the legislation. I would not say legislation, but the arbitrary exercise of a very arbitrary power. Now, in all this volume, the only portion in this regard—if I am wrong my hon. friend will correct me—is the second clause:—"The Minister of Marine and Fisheries may, where the exclusive right of fishing does not already exist by law,"—

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—"Issue, or authorized to be issued of fishery leases and licenses, for fisheries and fishing

"wheresoever situated or carried on, but leases or licenses for any term exceeding nine years shall be issued only under authority of an order of the Governor in Council." I shall explain the meaning of the clauses as I and hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House understood it. A system was in vogue in Canada for the purpose of leasing fishing privileges on rivers; and the object of the latter part touching extension to nine years, was introduced to give to gentlemen desirous of fly-fishing such right for that period of time. I will frankly admit that the system which prevailed in Quebec and also in Ontario, but less extensively, countenanced the granting of leases and licenses, because no exclusive rights had any existence, therefore it was stated in the Act, "where the exclusive right does not already exist by law," and I challenge my hon. friend to point to any other section giving him authority for what he has done. I feel that the House will not construe the clause in that way, sweeping away these privileges and springing a mine upon the people. The regulation was adopted before the House adjourned last year, and when my hon. friend brought down the Estimates, he should have taken the House into his confidence, as I hold he was bound to do according to Constitutional Law. Correspondence has passed between us on the subject, and we understand the matter very thoroughly. I know that he will tell the House that two or three decisions have been delivered in New Brunswick Courts, negating the idea that any exclusive privileges exist in law. He quoted in his letters three cases; but the first does not sustain the position he assumes. I frankly admit that the second, under the ruling of Mr. Justice Ritchie, now of the Supreme Court, does take strong ground, and states that no exclusive right exists; but I maintain that by the opinion of no single judge, however eminent, the rights of a Province can be swept away. No appeal was taken, and we have had no opportunity of learning whether his decision was correct or otherwise. The third is an entirely different case and does not affect the question under consideration. Now, Sir, my hon. friend will say

that this is no new system; and in reply to me, he stated, that the system of taxation had already existed in our Province. This I most unhesitatingly deny; a number of magistrates in my county merely recommended that a registration fee of fifty cents should be imposed on the nets of the fishermen for the purpose of registration alone, and on this he bases his statement that his policy was sanctioned by the Province. I know something about the transaction, having been one of those magistrates, and I am aware that it was to create a registration fee, and pay an officer to keep an accurate record of the nets used, see that they were not beyond a certain length and of the right size, and in cases of dispute among the fishermen, or violations of the laws, be able to prove who was the transgressor; therefore it was not at all for the purposes of taxation.

The law on the subject in New Brunswick provides for Orders in Council regulating the fee. The only law they ever passed in this regard regulated the distances to be taken up on a river from the mouth to its source, the length of nets used and the mode of fishing. I hold, in consequence, that my hon. friend will be unable to sustain his position. Fifty cents were charged for fifty fathoms, and, if I remember aright, twenty-five cents for every other fifty fathoms, simply for registration purposes; and this was intended as a fund to pay the officer. I think that my hon. friend has taken a very extraordinary course. He replied in a letter that he could not make exceptional legislation in favour of New Brunswick; but what has he done? He has legislated against New Brunswick, and omitted Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia, and the only Province to which he has extended the portion of the law concerning taxation is New Brunswick. He has imposed \$1 on every 200 lbs. of salmon, and 50 cents for every 200 lbs. of bass, and I consider that this can scarcely be justified. I will go further; not satisfied with this, he has in a most deliberate manner placed a tax upon the fishermen of certain portions of the Province, in a way which applied to them unjustly

and unfairly, forming certain sections against other sections; salmon are only caught in the northern rivers to any great extent, save in St. Johns' Harbour, and bordering St. Johns' and King's counties, in the rivers of Northumberland, Restigouche, and Gloucester counties, and he has selected the two classes of fish taken in these rivers; the bass fishing is of vast importance, and I will quote from a paper evidence of the extent to which it is carried on just now:

"**SR. JOHN**, Feb. 3.—The transport of frozen and fresh fish from northern New Brunswick over the Intercolonial Railroad, is assuming large proportions. Last week 115,000 barrels were brought to St. Johns for shipment to the United States markets."

The fresh fish taken in winter in our Province are chiefly bass, and this fishery is very important, giving occupation to a large number of people. This order will, therefore, seriously affect the Province if it is carried out. My hon. friend proposes to impose a tax upon salmon and bass alone. He knows very well in the county from which he comes there is neither salmon nor bass, therefore, admitting it is a legal tax, it is unfair, because it presses upon the inhabitants of certain counties. My hon. friend may say "we have no bass or salmon fisheries, but we have shad fisheries which we tax." He puts one dollar per weir.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I think the correspondence will show there is no weir in my county at all.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Then it is all the worse. The tax will not apply at all to his county. The fact is, my hon. friend has practically exempted from the operation of these regulations the counties of Westmoreland, Albert, Kings', Queens', York, Carleton, Victoria and Charlotte, or nearly so, and I hold he has pursued a course that is not justifiable. But what is the reason they have not applied it to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward as well as to New Brunswick?

My hon. friend has chosen to take exception to the course I have pursued with regard to the people of my county. In his organs I have been assailed for exciting sedition among the people of Northumberland.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—My hon. friend says "hear, hear," but if he reads history he may take a lesson from it. He will find that Orders in Council have not always been the most successful mode of imposing taxation. What right has my hon. friend to assume that he has the powers of Parliament? He may say he has the power by law to impose licenses, but that does not empower to him to levy a tax of so much per hundred pounds. I hold it was the duty of the hon. gentleman when he proposed to bring in an important change, affecting the most vital interests of any class of people and taking away rights and privileges which they had enjoyed for three-quarters of a century—it was his duty, having his policy matured in March, while Parliament was in Session, to come down to the people's representatives and ask them to give him authority to impose this tax, and to give us an opportunity of discussing the question.

My hon. friend says I initiated this policy, and that it was my intention to have adopted the very thing that I now find fault with. He says, by my own Orders in Council and my own reports, it is apparent I would have pursued the very same course. I tell him that I would not. He says I agreed to go for a system of uniformity. I did so, when the present Premier took exception to the existence of two systems—the licensing system in Ontario and Quebec, and the other in the Maritime Provinces. I told him then that I was prepared to go for uniformity as far as possible, but I was not prepared to take away rights and privileges from the people of my own Province by imposing a tax upon their own property that they had paid for and inherited.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Why didn't you do it?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Because the hon. gentleman and men like him turned us out. If I had remained in power I would have kept my promise as I always do.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—You said that the hon. member for Kingston, who was then Leader of the Government, made a promise at the time of the

union that the rights of the fishermen of New Brunswick would not be interfered with; then why did you make a promise that you would have the system uniform?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Is my hon. friend so obtuse that he cannot see how uniformity could be attained without interfering with those rights? My intention was to adapt the free system to Ontario and Quebec.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—The hon. gentleman urged this promise of the hon. member for Kingston as a reason why he should not make it uniform.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I did nothing of the kind, I appeal to the Premier to say whether I did or not.

When he complained of the existence of the two systems, I said that the Lower Provinces came into the Union with the pledge that these rights would be respected, but that I was in favour of uniformity. I never said that I would not give the same privileges to the people of Ontario and Quebec that were enjoyed by the fishermen of New Brunswick, because the fishing interests of those Provinces were not of the same importance. I know cases in which people have paid one or two thousand dollars for a portion of beach on which you could not grow a blade of grass, for the right which is now taken away from them. Is it to be tolerated that by Order in Council these rights shall be swept away without compensation? If the hon. gentleman wishes to assimilate the systems, let him remove whatever tax the fishermen of Ontario and Quebec may consider burdensome, but do not attempt to get a revenue out of the earnings of the unfortunate fishermen, or take away from them the rights they have so long enjoyed. The hon. gentleman says he based his action on the reports which I made. That statement was uttered in May last, and as soon as I saw it I at once wrote to the Department asking for the two reports which were said to have been made by myself, and which were made the basis of this unjust proceeding. He was not satisfied in perpetrating a wrong on the Province to which he as well as myself belongs, but he has, to shield himself, placed the onus of that wrong on me.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I do not acknowledge it to be wrong.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That is quite possible. He may know it to be wrong without acknowledging his fault. When I went to my county last summer the hon. gentleman's letter was flourished at me by my opponents and by their press. Now, I may explain when these reports were made by me they were made in consequence of an application coming from the Mr. Adam Ferguson, who owned fishing stands on the New Brunswick side of the Restigouche River, for a license such as was held by his friends on the opposite or Quebec side. He saw that by the possession of licenses they were protected in case of disputes, by the officers of *La Canadienne* which was sent there to look after the fisheries. In disputes among the fishermen one would occasionally encroach upon another's fishing grounds. Having a knowledge of the fishermen for some fifty years, I must say such disputes are of very rare occurrence, but when they did happen, the advantage of holding a license was clearly seen, and this led Mr. Ferguson to apply for one. This was the first case and it was such a novel application that I made this report to Council:—

[COPY.]

DEPARTMENT OF MARINE AND FISHERIES,
FISHERIES BRANCH,

OTTAWA, 22nd December, 1869.

The undersigned has the honour to submit for the consideration of Council, the annexed application of Adam Ferguson, Esq., of the County of Restigouche, in the Province of New Brunswick, for a license to fish on a station which he and his family have occupied for the last seventy years.

The system of granting leases and licenses for fishing stations has prevailed for many years in the Province of Quebec and Ontario, at rates varying in different parts of these Provinces from a nominal sum in some portions of the Province, to an actual cash value in other portions.

The Department, prior to its present organization, found it most difficult, and considered it unwise to adopt a uniform system which would materially unsettle existing arrangements.

At the time of the Union, systems of governing or regulating the fisheries of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia prevailed more or less perfect, and when the Fisheries Act of 1868 was passed, certain restrictions were

introduced and limitations of the Law, as applied to these Provinces, and hitherto no change has been applied to them in the direction of leasing or licensing the commercial fisheries, it being hitherto considered unwise as a matter of policy to resort to that system.

By the annexed application it will be seen that Adam Ferguson, Esq., who is a descendant of one of the oldest settlers and fishermen on the Restigouche, and who with his ancestors have fished the station for the last 70 years, now voluntarily asks that the protection which the license system affords, and which he has seen the benefit of on the Canadian side of the Restigouche, be extended to him, the better to ensure him the quiet occupancy and the legal recognition in his station.

This being the first case of an application for license by the occupant of a station in New Brunswick, the undersigned has deemed it his duty to submit the same to Council, and begs to recommend that a license at a valuation by the Local Inspector be granted to Mr. Ferguson for the station asked for.

Respectfully submitted.

P. MITCHELL,
Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Now, Sir, there is a case. Mr. Ferguson voluntarily asks. My report stated when any party voluntarily asks those things Government were willing he should have them. But what did Government do? Did they adopt that policy? No; I was asked to reconsider the question and make another report, which I did. On the 27th January, 1870, I made this Report:—

DEPARTMENT OF MARINE AND FISHERIES,
FISHERIES BRANCH.

OTTAWA, 27th January, 1870.

The undersigned has the honor to bring under the notice of the Privy Council certain provisions of the Fisheries Act respecting the use of leases and licenses for fishing stations.

It has been the practice of the Government under the fishery laws in existence anterior to the Confederation of the provinces, to grant exclusive leases and licenses in Ontario and Quebec for the chief net fishing stations for white fish and salmon in the lakes and tidal water; also for angling stations in the salmon rivers emptying into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence,

In the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick no system of the kind was established under the Provincial Acts and regulations, although in the first named Province the Local Government was in the habit of renting to individuals exclusive privileges of fly fishing for salmon.

The Statute passed in the first Dominion Parliament was made applicable to the various provinces, but left in force certain

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of the fishery laws and regulations then existing in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Canadian Act does not forbid any kind of fishing without leases or licenses, but permits of their being granted by this Department *when the right remains public*, and provides a penalty against other persons fishing within limit so let for exclusive occupation. It has been found in most cases occurring in Ontario and Quebec by parties who desire to carry on their fishing operations without molestation, and who wish to secure themselves permanently in establishing the fisheries and trade arrangements connected therewith, the whole involving considerable capital; that the leasing system affords them greater security and enhances the value of their outlay as a matter of commercial business. They have therefore been wishing, (and in many cases been anxious) to obtain such titles and pay rents for them; with the exception of places for which there was much competition, the majority of stations are rented at nominal rates,—the Government considering the system as a means of protection and regulation, rather than a source of direct revenue.

There are doubtless in the Maritime districts numerous fishing stations where the parties have been in peaceable occupation for a long time, and being in instances riparian proprietors they think they have acquired a sort of possession by such prior occupancy. They may also desire to secure their holdings by lease or license.

The undersigned does not consider it desirable at present to recommend the application of the same system to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The condition of the fisheries in these Provinces, and the fact of the local Fishery Laws never having until lately been enforced in an effective manner, renders it probable that the people would be very impatient under the necessary restrictions.

The undersigned would however respectfully suggest, in all cases where it can be clearly shewn that parties are in the peaceable use of any salmon fishing stations in the Provinces, and apply for leases or licenses, that he be authorized to accede to their applications.

This partial introduction of a system which has proved beneficial to the fishing interests and improved the public supply in other portions of the Dominion, might lead to a gradual extension of the system at such times, and in such forms as shall render it generally acceptable.

The whole nevertheless respectfully submitted,

P. MITCHELL,
Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Now, Sir, I may say my hon. friend fails in the statement he makes in the letter of the 12th of July, when he quotes as the basis of his action these reports of mine, to place the onus of this unfortunate and repulsive legislation upon the precedent established by myself. He fails in that attempt and has

done me great injustice in endeavouring to make me responsible, instead of boldly bearing it himself. When I heard of this action I addressed a letter, on the 5th May, 1875, which has gone the rounds of the public prints, to the Minister of Marine, in which I stated the objections to the policy which presented themselves to my mind, and stated that there was no sanction of law for adopting it, and that, moreover, it was in violation of a pledge given by the Minister of Justice from his place in Parliament when the law was passed. What was the course pursued by the officers of the Government? The people were told that if they would not accept leases their stands would be taken from them, and many of them in terror lest they should lose their stations, complied. But I am very glad to find the large majority of the people waited to see what their representative had to say before taking this step. I had not been in the county six hours before I was met by four delegations asking me to attend public meetings in order to find out the true state of the case. I did attend those meetings, which were numerous attended, and told them I would not take the responsibility of advising them, because it was a question whether the Act had been properly construed by the Minister of Marine or by myself. I recommended them to take the best legal advice, and ascertain exactly what their legal rights were and how far the Government, through the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, had attempted to invade them, at the same time telling that if it was found the Hon. Minister was right to attend at once, but if not to fight to the death. And here, I may tell my hon. friend, that he has excited a feeling in that section of the county which will not be very easily allayed. I have seen no reason to change my opinion as to the construction of the Act, but even if it can be construed as the hon. Minister endeavours to construe it, he fails to show that he bases his policy on anything that I have done. And even if the Act is as he construes it, a statement given by a Minister during his term ought not to be lightly violated. The hon. gentleman should come down to Parliament before taking

this step, and if Parliament will adopt the policy and deprive a large number of persons of their rights, guaranteed by three-quarters of a century of occupancy, I will be very much surprised. I do not believe it will, and I appeal to the people of Canada in behalf of their countrymen of the Maritime Provinces, to carefully consider this matter. The gentlemen from Nova Scotia should interest themselves in this question. My hon. friend wants to get the entering wedge in. It is only \$4 or \$5 a year, we are told; but next year it will be \$10 or \$20, and by and by it will be hard to say what it will be. If the policy is sustained it must be extended to Nova Scotia, to British Columbia, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba. I do not wish to take up any more of the time of the House. This is a question of vital importance to the people of the section from which I come. If I have gone into the personal side of the matter it is because the press the hon. gentleman controls from one end of the Province to the other, have attacked and charged me with an attempt to arouse against the Government ill-feeling, which I now positively disclaim.

I gave them good, sound advice according to my light and best judgment, and I have tried to show here that the Government have no power in that Act to take away from the people the rights they enjoyed. I invite the attention of this Parliament to see that no injustice is done and that the pledges given by public men on so important a point should not be lightly set aside.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I think that my hon. friend has pursued a somewhat unusual course with respect to this motion. He should have waited until the papers were before the House before he delivered himself, when hon. members would be in a position to judge of the issue between us. My hon. friend has anticipated the papers, and it is necessary that I should also quote to some extent from the correspondence. I think I shall be able to show that my hon. friend in office was an entirely different man from what he is out of office—that every step he took when presiding over the Department of Marine and Fisheries pointed to the ultimate assimila-

tion of the rights and relations with regard to this particular matter over the entire Dominion.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That is not correct.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—If the hon. gentleman had waited for the introduction of the papers, every one, I think, would see that what I infer is correct, and that testimony produced before the Courts clearly prove it. The hon. gentleman says that this Government has been guilty of an act of arbitrary conduct in reference to the fishermen of New Brunswick. If I have been guilty of arbitrary conduct, I think I can convict my hon. friend on his own evidence of the highest acts of tyranny. The hon. gentleman states that an attempt has been made to take rights from the fishermen which they have enjoyed for three-quarters of a century. I deny it. He also takes the ground that the riparian proprietors in New Brunswick have the exclusive right to fish opposite their own lands. I will say to this House that there is no such Law. The question has been adjudicated upon by the Courts in New Brunswick, which were of the unanimous opinion that no such right existed. If I succeed in establishing this fact, my hon. friend will have to acknowledge that he is entirely wrong, and did me great injustice.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I know all you can prove.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—If my hon. friend knows it, very well; but it seems to me that he cannot take a judicial view of the question at all. It will be in the recollection of the House, that the late Chief Justice Ritchie gave it as his individual opinion, and there was no appeal from his decision.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I said appeal in the Superior Court.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—The case was tried in *nisi prius*. The Judge charged the jury in a particular way, and an appeal was taken to the Court in Banco, which was unanimously of opinion that the parties had no exclusive rights whatever.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Can my hon. friend not read the case?

Hon. Mr. SMITH.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Yes; it is the case of *Rose vs. Belyea*, first volume of Hannay's Law Reports, and it is as follows:—

"This was an action of trespass, tried before Ritchie, C.J., at the east Kingston Court. The damage complained of was the tearing of the plaintiff's net by defendant, while the defendant was fishing with it in the river St. John, within the ebb and flow of the tide, opposite to the land of the defendant, who claimed the exclusive right of fishing there. The learned judge directed the jury that there was no exclusive right of fishing in a navigable river; that the right of fishing in a navigable tidal river was in the public; and that the ownership of the land gave the defendant no right to interfere with a party fishing in the front of it. Verdict for the plaintiff, \$40.

Barker now moved for a new trial on the grounds:—1, Misdirection; 2, that the damages were excessive, the actual damage done to the net being according to plaintiff's own evidence only \$2, and he was not entitled to exemplary damages. *Mayne on Damages*, 351; *Price vs. Severn* (7 Brig. 316)

Per Curiam.—The soil of a public navigable river is in the Crown and the right of fishing belongs to the public. Since Magna Charta the Crown cannot grant the exclusive right of fishing in a public navigable river to a private individual. The claim set up by the defendant of the exclusive right to fish in front of his own land entirely failed. *Malcolmson vs. O'Dea* (9 Jur. N.S. 1,135.)"

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That case was never appealed.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I suppose the hon. gentleman wants it to go to the Queen and Privy Council.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I do.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Then why didn't you get it there?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Because I had nothing to do with it. That case was remote from my county.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Yes; but the principle is the same. Well, my hon. friend cannot impose on the credulity of the House in that way. The principal is the same in Kings County as in the County of Northumberland; the rights of these people are identical, and therefore what is applicable to one county is equally applicable to the another. My hon. friend has chosen to set up his arbitrary opinion against the solemn and unanimous decision of a Court with the Chief Justice at its head. Why did they not appeal to the Privy Council? Because, I suppose,

the lawyers said it would be absurd to do so. Now, surely, my hon. friend must submit to that law which is in force in New Brunswick as well as throughout the rest of the Dominion. He deliberately says—and I was rather startled, and I think that the House was startled, and that the country will be amazed to hear it—that it was his intended policy, if the Government had not been ousted, to abolish the system of license and leases, and assimilate the law to the practice which had prevailed in New Brunswick. I wonder who ever heard of it before? Certainly, I think, no employé in the Department, or any member of this House. This is rather remarkable, and does not seem to harmonize with the reasons with which he has justified the difference in the systems, and the assurance given by Sir John A. Macdonald across the floor of this House. I do not know what the right hon. gentleman said at the time; but this I can say, that the rights of the people of this country cannot rest upon a basis like that; but while this was under discussion, if such was the understanding, why did not my hon. friend insert it in the Act?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I never dreamt of such a construction being put upon it.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—What construction?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The construction you put upon it.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I will show you this, that those proprietors had no rights such as those in question, secured them by law.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—You cannot do it.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I will prove beyond question that you yourself have so stated.

Now then, Sir, what I say to my hon. friend is—if it be the fact, and if it was understood in this Parliament, that the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia should be exempted from the general law introduced by himself, why was it not put in the Act, when a few words would have accomplished the purpose? The second section states: "The Minister of Marine and Fisheries

"may, where the exclusive right of fishing does not already exist by law"—that is the exception, and wherever the privilege does so exist, the Minister has no power, but otherwise he has full power and control—"can issue, or authorize to be issued, fishery leases and licenses for fisheries and fishing wherever situated or carried on; but the leases or licenses for any term not exceeding nine years shall be issued only under authority of an order of the Governor in Council."

My hon. friend had great power; and it is extremely doubtful whether the Minister of Marine and Fisheries should have such power. I can quite understand that a Minister might use it generously, but I think it undesirable he should possess it. Before the change of Government my hon. friend granted a great many licenses in New Brunswick to sportsmen for nine years, at a small price for so valuable a privilege; and if we had them to sell over again we could obtain four or five times as much.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Will my hon. friend state the cases and I will soon endeavour to answer him.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I only allude to the general question.

My hon. friend says that the Government has acted in a most arbitrary manner. He cites the second clause, but does he not know that there is another clause which gives greater power to the Administration? His pretensions are extraordinary; and what has the Government done in this case? He admits we have certain powers but he maintains that the Government has arrogated to itself a power it did not possess, in order to coerce the people of Northumberland County into paying a tax, to the destruction of their rights. It seems to me manifest, that the people of New Brunswick should be subject to the same rules in this regard, as the inhabitants of Ontario and Quebec. I could not justify in my own conscience any other course. I have looked over the records of the Department, and I find that my hon. friend had evidently been under a similar conviction. I say, therefore, it seemed to me utterly unfair to act otherwise, and I was willing to undertake or share the responsibility of introducing there the system followed in

Ontario and Quebec. I was quite aware that it would be unpopular; such action ever is, but my duty was plain. I would rather not have imposed a regulation obnoxious to my people; but I laid aside personal interests. I find, also, that my hon. friend, in order to make a little capital out of this, goes back on himself.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Do not impugn my motives.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—What did my hon. friend do in Quebec? Did he increase the taxation of the people, without announcing his policy to this House? I wonder that he does not recollect it. I can show what he did. He imposed from 50 cents. to \$1 a barrel on salmon of his own mere arbitrary will, without reference to the Government or this House. Where is my despotism when compared to this?

I acted with the approval of the whole Government. I have the evidence in my own hand if he disputes it.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I do not dispute that; but I do not hold that two wrongs make a right.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I have just got my hon. friend where I wanted him.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—All right, hear I am, my hon. friend.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—My hon. friend acknowledges that he had done wrong in this case; and I wanted to convict him, and show that if I were guilty of tyranny and despotism, it was shared by my colleagues. He declares that the tax levied on the fishermen of Northumberland was intolerable; and that there was a registration regulation made by the municipal authorities of the county.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I say that it was recommended by the Municipal body of the county.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I do not know what was recommended, but I understood you to say, that it was for registration purposes.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Well, I did say so.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I will show that this, as other statements he has made, is inaccurate; and convict him of having made a false statement before the House.

Hon. Mr. SMITH. .

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Go on.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—In the New Brunswick Act 1863, I find Section 12, which runs as follows:—

“The Governor in Council may impose and levy an annual tax on every net used for the taking of salmon on the sea coast or in the bays and rivers in this Province not exceeding fifty cents for every net fifty fathoms in length, and one-half cent for every fathom above fifty fathoms; and may also enforce and levy such annual tax as may be deemed reasonable, on all and every engine, weir or trap used for taking fish in the rivers or on the sea coast or in the bays of this Province.”

This was the law in New Brunswick in 1863; and Section 13 runs as follows—

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—We have read all this.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—You have, but not the House; you said that there was no law.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I did not.

Hon. Gentlemen—Order! Order!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—What I said was this:—that Justices of the Peace in the County of Northumberland recommended the Government to take such action, and the Government passed that law with reference to the issue of an Order in Council, the tax being paid into the Municipal Treasury.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I will show you now that you have only made the matter worse—that you have committed another inaccuracy. You say that it was a registration fee; I have shown that it was a tax. The 13th Section provides:—

“That the taxes imposed under the provisions of this Act, or the regulations to be made by authority thereof, shall be collected by the Wardens in the respective districts, and shall be paid by them into the Provincial Treasury in such manner as the Governor in Council may direct; and it shall be the duty of the Wardens to make full and correct returns of the amounts so collected and paid over by them respectively, annually, on the 31st day of October in each year, such returns to be forthwith transmitted to the Auditor General.”

What does the hon. gentleman say about that? He told us that it was a municipal tax, paid into the county funds; but here is a law declaring that it was a tax to be paid into the

hands of the Receiver General or the Governor in Council who exercises the power to which I have referred, under this Act, made the following rule and regulation:—

“The owner or owners of nets used for the purpose of taking salmon, shall be liable to and pay the following annual tax, namely: For every net so used of fifty fathoms in length, fifty cents, and for every fathom over fifty, one-half cent; and the owner of every weir or trap used or set for the purpose of taking any fish, shall pay an annual tax of one dollar for every such weir, and of ten dollars for every such trap.”

My hon. friend, in the letter he has addressed to me, has charged me with partiality to my own community; he says that its residents were only taxed \$1 per weir, and the fishermen in other sections \$10. I showed, however, to my hon. friend in my reply that there was not a weir in my county, and therefore his accusation entirely falls to the ground. My hon. friend essayed to give the matter another turn, as to the issue between us.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I said I would show that my hon. friend had during his administration stated distinctly that these proprietors had no exclusive rights. I wrote:—

“Although the question as to whether riparian proprietors have the exclusive right of fishing opposite their land is a legal one, and is really not involved in the controversy between us, it is as well, perhaps, to discuss it briefly.

“You have unreservedly given it as your opinion that they have this right. On this point I distinctly take issue with you, and will call you as a witness against yourself to show that in 1870 your opinion was then in accordance with mine. In your report to Council (which was erroneously printed of Council) referred to in my former letter as dated 27th January, 1870, you use this language: ‘There are doubtless in the Maritime districts numerous fishery stations where the parties have been in peaceable occupation for a long time, and being in some instances riparian proprietors they think they have acquired a sort of preference by such prior occupancy. They may also desire to secure these holdings by leases or licenses.’”

Now, I would ask my hon. friend what he meant by this? He alleges that these people, having exercised the right for so many years, fancied that they could claim it by some priority of occupancy, but that they did not have the exclusive privilege they imagined they possessed. I think my hon.

friend is well aware of the fact, that I had no object in persecuting the people of my own Province. I thought that we were dealing with them in a most benignant way. I felt the responsibility of introducing the system which had prevailed in Ontario and Quebec, and I was prepared to assume it. In 1874, the system of licenses was adopted, when I was told that in Quebec payment had been made for some years at the rate of \$1 per barrel for salmon taken, and I could only in all honesty introduce the policy into New Brunswick. In one year we issued licenses to the number of twenty-five on the Restigouche River, and it worked admirably. The people were well satisfied. The next year I thought it better to continue the system beyond the Restigouche, and the first duty imposed was \$1 per barrel. I adopted the standard of my hon. predecessor. When this Order in Council was promulgated, delegations came and stated that the Fisheries were very much depressed. I replied at once if the representations were made to the head of the Department they would have been listened to willingly. The tax was reduced to 40 cents, not for New Brunswick alone, but also for Quebec. Well, we had petitions from the very fishermen of the county which my hon. friend represents. They stated distinctly they did not object to pay the tax, and that it was only fair they should contribute something to the maintenance of this branch of the public service. They knew that a fish-breeding establishment had been placed on the Miramichi, and they stated they were prepared to pay their share for its maintenance. I will quote their petition as it is summarized in my letter to the hon. member:—

“I have received petitions from the fishermen of Miramichi, couched in suitable and becoming language, and written in a spirit which does them great credit, and gives evidence of their intelligence and respectability. Differing from you, they recognize the justice of the charge, and express a willingness to contribute: to use their own language—‘Your petitioners are not opposed to contributing their fair proportion of the cost of maintaining the protective and propagating organisation and establishments of the Department,’ &c. This sentiment is commendable, and merits the approbation of every honest and right-

minded man. The Government ask the fishermen to do no more; and if they can show that the tax is, under present circumstances, too high, I am quite prepared to recommend a reduction; and I may here say that I think they have made out a good case, and one that calls for a modification of the tax."

Now, this was the spirit of the fishermen when my hon. friend entered the county and stirred up sedition among them and preached rebellion.

I find in the records of my Department the following:—

"DEPARTMENT MARINE AND FISHERIES,

OTTAWA, 11th February, 1871.

SIR,—The Minister has had under his consideration your report dated 16th December, 1869, in connection with part of your annual report for last year, relative to the rating of license fees for salmon fishery stations.

A schedule of the licenses granted in the Division under your charge for the years 1864, '65, '66, '67 and '68, showing the average catch and average license fees *per annum*, was prepared here at the time for your guidance, and you were also requested to complete this statement for the following years in order to enable you to offer your suggestions thereon, and to place the Department in a position to determine upon a fair and reliable mode of rating these stations. I herewith inclose blank forms which you will please fill up accordingly with such details for the year 1869 and 1870 of salmon fishing in your Division. This information is wanted at once and you will please lose no time in supplying it.

Upon enquiry made by Dr. Fortin, he has been informed that the increase in the rate of licenses, has been only on the new ones issued for the past two years; that the several applications for such licenses were made with a full knowledge on the part of the applicants that if granted they would be subject to the rate he complains of, and that in no case has any person objected to the same, or withdrawn his request.

Dr. Fortin has, moreover, been informed that the Minister did not contemplate at present applying any new rates to the old stands, until such time as a uniform system can be established and made applicable to the different sections of the Dominion, which subject it is proposed to carefully revise in connection with arranging some such uniform system as is above referred to.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

W. F. WHITCHER.

For the Hon. Minister of Marine & Fisheries."

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Who is that signed by?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—By Mr. Whitcher.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That is right.

Hon. Mr. SMITH.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Does my hon. friend repudiate that?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Your hon. friend will tell you what he does when he stands up to reply.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—My hon. friend says he is not responsible?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I say nothing of the kind. I am responsible, but I will explain the matter.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I will not detain the House longer; I have other records that I could cite to show the policy of my hon. friend. It is clear that it was to extend a uniform system throughout the whole Dominion. My hon. friend has said that I did not extend this to Nova Scotia. It is known that in New Brunswick we have a fish-breeding establishment on the Miramichi, placed there in his own county by my hon. friend. In Nova Scotia they had none, and I may add, the law of that Province, as it existed before Confederation, was in full operation up to last session. Wherefore the position of the two Provinces was not analogous.

The Inspector of Fisheries of New Brunswick, a protégé of my hon. friend, and an appointee of his own, recommended very strongly a tax of \$2 per barrel, and he knew very well the condition of affairs.

From the information I had, there were no such fisheries in Nova Scotia as those of the Restigouche and the Miramichi. Therefore the circumstances were to a large extent different. I believe this tax is necessary, not so much for revenue purposes, as a basis for the administration of the Department. It is not the intention of the Government directly or indirectly to interfere with the occupancy which these people have for so many years enjoyed. In deference to this feeling, I did not exact all that I had the power to do under this 19th Section of the Fisheries Act of 1868.

"The Governor in Council may from time to time make, and from time to time vary, amend or alter, all and every such regulation or regulations as shall be found necessary or deemed expedient, for the better management and regulation of the sea-coast and inland fisheries, to prevent or remedy the obstruction and pollution of streams, to regulate and prevent fishing, to prohibit the destruction of

fish, and to forbid fishing, except under authority of leases or licenses, every of which regulations shall have the same force and effect as if herein contained and enacted, notwithstanding that such regulations may extend, vary or alter any of the provisions of this Act respecting the places or modes of fishing, or the terms specified as prohibited or close seasons, and may fix such other modes, time or places as may be deemed by the Governor in Council to be adapted to different localities, or may be thought otherwise expedient."

Now, my hon. friend has overlooked that altogether. I did not pretend to exercise the power thus conferred. I felt it would be less obnoxious to the fishermen to pay a tax on the amount of fish caught than a fee which would be exacted from them whether successful or not. It is no attainment, as is shown by the Law of New Brunswick. They paid a tax on the land which they claimed as their own.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—They did not pay it.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—If the people of his own county were allowed to escape the payment of the tax, he is responsible, I believe some of them pay it while others did not.

I challenge the most complete investigation into this matter. I feel that I am not chargeable with acting in an arbitrary or tyrannical manner, but on the contrary I have treated the fishermen with the greatest consideration. I have convicted my hon. friend of many inaccuracies, and he should frankly admit that he was under a misapprehension when he told the fishermen of Northumberland that the Government were exercising arbitrary powers. All these papers will be submitted to the House, and I should very much like to have this matter thoroughly discussed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The motives attributed to me by the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries are unjust and incorrect, and I trust the attempt which he has made to raise false issues will not succeed. He has attempted, in the first place, to quote the decision of the Courts of Law to which I myself referred. The decision, as I have stated, was never appealed. I am not prepared to accept as conclusive the decision of a single Court on a single case in a matter of such importance as this.

I am not prepared to accept the decision in that case as final as to

whether the people have riparian rights or not; my hon. friend did not pursue a fair course when he knew the position the people took on the question.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I did not know that.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentleman is very ignorant of public opinion in that part. I will ask my hon. friend whether Dr. Fortin did not urge and press the necessity of extending that tax, and it was then resisted by the people of the Maritime Provinces. The justification he makes is very weak, and he should be prepared to admit that two wrongs do not make a right. The illegality of increasing the tax in Quebec had never struck me during my administration of this office. Ministers rely to a great extent upon the subhead in their Department, and the gentleman who occupies that position in the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Mr. Whiteher, is a man of great ability and thoroughly acquainted with the working of the system. The tax was made on the recommendation of the officers in charge of the District, backed up by Mr. Whiteher, and sanctioned by myself without giving as much consideration to the matter as I ought, as it was not one effecting a principle but merely increasing the rate. But I am convinced now that I was wrong, and I am not ashamed of admitting of it. The hon. gentleman has no ground to stand upon when he justifies his acts by a mistake of mine.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think there has been too much said in this debate of the opinions and views of some principal officer in the Department. That officer has no responsibility; no officer in the Department has. It would be far better to avoid mentioning Departmental officers by name when referring to their opinions, as they have nothing to do with the House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I thank the Hon. Premier for reading me a lecture, but it would have come with better taste if delivered half an hour ago when the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries began the reference to those officers.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I read from a paper.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Yes, and referred to the officers of the Department too. The hon. gentleman quoted the operation of the Act in New Brunswick, which states is to go into the revenue; but I am not prepared to say that, because that portion of the Act escaped my mind that I have made any material error in the statement of the case to this House. The hon. gentleman said I went into my county for the express purpose of creating ill-feeling and inciting rebellion. That statement is not correct. The people did not know from me that I was coming down. I go every year, and they expected me, and had written me to come; and I declare that I never induced a single person to get up in a meeting or influenced them in any way. I committed no act of rebellion, and excited no hostility to the powers that be. I instructed them to the best of my ability, and gave sound advice as to their remedies.

I don't think the hon. gentleman has satisfied this House that he acted fairly towards the Provinces. I don't think he has made any case, or touched the question which I first started. The hon. gentleman has referred to the dissatisfaction in the county. I recollect the time when we were trying to carry Confederation, when the hon. gentleman predicted that if we united with Canada, our fishery rights, among other things, would be taken away, and that the people would be ground down. My hon. friend finding that his prophetic vision—

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I said nothing of the kind during all my speeches.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I can show the hon. gentleman speeches in which they appear.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I challenge it.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Very well, I will endeavour to hunt them up. No more violent speeches were made than the hon. gentleman made, and to carry out the predictions and grind the people he has adopted this policy to verify his own prophecies. I don't propose to continue this discussion

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL,

further, but hope I shall have another opportunity to refer to it during the Session when the papers are laid before the House.

Hon. Mr. SMITH suggested that the hon. gentleman should strike out the word "arbitrary" in the address, and the papers would be forthcoming.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL struck out those words, and the motion was carried.

The House then took a recess.

AFTER RECESS

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

Mr. YOUNG—I beg to move, that an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General praying that there be laid before Parliament a statement setting forth the total number of newspapers and other periodicals in each county and city of the Dominion which have paid postage on paper "sent from the office of publication," with the total revenue received therefrom during the three months ending the 31st December last.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I see no objection to furnish, as far as possible, what the hon. gentleman asks; with the understanding that no information is to be given regarding the number of newspapers mailed from each particular office throughout the country. This would be a kind of espionage, which I am sure the hon. gentleman does not wish to exercise.

Mr. YOUNG—My motion shows no intention of asking for the circulation of each newspaper in the country. I was requested to do so, but felt that this would be improper.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Undoubtedly; but I simply desire to preclude the possibility of a misunderstanding.

The motion was carried.

REPORTS OF CUSTOMS DUTIES—GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I beg leave to move: That the copies of correspondence relating to the refund of duties to the Great Western Railway Company laid on the table of this House on the 6th of April last be referred to the Printing Committee.

I may say, Sir, in making this motion, that I desire to occupy the attention of the House for a few moments with relation to the position in which the question stands at this moment. My notice having been drawn to an item in the Public Accounts, stating that \$67,000 of customs duties had been refunded, I investigated the matter and found that it referred to a return of duties by the Government to the Great Western Railway; a small additional sum, some \$2,000 or \$3,000, was paid to another railway company—the Canada Southern. The Hon. Minister of Finance, when I ventured to challenge the propriety of this refund, stated to the House, that it was under an Order in Council passed by the late Administration. In order that I may not be accused of misquoting the hon. gentleman's words—he spoke very briefly—I will ask the indulgence of the House, and read from the Hansard. He said:—

“I will now refer to the Customs' refunds, amounting to \$7,000, these refunds were charged on a plan laid down while he himself was Minister of Customs, and established by an Order in Council, so far from the present Government desiring to maintain that rule, the very first thing we did after getting into power was to put a stop to this in the tariff brought down last year; we did that because we thought these railway companies were receiving more than they should in the matter of exemptions, and no portion of those funds were given except on the Report of the Minister of Customs, and also of the Minister of Justice, that the Law required these refunds to be paid.”

Now, Sir, I may remind the House of the system under which these duties were paid Parliament for the purpose of promoting the manufacture of locomotives in this country, passed a law providing that certain portions of them, which could be easily made here, should be subject to a duty of 15 per cent.; the remaining portions, which Canadians could not readily manufacture, to be entered free; but the law required that every locomotive imported should pay 15 per cent. duty. Before proceeding to discuss the question itself, I desire to draw the attention of the House for a moment.—I regret very much that the First Minister is not in his place—to the character of the returns brought down. Immediately after my hon. friend the

Minister of Finance had made the statement I have just read, I put a notice on the paper, and as soon as possible moved for the production of the papers and correspondence in this relation. They were brought down at a late period of the Session, and owing to some misunderstanding, it appears they were not printed. I have, however, had opportunity to peruse them; and I find that they disclose a very extraordinary and very improper method of procedure. I made a motion for specific papers, for all correspondence and all Orders in Council relating to the subject; and those who heard the First Minister in his place express his disapproval of having the opinion of subordinate officers of the Government brought into discussion on the floor of this House; and a few days ago hon. gentlemen who saw the First Minister, with his own hand, change a motion made by the hon. member for South Waterloo, striking out a reference to remarks desired from the Commissioner of Customs, and substituting the responsible officer, the Minister of Customs will see why I complain.

I took the first paper I found on the list, and what did I observe? That instead of the Government complying with the Order of the House, and bringing down the correspondence that existed, they commenced to manufacture correspondence. I do not think, Sir, that they could have given to the House a much stronger evidence of the weak and untenable position they occupied, than they did when they felt it was necessary to open this correspondence with a long communication from the Commissioner of Customs, dated the 5th of April, the day before it was brought down. Now Sir, I say that this gentleman was my officer yesterday; he is the officer of the present Minister of Customs to-day, and he may be my officer again to-morrow.

Hon. Gentlemen—No, no.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It is extremely inconvenient, as hon. gentlemen will see, that when there is an issue between the Opposition of this House and the Government, subordinate officers, who are not responsible to the House directly, but to the Ministers, should be pushed into the gap. I do not intend, Sir, therefore, to take any notice

whatever of the statement in this paper ; the officer concerned is a gentleman of high character and remarkable ability, in whose judgment I have very great confidence, but I will not notice his communication. I consider that it was not treating this House with proper respect to commence this return by manufacturing correspondence. We did not expect when the motion passed, to obtain the views of a subordinate officer, depending directly upon the Government for his position, promotion and income, having no value whatever in the House ; but no person will be surprised, after seeing the rest of the correspondence, that the Government should have found it necessary to adopt so extraordinary and so undefensible a course. Why, what authority has my hon. friend for the statement he made to this House ? I have just read that this was done under a precedent established by myself, and under an Order in Council passed by the late Administration. Sir John Rose called the attention of the Government of the day to the fact that the duty was being demanded, and charged by the Customs' officers on parts of the locomotives which should be admitted free. There was no power nor means by which any person could impose or collect such a duty except in gross violation of the law ; they could have filed a petition of right and recovered the money wrongfully received. " Mr. Rose—it is recorded—"brought the accompanying papers before Council "on Saturday last, and it was decided "that the parts of the locomotives declared free in the tariff should be entered free, the remainder to pay "15 per cent. Please instruct the "Collector accordingly. J. L. TILLEY."

This was merely a Departmental Order from the Minister of Customs, telling a subordinate officer to obey the law, and in order that there might be no misunderstanding, Mr. Bouchette addressed a letter from the Customs Department of date the 3d of June, 1868, to the Collector of Customs at Montreal as follows :

"DEAR SIR,—The correspondence between the Grand Trunk Railway and yourself relative to the importation of locomotive engines in parts, having been brought under the consideration of the Minister of Customs and the Min-

ister of Finance. I am desired to instruct you to admit to a free entry those parts of the locomotives which are declared to be free by the tariff, it being considered that the parts in question do not lose their claim to exemption under the law by having been put together in Glasgow, with the other dutiable parts of the engine ; such engine being taken to pieces afterwards, and imported into Canada in parts as represented."

I want to know what other order could have been given while such a law was on the Statute Book, and that is all the authority the hon. gentleman had for the statement he made. I may state, however, Sir, that not only did the Government consider it necessary to manufacture correspondence in relation to this matter, but the correspondence brought down is garbled. A letter was addressed by the Manager of the Great Western Railway to myself on the 29th of September, 1873—that is given, and a letter written by the manager of this railway on the 16th of October, is also given, acknowledging a reply to that letter, but the letter so acknowledged is not forthcoming. Now, I want the Government to supply the missing link. I want not only this correspondence, but the whole of the documents, in order that we may know the authority for the course that has been pursued.

The application of the railway company was for a remission of duties on locomotives brought in by steam, and in running order. They were manufactured in the United States, run into Canada and paid, of course, the duty of 15 per cent., because the late Government had no power, nor did the company venture to ask, so far as I am aware, for the remission of duties they had thus to pay. They asked this remission from the hon. gentlemen opposite, and on the recommendation of the Hon. Minister of Finance, acting for the Minister of Customs, the Government passed an order in Council granting their request. Now, here is a case in which duties had been paid three years previously under a law that taxed the articles brought into the country. It is impossible to conceive any pretext upon which any Government could go back and make a calculation on the parts of the locomotives which, if they had been imported separately, would

have been admitted free. It is impossible that a great company like this was ignorant of the tariff. If they had imported and entered the parts which are free of duty separately, no Government could have exacted the payment.

Another feature of the case is the first demand was \$41,000, but when they found the Finance Minister was so generous they increased it and succeeded in squeezing \$69,000 out of my hon. and good-natured friend. This was unconstitutional, and a violation of Parliamentary Law. What is Parliament for if not to be consulted previously to paying money out of the consolidated revenue fund. It establishes a precedent by which all the manufacturers of boots and shoes could demand a refund of duties on importations of such goods, because certain parts of them, if imported separately would be admitted free. It has been the policy of this country to encourage manufacturing by allowing raw materials to come in untaxed, but this establishes a precedent for remitting duties on manufactured goods.

This occurred just before the meeting of Parliament, and there was no reason why this sum of \$69,000 should not have been placed in the estimates and legitimately decided upon. I say legitimately because it was a violation of the Statute Law which provides that no remission shall be made unless recommended by the Treasury Board, and this was never before the Board.

In discussing this question in another place with my hon. friend the First Minister he said: "What did the late Government do? Did they not remit a considerable sum of money to Gooderham & Worts for duties on whiskey consumed by fire?" The case stood on a different footing. The duty was levied in the distillery at the tail of the first still, and exacted from the proprietors before the manufacture had been completed. While the property was still in the hands of the officer of the Government the fire occurred, and made a case which presented a fair and legitimate case for compensation.

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman made the motion last Session after the Committee had presented their final report.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I only mentioned it to know what steps should be taken.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—I did not know until this moment there was any garbled correspondence of the Commissioner of Customs. Any correspondence in the possession of the Department will be brought down. The remission to the Great Western was made on a principle that has been recognized since 1868. The Grand Trunk Company had received in exactly the same way on their locomotives \$80,000, the free parts being attached. The per-centage allowed for remission of duties to the Great Western Company was 33 $\frac{1}{3}$; to the Grand Trunk in 1868 it was 45 per cent. This matter was before the Treasury Board, and it was on their report the Finance Minister acted. The hon. gentleman refers to an Order in Council for \$43,000. The remission was made by two Orders in Council.

Mr. WORKMAN—Many enquiries have been made of me in Montreal on this question, and I am glad it has been brought up. I understood there was no remission of duties on engines coming into the country, and I stated so; I now find I am mistaken. It is not for me to say the Government has made a mistake, but I think they have been guilty of an error in making this large reduction of duty on articles subject to it by law. I don't think this House would approve of the action of the Government in handing \$60,000 to one railroad company and \$80,000 to another, while an honest merchant who imports his goods has to pay duty in full. If I applied to the Minister of Customs for rebate of duty, he would be pursuing a proper course to refuse it. It is a great injury to our own manufacturing industries. We have establishments in this country for manufacturing locomotive engines. They have a great deal to compete against, and where this unjust remission of duty—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My hon. friend is entirely mistaken. It is not unjust. This duty is remitted according to law.

Mr. WORKMAN—If I am wrong—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My hon. friend is entirely wrong. He is wrong

in this respect. The hon. members opposite assume that because the Grand Trunk Company pretended—and it was a mere pretence—to loosen some bolts, take off some nuts and take the locomotive apart to some extent, therefore they should relieve from duty articles free by law, while the same articles imported by the Great Western Company should not go free because they were not taken apart. The hon. gentlemen opposite gave the Grand Trunk \$77,146.45 in this way; we, under the operation of the same principle, gave the Great Western \$70,942.61. The mere fact that the locomotives were not taken apart and put together again made no practical difference. It was precisely as if you had a duty upon wheels, but the duty would not be levied if you took the lynch-pin out. It was a mere farce and pretence to put the engines together in this country, when they were completed in another country.

Mr. WORKMAN—I think in any remission of this kind the Government ought to be very particular and see the law is carried out in its entirety.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The Hon. Premier says that the action of the late Government was a farce, a mere pretence, and it made no practical difference whether a machine was brought in in pieces or in bulk. Whether it was a farce or not, the action of the late Government was legal; the action of the present Government was illegal. There was no option for the late Government, they could not refuse the application of the Grand Trunk Company when they had complied with the law; the present Government in granting the request of the Great Western Company broke the law.

The object of the tariff was obvious. It was to encourage manufactures in this country. We were anxious to encourage the construction of railroad locomotives in Canada. It was represented by the manufacturing interest that certain portions of them could not be made here, and that such portions should be admitted free of duty as partially raw materials. Therefore, if I recollect rightly, by the unanimous voice of Parliament, these articles were put

into the free list in order that they might be imported free, and in order to enable manufacturers to construct the rest of the locomotives and put them up in this country. Well, the Grand Trunk, taking advantage of that law, it seems, got some locomotives built, some in Scotland and some in the United States, had them taken to pieces, and imported those new portions separately which were by law free. The consequence was that an Order in Council was passed that all the portions brought into this country were free.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Will my right hon. friend answer this question? If he acted under the law, where was the necessity for the Order in Council?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Because the question was raised by the Collector in Montreal whether he should charge or not, and Mr. Rose applied to the Government. My hon. friend has read the answer—before the Hon. Premier came in—which was this:—

“Mr. Rose brought the accompanying papers before the Council on Saturday last, and it was decided that the parts of the locomotives declared free in the tariff should be entered free, the remainder to pay 15 per cent.”

That was the Order in Council which the Minister of Customs, Mr. Tilley, communicated to the Collector at Montreal. That was all the Government did. I grant you that it was taking advantage of the law; but how often do you see people getting a remission in this way? But here was the statute which declared that certain portions could be brought in free, and those were the instructions of the Department, for of course no duty could be charged upon goods on which there was no tax. Therefore the Government could not help themselves, and acted within the law; but in the case of the Great Western the statute was violated. The boiler and machinery of the whole locomotive—screws, nuts, and everything of foreign manufacture were brought in, run upon our lines for one, two, or three years, and then the Government on the 13th of February, 1874, handed the whole duty back, amounting to \$69,000 altogether, which was

contrary to law, which was a breach of the law, which the Government had no right to do, and for which personally and pecuniarily they are responsible. It was a wilful breach, and the country loses \$69,000.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The right hon. gentleman's points, as I understood them, are two; first, that this Government, in making the refund, did something which was illegal, and second, that his Government did a similar act which was legal. The Grand Trunk tried to successfully avoid the law, and the Great Western was not so fortunate. The hon. gentleman is perfectly aware that the Government has power, where hardship or injustice has been suffered, to make remission, and the action of the Government would be perfectly justifiable when remission had been made. In the case of the Grand Trunk the Government were perfectly justified in acting under that discretionary power, but the other railroads should be put on a similar footing. But if the Commissioner of the Customs is received as a witness, and his testimony may be fairly received in this respect, it would appear to be the fact that the Grand Trunk and other companies had been in the habit—in regard to the importation of complete locomotives—of deducting from the duty paid on them a certain proportion equivalent to the amount of the article which might have been imported free of duty.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I rise to a question of order. I drew the attention of the House at the commencement to the fact that I would not refer to the Commissioner of Customs, for the very sufficient reason—the reason endorsed by the Hon. Prime Minister only to-day—that the opinions of subordinate officers should be left out of a debate. I have moved for all the Orders in Council and all correspondence in the archives of the Department, and the Hon. Minister of Customs had it in his power to bring, if he could, any authority from the late Government for this act. It is treating this House with disrespect to manufacture new correspondence and pretend that it is an authority.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—What is the question of order?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It is this; that instead of confining himself to the correspondence moved for, he is bringing forward a letter manufactured to order the day before this correspondence was brought down.

Mr. SPEAKER—I believe the hon. gentleman is in order; he is merely replying to a statement.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I put it in as a simple statement of fact, with which it was right the House should be fully acquainted, and which it would have been disingenuous on my part to suppress. Under the Order of May 26, 1868, the Grand Trunk and other railways regularly entered their locomotives for duty at a rate representing the value of the finished machine, less the value of those portions in the free list, and entitled to free entry. That, on the authority of the Commissioner of Customs, was the fact, and such practice of the late Government. Now, Sir, the actual fact in the matter was this:—The Grand Trunk Railway received a remission of \$75,000 out of \$1,123,000 worth of locomotives imported, being at the rate of 45 per cent. of the value of those articles. The Great Western received only \$47,246 out of a total value of \$2,012,000, or at the rate of 25 per cent. I don't think it is necessary for us to say anything further on this subject.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That statement of the Minister of Customs may or may not have been acted upon; but one thing is clear, there was no authority for it from the Government. The instructions were these:—

“The correspondence between the Grand Trunk Railway and yourself, relative to the importation of locomotive engines in part, having been brought under the consideration of the Minister of Finance, I am desired to instruct you to remit these parts of the locomotives declared to be free by the tariff.” &c.

My hon. friend represented in his speech that it was an ingenious means by which the Grand Trunk evaded the law; but they had the right to do so if the engines or parts thereof were brought in separately under the Act. These separated parts were free of duty; there was no law under which they could be charged. As regards the statute, I say it did not warrant a remission of this sum to the Great

Western. The hon. gentleman says there was a breach of law. Supposing it were the fact that the late Government had committed a breach of law, is that any reason that the hon. gentleman should break a law—is it any justification or excuse? One importing party has no claim for hardship because another man by favoritism or corrupt practice has been allowed to bring in articles free. That is absurd on the face of it.

But there is a further consideration, and I call the attention of the House to the point. It is only in cases where injustice has been done—there must be both hardship and injustice—that duty can be remitted. It may be very hard to pay a duty where the Grand Trunk did not, but there is no injustice in making the Great Western pay a tax imposed by law. The Act goes still further, and says the remission shall not be made unless conducive to the public good. The preamble provides that when there is great public inconvenience and injustice, or any hardship, that hardship and injustice should be removed, because it is for the public good that Governments should not do injustice to anybody. But a mere case of hardship in favour of one individual and against another does not come within the terms of the Statute. And in the case of great hardship and injustice, there can be no relaxation until after the matter is fully considered by the Treasury Board, that Board being specially appointed to try those matters. It does not appear by the papers that this matter was ever submitted. Not one of the sections of the Act has been carried out. The whole thing was a breach of the law by the Government, I have no doubt with the best intentions. But notwithstanding it was a breach and an improper taking out of the public Treasury of the dollars which belonged to the public, and not to the Great Western.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It is admitted that the Grand Trunk had been allowed to import the locomotives complete, entering them to the extent of that portion which was to pay a duty, and deducting the value of that which was free. That proposition appears upon the memorandum which the hon.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

member for Cumberland spurns, which he says is a manufactured memorandum, and represents opinions which ought not to be listened to, but which in point of fact is not a memorandum of opinions, but a memorandum stating facts with reference to the practice of the Department for years back. The memorandum of December 23, 1873, reads:—

“OTTAWA, Dec. 25th 1873

“Having been desired by the Hon. the Finance Minister to make a short explanatory report upon the subject of the application made by the Great Western Railway, the undersigned has the honour to state that at the outset when certain parts of locomotive engines were exempt from duty, as they are still found to be in the tariff, the impression was that the free parts of the engine should be imported unconnected with the dutiable parts—the consequence of which was that the exemption was in most cases a dead letter. It was therefore represented first by the Grand Trunk Railway Co., that where engines were imported in part or only partially put together, the machinery or parts of the engine which were free could not usefully be imported without being welded or inseparably attached to some of the dutiable parts of the engine before it left the manufactory in England or the United States, and it was accordingly proposed some two or three years ago, with the concurrence of the Minister of Customs, that upon the importation of locomotive engines from foreign countries, two specifications should be produced at the Custom House, one of dutiable parts of the engine, and another for the free, with the values. This was subsequently again modified by calling merely for a specification with values attached of the free parts of the engine, which deducted from the whole price paid for it would at once show on what amount the duty had to be paid. It now appears that since 1870 the Great Western Railway Co. have paid full duties on the numerous locomotive engines imported by them, without any deduction for the free parts.

It is for the refund of the duties paid by them on the free parts of those engines, that application is now made, and as the application is founded upon the law and is in accordance with the present and approved manner of carrying out the law so as to give practical effect to the exemption, it is submitted that the amount claimed by the Great Western Railway Co., \$41,398.34 should be refunded to them.

“R. S. M. BOUCHETTE.

“To the Hon. Minister of Customs,
“Ottawa.”

Now, Sir, it appears that the practice and interpretation of the Statute in question had been determined by the Government with the authority of the Minister of Customs. I presume that Minister was aware of the system upon which his Department was carried on. I presume he was aware of the modes, the modified plans of carrying out this

law when adopted by them, although the hon. members for Kingston and Cumberland say there was a breach of the law; but if there was it was allowed and initiated by them. It was found upon the application of the Grand Trunk that the law was inoperative—that certain parts of locomotives should be admitted free. It appears the Government recognized that application of the Grand Trunk, and they were allowed to import their locomotives complete, to send in their invoices in double form, and afterwards in single form, but in each case duty was only paid on the parts on which duty was collectable if they had been imported in parts. That appears to have been the course which the Minister of the day pursued. And what my hon. friends are charged with doing is that when the Great Western found that the law was applied in one way to the Grand Trunk and was differently interpreted to them, and when they asked that it should be interpreted with an even hand and justice towards all classes of importers, my hon. friends are blamed for breaking the law, because they followed the example of the hon. gentlemen and measured out the same justice to that railway as they did to the other.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—There is no official correspondence in the Customs Department that is not ready to come before this House. I think it is very unfair for the hon. gentleman from Cumberland to have charged the Commissioner with having manufactured correspondence to misinterpret the action of the late Government. The right hon. gentleman from Kingston laid particular stress on his argument to try to convince this House that parts of the locomotives were apart from the locomotives themselves. The parts came in free, and the law that permitted them to come in free was construed by the Order in Council so to admit when unattached to the locomotive. When the Grand Trunk made application to have these parts admitted free they were not unattached, and it was the same law which in 1868 permitted them to come in free, that permitted the Great Western Railway to import them the same way. This

Government saw the difficulty, and in 1874 met the case.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I have listened to the remarks of the Minister of Justice with considerable interest. I was anxious to see if the hon. gentleman would risk his reputation as a lawyer to defend the action of the Government by saying that the law had been complied with in this remission of duties, but I have listened in vain for any statement from him that the Government of the day have been borne out in their action by the statute. He knows as a lawyer that the transaction is a gross violation of the law. Last year when I brought this question before the House I was met with the statement that the Government did it under an Order in Council passed by their predecessors. I have moved for all the papers and correspondence connected with it, but what have I got? After searching the archives of the Customs in vain for authority for this transaction, they had to set a clerk in the Department to work to manufacture correspondence.

Hon. Gentlemen—Order! order!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I have evidence in my hand that the correspondence of the 6th of April was written the day before it was brought down by the Commissioner of Customs. Did I move for the evidence of the Commissioner of Customs? I did not. I moved for all the correspondence that down to that hour existed in relation to that matter; and in all this the hon. gentlemen found themselves unable to vindicate their conduct without directing a subordinate officer to whitewash them by the letter which they have read. I said before I would not refer to it to-day, were it not a contempt of this House, when any hon. gentleman moves for papers in which the conduct of the Government is challenged, to manufacture correspondence outside of the papers called for. There is nothing in these two papers to vindicate them. I hold that the Order in Council of a year ago had no precedent. The following is the correspondence referred to, and does it give any pretext for such a transaction?

"CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT,

"OTTAWA, June 3rd, 1868.

"Mr. Rose brought the accompanying papers before Council on Saturday last, and it was decided that the parts of the locomotives declared free in the tariff should be entered free, the remainder to pay 15 per cent. Please instruct the Collector accordingly.

"S. L. TILLEY.

"R. S. M. BOUCHETTE, Esq.,
May 26th, 1868.

Could Mr. Tilley say anything else? Could Mr. Tilley or anybody in Canada say that they should not enter free in the Custom House that which the Statute law of the Dominion declared should come into the country free. That was accompanied by the statement of the Commissioner of Customs, who says:—

"DEAR SIR,—The correspondence between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and yourself relative to the importation of locomotive engines in part, having been brought under the consideration of the Minister of Customs and the Minister of Finance, I am desired to instruct you to admit to a free entry those parts of the locomotives which are declared to be free under the tariff; it being considered that the parts in question did not lose their claims to exemption under the law by having been put together in Glasgow with the other dutiable parts of the engine, *such engine being taken to pieces afterwards*, and imported into Canada in parts as represented.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. S. M. BOUCHETTE.

"Alex. M. Deslisle, Esq.,

"Collector of Customs, Montreal."

"Such engines being taken to pieces afterwards and imported into Canada in parts as represented."

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I want the hon. gentleman who say "hear, hear," from the Minister of Justice down, to tell me whether there is any law in Canada that would levy one farthing of duty on those parts of a locomotive rendered free under the tariff that are put together in Glasgow? No hon. gentleman would stultify himself in the presence of this House by pretending that because the locomotive had been fitted together the parts so fitted should not be admitted free when they were declared so under the tariff. I took these very papers to the late Minister of Customs and asked whether there was any other authority given by him for the free entry of parts of locomotives except the memorandum that is in my hand; he said

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

there was not, and I say that while the course pursued by the late Government was strictly legal, this Government has taken out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada \$67,000 without the shadow of law to sustain them. The Order in Council which I hold in my hand, dated 11th February, 1874, says:—

"On an application from the Great Western Railway Company representing that they have paid full duties on the various locomotive engines imported by them since 1870 without any deduction for such parts thereof as are exempted by law from duty, and praying that the amount so paid by them, and amounting to \$41,398.34 be refunded.

"On the report of the Commissioner of Customs and the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Cartwright acting in the absence of the Hon. the Minister of Customs, the Committee advise the amount claimed be refunded."

Here we find just upon the eve of the meeting of Parliament the Treasury of the country depleted to the extent of \$70,000 without any consultation, without any authority of the House, and in direct violation of the law, on the authority of the Minister of Finance, without even the authority of a Treasury Minute to give it the semblance of propriety. I am not surprised that under the circumstances the Minister of Justice closes his speech without saying that there was a semblance of law to back the Ministry in the transaction.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I did not suppose the hon. gentleman, after whitewashing himself on a matter for which he and the right hon. member for Kingston were responsible, would retort that the course this Government adopted from their predecessors was a violation of the law. I thought it was enough to show the House it was in pursuance of their own actions that the present Government acted in this matter. I am speaking of the report of the hon. gentleman's permanent officer as to the interpretation of the law on which, for a long time, he had proceeded. The hon. gentleman says we are not to read the report of his permanent officer, but we are to trust to his memory.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I said nothing so absurd. I said when official documents were moved for it was too late to get correspondence manufactured, but I say every official document of an officer of a

Department is properly brought before the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—On the 23rd of December, 1873, the Commissioner of Customs reports upon an application of the Great Western Railway Company to inform the mind of the Minister then responsible, as to what the course pursued and interpretation of the law had been. Mr. Bouchette in his report says:—

“At the outset, when certain parts of locomotive engines were exempted from duty, as they are still found to be in the tariff, the impression was that those free parts of the engine should be imported unconnected with the dutiable parts, the consequence of which was that the exemption was in most cases a dead letter. It was therefore represented first by the Grand Trunk Railway Company that where engines were imported in parts or only partially put together, the machinery or parts of the engine which were free could not usefully be imported without being welded or inseparably attached to some of the dutiable parts of the engine before it left the manufactory in England or the United States, and it was accordingly proposed some two or three years ago, with the concurrence of the Minister of Customs, that upon the importation of locomotive engines from foreign countries two specifications should be produced at the Custom House, one of the dutiable parts of the engine, and another of the free, with the values.”

This was subsequently modified by calling merely for a specification, with values attached, of the free parts of the engine, which, deducted from the whole price paid for it, would show on what amount the duty had to be paid. That was the course taken by the late Minister of Customs either with or without legal advice. The officer further says:—“That since 1870 the Great Western Railroad Company have paid full duties on the numerous locomotive engines imported by them without any deduction for the free parts, in ignorance of the dealings of the Government with another company who were allowed to enter portions of their engines free.” It was for refund of the duties paid by them on these free parts of their engines that the application of the Great Western Company was made. I did not think I would hear the hon. gentleman say again that that was against the law. I did not think I would hear his then colleague, responsible for his action, say that that was against the law. It appeared to me they would not have dared to stand up and tell us that they were guilty of a syste-

matic violation of the law for three or four years.

But the hon. gentleman, notwithstanding the record of the transactions of his predecessor, blames the Minister of Customs for his action. He says in effect:—“I did it; but you should not learn from me; you ought to have known better; you ought to have mistrusted me; you ought to have known that what I have done is wrong.” And I admit there is a great deal of force in this line of argument, but we cannot apply it to everything. It must be conceded to the hon. gentleman that he has done some things right. This Government only desire to do even-handed justice to all importers of locomotives, and place a law on the Statute Books to prevent these free importations in the future. These parts are exempt, and the locomotive engine, if taxable at all, is only so as an article not otherwise enumerated. Now, the hon. gentleman takes the view—after consideration relative to the modified forms of carrying it out—that the locomotive engine was not taxable as a whole, but only those parts imported, which were not enumerated as separate; and I think that the view he took had a good deal of reason and a good deal of common sense in it. I do not therefore consider my hon. friends impeachable or peculiarly responsible for the money concerned.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I think that I may make a few remarks in reply to the Hon. Minister, and I must complain that this eminent legal luminary has left us without the benefit of his valuable opinion, whether this transaction had the authority of law. He is driven to the *reductio ad absurdum* of saying that under the law, in his judgment, because the Statute provided that certain parts were dutiable, and other parts free, he considers it was very doubtful whether a duty could have been levied on locomotives.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.—I did not say that.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I certainly understood the hon. member to say, in his closing remarks, that there was a great deal in the argument.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—In favour of your view?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He said there was very much in the argument, and it would be a very extraordinary question on which, I believe, a gentleman of the learned profession could not found a very strong case.

The hon. gentleman is obliged simply to fall back upon another memorandum, prepared by an officer of the Department after the late Government had gone out of office. Now, what have we got? I moved for all the correspondence, and I am told by the Minister of Finance that he has done this under the authority of an Order in Council of the late Government. I moved for all papers, &c.; and what do I get? I receive a memorandum drawn from recollection. I ask is that satisfactory to the House? We have an Order in Council produced declaring that only the parts so mentioned in the tariff can be admitted free, and the instructions of an officer of the Department to the Collector, stating that they must be imported in parts in order to have the advantage of that remission of duty; but there is no other authority for the Government, save the recollections of an old gentleman since superannuated. I have produced M. Bouchette's letter, written by direction of the Minister of Customs, distinctly prohibiting the admission to free entry of the parts of a locomotive, unless they came in separately, and, coming so, there was no law in Canada allowing them to be taxed. The hon. gentleman has produced a memorandum drawn up from recollection, without a shadow of documentary testimony in the Department to show it to be correct.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—They talk about our having refunded duties, but we refunded no duties; we exacted the duties the law imposed.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Which law prevented us from levying upon parts; and this is another instance of the evil consequent upon relying on the recollection of subordinate officers in the Department, and manufacturing correspondence.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—For that, it appears, was provided by direction, and to meet the views of the Minister of Finance and Customs.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Now, Sir, I will not occupy the attention of this House further with this matter; I am quite satisfied.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I trust that the Hon. Minister of Customs will supply the missing letter which was addressed by the Department to the Manager of the Great Western Railway in response to the letter written to myself; that is not here, and I hope that the Printing Committee will be instructed or requested not to publish as part of the correspondence the letter manufactured to order.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Order, order.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I say, Sir, manufactured to order.

I do not suppose that a member of this House—and I will say that without casting the slightest imputation on the gentleman—thinks that the Minister of Customs does not know his duty, when called upon by order of this House, to furnish correspondence for its information, and I maintain that it would have been a gross contempt concerning a superior officer for a subordinate to introduce a long letter among the correspondence without being ordered, and being directed by the Minister of the Department to prepare it for the purpose. As I said previously, the Prime Minister to-day, very properly, called in question the propriety of subordinate officers being brought under the discussion of the House, with reference to matters of this kind.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE— I will have to do it again.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am assisting you. The First Minister certainly knows better what respect is due to this House, when papers are called for it by any hon. gentleman in it, than has been shown in this connection.

I have to say that the Hon. Minister of Justice has failed to deal with an-

other point ; not, I imagine, because he has not sufficient astuteness to see a point when put ; but he neglected to deal with another matter of very great importance, with a law requiring an order of the Treasury Board before one dollar of duty can be returned. The hon. gentleman has not shewn that there was an order from the Treasury Board given in this instance ; and I have not only proved a violation of Parliamentary Law, but also a violation of the Statute Law ; and did not the Minister of Justice close his two impassioned appeals to the House on this subject, without venturing to question the soundness of my statement, which everybody that reads knows to be the fact, that this transaction was culpable and blameable from every point of view, including a violation of Statute Laws ?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman may not have heard the Minister of Customs, behind me, telling him across the House that there was an order of the Treasury Board, and therefore I did not consider it necessary to mention it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then I say that it was a gross contempt of this House for the Hon. Minister of Customs, when the whole correspondence is moved for, to have brought down only a part of it. And, Sir, I go further. The Hon. Minister of Customs is speaking to the best of his recollection—I am speaking from the document. It appears that he was not here at all ; this statement represents that the Minister of Finance acted for the Minister of Customs, and in his absence made this recommendation. I hold, therefore, that if such an order existed, it was an act of gross contempt not to bring that paper down in response to the motion. The Order in Council shows, however, that the matter was never before the Treasury Board.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I think that the matter ought to be settled ; the Order in Council is either true or false. The Statute says that remission can only be made on the recommendation of the Treasury Board.

This Order of the Governor General in Council states that on the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Cart-

wright, acting in the absence of the Hon. Minister of Customs, the report was made. It could not be done either on report of the Minister of Customs or the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Cartwright ; it must be, and can only be, done by law on the recommendation of the Treasury Board, and therefore this Order in Council is not sufficient.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—I have not seen the papers since they were presented to the House. The papers with reference to this matter can easily be obtained. There is no disposition to hold back one single letter of any kind whatever.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman had better get the papers or supply the missing link.

The motion was carried.

QUEBEC MEDICAL OFFICERS' BOAT.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved that an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement shewing the monthly wages paid by the Government to each of the men composing the crew of the Medical Officers' boat at the Port of Quebec in 1874 and 1875 ; a statement shewing the total cost of the service of the said boat for each of the said years ; also all correspondence which may have passed between the Government and the said Medical Officer or Officers in relation to the said service during the said two years.

The motion was carried.

THE CHARLEVOIX ELECTION.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I move that an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of the instructions issued to Mr. Talbot, one of the employés or Sub-Inspectors of the Post Office Department in relation to his visits to the Electoral District of Charlevoix during the Dominion Election in the month of January last. Mr. Speaker, it happens that this officer was sent specillay at that time, and as this seems very strange, it would be interesting for my constituency and myself to know what special instructions he received, and the reasons for his visit.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—It did do good.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—But not in the way you wanted.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I move for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of the instructions given to Mr. Edmond Trudelle, one of the officers or employés of the Customs Department at Quebec, on the occasion of his visit to the Electoral District of Charlevoix during the Dominion Election held in January last.

This is a much more important matter than the last, and I must call the attention of the First Minister and of the Minister of Customs to this case particularly. Why was an officer of the Customs Department in Quebec allowed or ordered to leave his office and duties and go sixty or seventy miles away to the Electoral District of Charlevoix, where an election was taking place for the return of a member to the House of Commons? He did so, too, with the full knowledge of one of the Ministers of the Crown now sitting in this House—I mean the President of the Council—was sent there while that hon. gentleman was in Quebec, and after that hon. gentleman made an unsuccessful visit to my county. He also had a band of policemen hired and sent to Charlevoix, headed by one of the officers of the Government, this Edmond Trudelle. These men were composed of the river policemen, who in the summer are in the employ of the Administration. They were compelled to go there, else they would have been refused employment next summer; and they were illegally dressed in uniform.

I wish to obtain also the correspondence which took place between the Department of Marine and Fisheries and certain outside parties. It will be very interesting, showing that efforts were made to secure the uniforms and weapons of the police, which meant to make them appear to be a legal body, sent however to force the electors to vote for a man they did not want to return, with the connivance, and advice, and consent, and at the instigation of the President of the Council, who is sitting at the side of the First Minister. If any instructions, such as I believe, were given, I wish the House and country to know how a Minister of the

Hon. Mr. SMITH.

Crown has used his influence and his position; and the hon. gentleman would have succeeded in his designs had not a legal body, composed of Provincial policemen, kept these brigands in order. My friends were accordingly able to vote, and my opponents also exercised perfect liberty in this respect.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—I cannot give the hon. member the information he asks for. There were no instructions sent to the Custom House Officer at Quebec to visit Charlevoix.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Now that the attention of the Hon. Minister of Customs has been called to that, perhaps, without putting another motion, he will enquire on whose authority the official left his office to go on that visit to my county.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—The hon. member is very touchy about this and other cases. He finds he has been elected, and of course he says my journey there was unsuccessful. I had not the advantage of having a brother in a high position in the Church, writing letters to persons in a diocese with which he was not connected. If I had such assistance, my candidate would have been more successful than he was.

There has no authority been given to the official. He may have been there or not, but at the same time, if he was there, did he do anything to interfere with the election? If he did not, I think he stands in a better position than three employés of the Quebec Government who took part in the triumph of the hon. gentleman's election. At any rate, I gave him no instructions.

Mr. MASSON—I think if the hon. member had contented himself with referring merely to the political part of the question, it would have been a great deal better; but this House must have been surprised to hear from the hon. gentlemen on the other side, who are accusing us of bringing certain names into discussions, to hear the hon. member for Charlevoix taunted with having employed ecclesiastical influence to aid his election. I ask now from whom do these references come—from us or the other side?

The opponent of the hon. member for

Charlevoix abused influence of that kind; he made use of it falsely. He took means, by asking for a certain book from a library, to extract a friendly letter from an ecclesiastic of high position; and he afterwards read a part of that letter to the electors, the part being changed to suit the circumstances, to show them that he also had the sort of influence in his favor to which the President of the Council refers. This is the second time we have had the names of persons of high positions in the Church dragged into our discussions. It was done four times last Session. I hope this is the last time.

I agree with the hon. member for Charlevoix, that public employes should not be allowed to take part in elections. If it is persisted in it will introduce the American system. I noticed public employes in the Montreal Centre election taking an active part in the contest.

I would not have risen if it had not been for the manner in which certain names were dragged into the discussion that should not have been.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—The hon. member who seems to be the Lower Canada Leader of the Opposition has mistaken altogether what I said. I do not blame the high functionary for writing an election letter. I merely say it was unfortunate that the other side had not the same advantage. I do not blame anybody.

Mr. CARON—It seems to me that the Hon. President of the Council should have availed himself of this opportunity to explain his position. He is accused of having made use of his political influence to send down a force to the county of Charlevoix, who acted illegally and, according to what has been said, under his advice. It seems to me he should have explained how it was that these people were sent down, and how it was a Custom House Officer was also sent there. Instead of that, he says if he did do what is charged against him, the hon. member for Charlevoix had a person occupying a very high position who supported him. That is a very poor excuse for his conduct. He has several times referred to my hon. friends from Charlevoix and Terrebonne as being rivals for the leadership of the

Quebec Conservatives. So far as the hon. President of the Council is concerned, I would like to know the members he leads, and whether when he was elected in Quebec Centre it was not told him by the papers that supported him that he was elected, not because he possessed any influence of his own, but because he represented public works which Quebec required, and among others, a graving dock.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—The Hon. President of the Council need not trouble himself any more about the leadership of the Quebec Conservatives. This is the second or third time that he seemed to be concerned about it. The hon. member for Terrebonne and I are in perfect accord; I support him and he supports me whenever necessary. We are also in perfect accord as to the position of the Hon. President of the Council in the Cabinet. Following his usual course, instead of answering the serious charges brought against him, he tries to carry the war into our camp, and into mine especially, because he says if a high dignitary of the Church, a relative of mine, had not supported me, perhaps the result would not have been the same. I would not have alluded to the subject if the hon. gentleman had not mentioned it himself; but I must explain why the "high dignitary," as he calls him, took the part he did. He interfered simply as any other citizen would have done.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I did not say anything to the contrary.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—If he had the same rights as others, why did the hon. gentleman attack him?

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I did not attack him at all.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—He is ashamed of having done so.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I am not ashamed of what I said.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—The hon. gentleman should have known that Mr. Tremblay, my opponent, was reading at the church door in Charlevoix a letter which my brother, the Vicar General of Rimouski, had written him on the tenth of June, 1872, to show that he was against me and had no

confidence in me, trying thus to destroy my influence with the electors of the county. It was to this effect—the first portion of it was a complaint of certain fishermen from the River Moisie, County Saguenay, which Mr. Tremblay at that time represented. They complained they could not fish in that river, as it was let to a party, and my brother asked him whether he could not do something in favour of these fishermen, the matter coming within the jurisdiction of the Federal Parliament. The second part of the letter was about the survey of certain lands in the district, and we was going on to show that the explanations given by the Minister of Crown Lands were not satisfactory, and censured him for not acting in a more patriotic way. Mr. Tremblay read to the electors the portion referring to the fishing matters, omitted the middle part and added the censure, which was intended for a member of the Quebec Government, to the first part, to make it appear as if it referred to the Federal Government of which I was then a member. I had never seen the letter, and I wrote to my brother for explanation. He telegraphed back that the first part of it referred to the Federal Government, the second to the Local Government, and that the censure applied to the latter; and he added, for more surety he sent me a copy of the letter. I read that to the electors, with an accompanying one from my brother, who was naturally very severe on Mr. Tremblay for his conduct. My brother was defending himself, and I wonder that the hon. gentleman should attempt to condemn him for exercising a right which any man in this country would have acted upon. But the hon. gentleman says nothing about the charge that I brought against him—that he was a party to the organization of the men who were sent down to Charlevoix to coerce the electors.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—It is not so.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—He cannot deny it.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I can.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I have proof of it.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—Give your proof.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I have it in writing. There is an order for carrying those men, and an account against them.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—It is not so.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Let a Committee of this House be appointed and I will prove what I assert. Does the hon. gentleman say it is not true?

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—It is not true that I was at the head of a Committee to send vehicles for them.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I never said that.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—What did you say?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I said that the hon. gentleman was instrumental in sending those men there; that he connived at it; that he acted for that purpose; that without him they would not have been sent; that the account is there against him if he has not already paid it; that there are writings by authority of which those men were sent to St. Joachim; that they were told in that document that they should have their lodging and board there, and that the same thing was also given to a hotel-keeper at Baie St. Paul. I had intended merely to mention the fact and say it was very wrong conduct for the Hon. President of the Council, but since he has denied it, I will give notice that I will move for the appointment of a Committee to investigate the matter.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—The hon. gentleman is not discussing the question before the House. Let us have one thing at a time.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked leave to withdraw his motion for the Address, since he had been assured the official received no instructions from the Department of Customs.

The motion was withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Moved an Address for correspondence, &c., in relation to the despatching to the Electoral District of Charlevoix in the month of January last of some twenty of the men composing in summer the Quebec Water Police.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I can only say to my hon. friend that there is no cor-

respondence or instructions of any kind with regard to this matter.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Perhaps we may find something among the outside offices, and the hon. gentleman had better let the order go.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I will make enquiries into the matter.

The motion was carried.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—CLAIMS OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved an Address for correspondence between the Government and the Hon. Ambrose Shea, respecting a claim in connection with a supply of labour for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—What is the object of this?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I intend to ask for a Committee, and I want the correspondence before giving any explanation.

The motion was carried.

AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

Mr. ORTON moved for a Select Committee on the Agricultural Interests of the Dominion. In doing so, he said:—Since the day I first moved a similar resolution to this, I have become doubly assured, and confirmed in the conviction I then held, that the objects sought by this Committee are seriously and earnestly desired. As an evidence of that, I may mention the resolutions passed at different agricultural societies throughout the country, and at various gatherings of millers from one end of Ontario to the other, asking for protection. With your permission I will read a resolution passed by the Agricultural Association of the County of Essex:—

"After the adoption of the Director's report, the President congratulated the Association on the very successful exhibition made last fall at Kingsville, but deplored that the farmers of this, the Garden County of the Dominion, did not take more interest in our agricultural societies. He then dwelt at some length on the injustice that is done the farmers in our present Customs arrangements with the United States, and called attention to the necessity of the farmers to bestir themselves, and see that as they composed four-fifths of the people of this great Province, their interests were not neglected by the men whom they sent to represent them. He then read the following resolution, passed by the Manufacturers' Association at Toronto last fall.

"Be it therefore *Resolved*, That in view of the fact that no duties are imposed on American products of the soil entering this country, while nearly all Canadian products are heavily taxed when sent to the markets of the United States, we do most emphatically protest against the interests of our farmers, millers and other producers being sacrificed in this way; and that, while desirous of seeing a fair reciprocity of trade in these articles between the two countries restored, Canada cannot suffer American products to enter her markets untaxed, as long as a heavy toll of custom duties is levied on all our products seeking a market in the United States."

"It was then moved and seconded, that the first resolution adopted at the Convention of Manufacturers held in Toronto in November last deserves the approbation of the members of this Society, and that any legislation that protects any other branch of industry, without considering the farming interest, is partial and unjust."

I may also mention that at various meetings of millers throughout the country the very same sentiments were reiterated. I may also draw the attention of the House to the opinion of a gentlemen of undoubted ability as well as of vast experience, Sir A. T. Galt, as expressed in a letter published by him September 6th, 1875, from which I make the following extract. He says:—

"But as regards the United States, I frankly declare that they ought to be dealt with in the same purely selfish spirit with which they treat us. For my part, I am heartily tired of efforts at conciliating the United States commercially—they meet with no response, and even existing treaties and laws are administered by them in a spirit of petty but vexatious exaction. I trust that henceforth the sole consideration will be how our trade legislation is to effect ourselves."

"Possibly this course may produce a wiser policy on their part more worthy of a great commercial nation."

In moving for this Committee, I am moving in the direction of the great public good. I shall endeavour, by the statistics which I find in the Blue Books, to show the injustice under which the farmers of our country are at present suffering. I find in 1874 Canada exported to the United States over \$12,000,000 worth of agricultural produce, and that our farmers had to pay the Government of the United States, before they were admitted into their markets, over the sum of \$2,000,000. Since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the amount the farmers of Canada have paid into the United States Treasury is something like \$25,000,000, a sum which would

have built one-fifth of the Pacific Railway.

I find, on looking further, that the Americans may use all our markets, and send very largely all of their products into our country to compete with ours. I will endeavour to show what has been sent in by the Americans, and how far we have derived benefit from it. The imports of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and other animals in 1872 amounted to \$138,029; in 1873, to \$259,549; in 1875, to \$581,509, showing a rapid increase of the importations from the United States into Canada in the animals produced on the farm, and therefore competing with Canadian animals raised by our farmers. The imports of grain into Canada, after deducting what is exported not the produce of Canada for 1873 amounted to \$8,473,699; in 1874, to \$8,102,676, and in 1875, to \$8,176,091, and this large amount of agricultural products competed in our markets with Canadian products. I will also point out another fact:—The total imports of flour from the United States for the year 1875 was \$2,462,619. The exports of flour from Canada, including that not the produce of the Dominion, amounted to \$1,583,242, leaving \$879,377 as the amount of American flour which is actually consumed in Canada, and therefore competing with the flour produced by our own millers. There are many other facts which may be pointed out from the statistics, but statistics are a dry subject, and I shall not trouble the House with anything further on that point. I will ask the House to consider what the Americans have paid for access to our markets. The horses, swine, cattle and sheep which pay 10 per cent. when they come into Canada, articles which we send very largely to the United States, the Americans compel us to pay 20 per cent. on. I maintain that this is unjust towards the farmers of Canada.

In the United States there are wide tracts of rich agricultural soil, and with a climate that does not necessitate expensive buildings or large quantities of fodder, and cattle can be raised cheaper than in Canada, and they will be able to undersell Canadian cattle in our own markets, and our

distilleries will be supplied, as they are now to some extent, with Yankee cattle. For the last two years there has been a great deal of agitation in favour of production for manufactures; to such an extent did this agitation go that even the present free-trade Government were compelled to increase the tariff of protection for manufactures from 15 to 17½ per cent; and if the prediction of the hon. member for Montreal West is correct—and the country must believe he had some grounds for it, as he was elected under the auspices of a free-trade Premier—the Government intend to further protect the manufacturers. I shall not endeavour to make it appear that protection to the manufacturers is injurious to the agricultural interest. I do not believe that the farmers of Canada can ever be led to suppose that such is the case; they are well aware that by the enterprise of manufacturers they derive vast benefits in the shape of better markets and higher prices for produce. It might be well to compare purely agricultural countries with manufacturing countries. Take Poland as an example:—In that country it is well known there are no manufactures, and I think that all will acknowledge that agriculture is but a sorry occupation in such a place. The average production of wheat there is only nine bushels to the acre, while in Great Britain the average yield per acre is thirty bushels, with a price per bushel double that of Poland. Is it a wonder then that the English farmer can afford to spend two or three times as much to improve his land as the Pole can? The abundance of capital which manufactures create in a country, as well as the increase of commerce and shipping, are advantages which we should not overlook in considering the agricultural interests; and I think we would do well to have the attention of the House directed to this matter. Land in England is worth twenty times what it is in Poland. The increase that has been going on in the agricultural wealth of the country is enormous. I find that the agricultural wealth of England is represented at \$3,311,000,000, returning interest at the rate of 13 per cent., while the

manufacturing wealth amounts to \$219,000,000, while the products from the manufactories amount every year to something like \$259,000,000. The product of the investment of the \$3,311,000,000 of agricultural worth amounts annually to \$559,000,000. When we find these great results arising from the encouragement of manufactures, and such increase in prices of agricultural produce, should we not try and emulate our Mother Country, and endeavour by some means to improve our own agricultural interests? I shall be told by the hon. member for South Waterloo that we would be introducing a dangerous protective policy. I say this policy exists in this country at present; but I maintain, whether the duties on manufactures are increased or not, the farmers should be protected and have the first choice in our own markets. In considering the question of protection, we are told that free-trade is the right policy; we are referred to Great Britain; but I would ask whether the agricultural wealth of Great Britain was brought about by a free trade or by a protective policy. The figures I have referred to in reference to the Agricultural wealth of Great Britain were collected previous to a free-trade policy being adopted, viz:—in year 1835, and after she had educated her immense population of mechanics until she could defy the world. The immense strength the manufacturers had then attained prevented any foreign competition, and therefore free-trade was the correct policy for the country at that time, as it encouraged foreigners to bring in raw material and take away the manufactured goods. John Stewart Mill states that in new countries and under certain circumstances protection to infant manufactures is both justifiable and proper, in order to enable them to compete with countries longer engaged in manufacturing, and who have had their people taught to become skilled mechanics and artisans.

I believe that the feeling of the people of this Dominion is in favour of a broad, comprehensive national policy and encouragement for manufactures, of articles the raw material for which exists in our own country. I believe

that protection to them, and also to coarser kinds of cotton goods, would be beneficial to the agricultural interests. We cannot by any system of protection build up manufactures of the finer kinds of goods of which we do not produce the raw material, and we have not the accumulated machinery and skill that is in Great Britain. A protection to them would mean a burthen to the agricultural community. We should protect those industries which are natural to the country, develop our iron and coal, and encourage commerce between the Provinces. I believe Ontario should supply the people of the Lower Provinces with provisions, and that we should receive from them in return their coal and fish, also their manufactures. I believe that the Lower Provinces should be a manufacturing people, and they will become so under a proper fiscal system. I would like to see a policy that will keep the immigrants from Europe in this country and not send them disgusted to the United States. There will be a great deal for the Committee to do if they are appointed. It will be their duty to ascertain what the feelings of the farmers really are, and to hear from them in what shape—if there is to be an alteration in the tariff—the redistribution of duties shall take place in order to give the interests of agriculturists due consideration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I must object, Sir, to the power the hon. gentleman asks for the Committee. Two Committees have been appointed in this relation during the last five years, and a report was presented last Session by a Committee the hon. gentleman obtained on a similar motion. This is printed in the Appendix to the Journals of last year, and it embodies information obtained by a previous Committee. Why he should endeavour to champion the interests of those who need no champion in this House I do not know. The farmers are thoroughly able to take care of themselves; they are the most prosperous class in the country, and the nostrums the hon. gentleman would prescribe for their protection I do not think they will have on any account. I have no objection, however, if hon. members desire to serve on the Committee, to give

it power to send for papers; but I do not consider that there would be any justification for the expenditure of public money in sending for witnesses to testify what every person who has common sense already knows. If the hon. member agrees to strike out that part of that motion, then I have no objection.

Mr. ORTON—Sir, I certainly could not agree to this part being withdrawn. The Hon. Premier has granted a Committee relative to almost every interest in the country except the agricultural interest; and I am sure that the hon. gentleman will find, before this Session is over, large petitions sent by the farmers throughout Ontario to this House, praying that action be taken in their regard. They are discontented with the present state of affairs. The Hon. Premier seeks to condemn the position I have taken as unworthy, and represents me as administering nostrums to the farmers; but, Sir, I am sure that his insinuations are unworthy of his high position, when he tries to accuse me of acting dishonestly.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am surprised, Mr. Speaker. I never said that he was acting dishonestly, I never accused the hon. gentleman of being either dishonest or unworthy. I said nothing of the kind.

Mr. ORTON—Certainly the term was not very complimentary. The Hon. Premier represented that I was administering nostrums to the farmers of this country, and that is the term applied to quacks. All I can say to the hon. gentleman is that I am no quack in this matter. I have the interest of the agricultural community at heart. I represent a large agricultural constituency, and I am endeavouring to advance its interests notwithstanding the difficulties the First Minister throws in my way. I know I shall receive the approbation of the great majority of the farmers, whose views, I believe, I state. If the hon. Premier is resolved that this motion shall not carry, he must accept the responsibility. The farmers will know why their interests cannot be considered as well as those of other classes of the community.

HON. MR. MACKENZIE.

Mr. MASSON—I think that the Hon. Minister of Public Works is not dealing with my hon. friend with quite his usual fairness. If I remember aright, the Committee struck the night before last was to enquire into the state of manufacturing and commercial interests; and the Hon. Premier then gave as his reason for not adding the agricultural interest the notice of motion made by my hon. friend in this regard. Had this been included, power would have been conferred to send for persons as well as papers, and therefore I think that this Committee should have the same authority. Past Committees have collected a good deal of evidence, but it is hardly applicable to present circumstances more than the testimony secured by the Committees which have sat with reference to the manufacturing interests.

Mr. ARCHIBALD—I should support with great pleasure the motion, if, in the first place, any reason existed for it, and if, in the second place, the remedy proposed would be effectual. I have been unable to ascertain that any complaints have been made by the farming community. I have not learned of any wide-spread discontent amongst them, but the contrary; therefore no necessity for this enquiry exists. The remedy he offered is protection. He speaks of certain agricultural products and cut meats; these are now protected by a duty of 10 per cent., and some even by a larger duty. The article of cut meats is protected by a specific duty of one cent a pound, which, as nearly as I can calculate, would amount to about 15 per cent. Regarding the articles admitted duty free, they are very few in number, and I will give figures to enable the House to judge how far any further protection would be of any aid to the farmer.

First comes an article, which, small as it is, is worth mentioning—eggs. We import to the value of \$8,000, and we export to the value of \$434,000; of flour, wheat and rye, we import to the value of \$2,462,000, and export, as the hon. gentleman has stated, to the value of \$1,583,000. It is worth while to take into consideration the fact that flour and wheat go together, and when I come to wheat, I find that

we import to the value of \$6,657,000, and export nearly \$8,500,000 worth. So that in the article of breadstuffs, wheat and flour, our exports exceed the imports by a very considerable amount. Then comes grain other than wheat and corn, and in this connection, our imports amount to \$191,000, and our exports \$9,600,000. It is quite evident, therefore, that there is very little to be gained by imposing any duty in this relation, no matter how great. Of Indian corn we import to the value of \$2,452,000 and export nearly \$160,000 worth. It is important to mention, that while we export largely wheat and pease, these grains are much more valuable, and bring much larger prices than corn to the farmers, who buy the latter at a lower price for feeding purposes, giving them a clear profit. There is one other article I would instance:—We import nearly eight million pounds of wool, and we export 2,000,000 pounds. Apparently this is about as strong a case as can be made out by the hon. gentleman; but let us see how far any protection would be of use in this regard to the agriculturist. The wool we export is the long comb wool, which brings twice as high a price as the wool that is imported. As a matter of fact, the value of the nearly eight millions of pounds we have imported, is about \$1,375,000, while we export to the value of \$2,642,000 lbs., bringing us about \$920,000. An exchange of this kind, it seems to me, is one of the very greatest importance and profit; and to impose a duty on the wool coming into the country would really be to fling money out of the farmers' pockets, increasing the cost of the cloth which is manufactured from it, and which the farmer himself would be obliged to pay when he purchased it from the manufacturer. Under these circumstances, I think that the remedy proposed is the very nostrum which it was characterized a short time since; also that levying any duty on agricultural products cannot result in the slightest benefit to the farmer, but the contrary. I can therefore see no reason why a Committee of this kind should be granted, more particularly as we have had several such Committees during previous Sessions.

Mr. McCALLUM—I am surprised that the Premier is disposed to refuse so reasonable a request as that asked for by the member for Centre Wellington to grant this Committee in order to find out how this great interest stands to-day? I am perfectly willing to leave the matter as it is, and let it go to the country that the First Minister has to-night refused to place the farmers on the same level with other classes. On the very tools with which they work they pay $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty; but their interests, which are as important as any other, are neglected. The time is not far distant, however, when the farmer will make his influence felt on the floor this House. Along the Welland Canal, near which I live, the very cattle and horses are fed on American products to the injury of our agriculturists.

If of Indian corn we have a short crop, we certainly need a market where we can buy, but we cannot take advantage of the American market in our case without paying from 20 to 25 per cent. duty. If there is a large crop in the United States they overflow this country with their products. The Committee can do no harm, and if it spends a few hundred dollars it will not be too much, the subject being worthy the consideration of the members of this House.

Mr. PATERSON—It is true that this Committee has been previously asked for by the hon. gentleman on one or two occasions; but I think that the results of their investigations have never been properly placed before the House. The first report, it is true, embodied information gathered by a previous Committee some years ago, but I would suggest, for the Premier's consideration, whether this would now apply under the changed circumstances. A few years ago, besides, the agitation which at present is general with reference to increased protection had no existence.

There is no doubt that throughout the length and breadth of the country at the present time this question agitates all classes of our community—how their interests may be bettered—and while I can quite understand the position of the hon. member for Stormont, he being ignorant of any desire

on the part of the farmers for any improvement of their condition, I cannot take the same ground, because I am cognizant of the fact that the subject is stirring them to their very depths. At my last election, when my opponent told them that they need not expect any protection from the Reform Government, I had to assure them that whenever this subject came up in the House, I would raise my voice in their behalf. I think it is hardly possible that the duty on wheat will give increased prices, because we raise a surplus and export it. Nevertheless, it will be a protection to our millers; and if any can be given to our agriculturists by a revision of the tariff, they should get it. The party to which I belong, and which is led by the Premier, will make a mistake if they refuse to grant this Committee. We need not prejudge the report it will make. It may show that the ideas of the hon. member for Centre Wellington, if put in practice, would only redound to the injury of the farmers. If so, nobody would advocate that measure. I trust the good sense of the Committee will prevent them incurring much expense by sending for persons.

I do not know whether the petition was read which was presented here, asking the Government to put a duty on grain. I know there is a petition being signed by the Grangers, and the only reason why several of them have not been presented is that they intend to make their appeal with the signature of 100,000 farmers. It will be presented next year, and this House should be in possession of information that would enable them to deal with it in a reasonable and proper manner. Wise though we may be, it is possible there is an aspect of this question that has not been thoroughly understood or appreciated by some in this House, who endeavour to pooh-pooh the motion. It is true some hon. gentlemen here think the United States pursue a commercial policy that is utterly nonsensical in some respects; but until the duties on agricultural products are removed, it is *prima facie* evidence that the farmers believe protection to be in their own interests.

It is said by putting duties on grain

Mr. PATERSON.

we would simply give our American neighbours an idea we were pursuing a retaliatory policy, and that would prejudice future negotiations for a renewal of reciprocal trade relation. I am one of those who believe that to have the American market free to our products would benefit our farmers. We know an honest attempt was made to secure this, that it failed, and at the present time we have not got it. We do not know whether negotiations tending in that direction may soon be opened or not, at least members of this House are not in possession of that information. The question is whether in the event of future negotiations the imposition of a tax on grain would operate in our favour. Fancy a Commissioner, delegated by this Government and sanctioned by the British Government, sent to Washington to negotiate such a Treaty. The question might be asked what he desired. He replies: "I wish to have a free market in the United States for the products of our forests, fields and mines." Then the United States Commissioner might ask—"And what will you give us in return." Our representative replies "The free use of our markets for similar products of your country." The astute American would naturally say "We have that already; I do not see that you offer us anything." We must remember we should have something to offer when we attempt to open up anew the Reciprocity question. I need not remind this House that the great lever we had before in negotiating a Reciprocity Treaty is ours no longer.

I have no doubt a very hostile feeling would be evoked in the Maritime Provinces by imposing a duty on breadstuffs. As representing a community composed largely of Ontario farmers, I admit I am selfish enough to believe and wish it would benefit them, but let the people of the Lower Provinces remember that when the fisheries were given to the United States it was not for nothing. It secured for them reciprocity—the free introduction of their products, fish and fish oils, into the United States. They got the benefits, but the Ontario and Quebec farmers received none and lost the lever by which they could have secured a re-

newal of the old reciprocity trade relations.

It is desirable, I conceive, that where a motion is made looking toward gaining information on a subject concerning the well being of so large a portion of the population as the agriculturists, it should be allowed to pass with the expression of a hope that expense would be avoided as much as possible.

Mr. STIRTON—I think we should not oppose the hon. gentleman getting the Committee. Judging from past experience, it would be quite harmless. This is the third time he has brought the matter before the House. The first Session he had a seat here he got a Committee. He had ample time to present a full report; but my hon. friend had that peculiar turn of mind to look for what had been done before. He found an old report which he copied and handed in to Parliament. It was ruled out of order. Last Session we had an attempt, which proved abortive, to get another investigation I think, therefore, we should allow him to have his Committee.

I have something to say as a practical farmer in this matter. My hon. friend said this Committee was called for by a large section of this country. Now, when anything agitates the public mind, or is particularly wanted by any class of this community, we are generally approached by petition. We have the Provincial Agricultural Association, and County and Township Societies and clubs of farmers; yet at their meetings this question is never discussed. If I believed for one moment that protection would benefit the farmers of Ontario one cent, the hon. gentleman would find me zealous in supporting his motion; but I say, as a practical farmer, that instead of benefiting it would injure them.

The hon. member for Centre Wellington said something about having free-trade with the United States, but he never said anything about what we should do to bring it about. Will anything this Committee can do or agitate in this direction bring it about? Certainly not. He went on at great length to show the success of Great Britain, and made the extraordinary statement that it was obtained without

free-trade. If he knew anything about farming there he would understand that agriculture has prospered since free-trade in corn. He also said the great secret of the success of the British manufacturer was because the raw material came in free of duty. What does he propose to do? Why, to tax raw material and make food dear.

My hon. friend from Lincoln the other night made an allusion to the fact that we imported 4,000,000 bushels of corn, and asked why should we import a bushel? Simply because we make money out of it. He also said, why not make whiskey out of coarse grains? We can buy corn for a cent a pound, and sell our barley for 1½ or 2 cents a pound, and there is more spirit in a pound of corn than a pound of barley. He proposes to put a duty on corn, and wants to make whiskey cost twice as much to the manufacturer as at present. Corn is the cheapest and most nutritious foods you can buy for the support of stock, and my hon. friend for the benefit of the farmer proposes to exclude it.

The great object is to get the farmers in line with some other interest, so as to bring such influence to bear on the Government as to drive them to the terms. I attributed a great deal of what we have heard here to selfishness. I feel as much concerned for the farming interest as any one, and if I thought this movement would benefit them to the extent of one cent in the bushel, I would support it, but I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing in it.

Mr. CASEY—Since another gentleman representing a constituency which is, in part, a farming constituency, has taken upon himself to state that the farmers are stirred up on this question, and has given mysterious hints about overwhelming petitions, I must enter a protest against the assertions of that hon. gentleman. There is no evidence, and never has been, before the House that there is any wide-spread feeling amongst farmers in favour of protection. The only attempts made in this House to establish that fact have been made by gentlemen either manufacturers themselves, or representing manufacturing, or in some way

disconnected with the farming community.

My hon. friend from South Wellington has put the facts very clearly. He has shown you there is no agitation among the Agricultural Societies, and none among farmers to organize for protection. He also gave some strong arguments against protection as applied to the farming interests. I merely say this:—The fact we had to import agricultural produce shows that it is a saving to some one. If we put on such a duty as will shut it out, it must inconvenience some persons, or cause them to lose money. The hon. member for Centre Wellington has not shown that you put a corresponding amount of increased revenue into the farmers' pockets by an increased tariff. Farmers themselves know this very well. They feel that through all the changing circumstances of the country they have stood the storm as well as any other class, while merchants and manufacturers have gone down. They have not suffered under the assumed disadvantages of free-trade, but have always come out better than any body else. But I do not see why this attempt should be made to put patent nostrums into healthy constitutions.

Mr. PATERSON — Do you not think that this Committee might do good by recommending the abolition of the duties already existing? If free trade be better than protection, why have any duties at all?

Mr. CASEY—If the Committee is appointed, it would be as likely to do that as anything else. My chief point is that the farmers have not signified any dissatisfaction with the present state of things. Although the term quackery, employed in the early part of the debate on this subject, may be a little harsh, it is no matter for surprise that such a word was suggested by the course pursued by the hon. member who makes the motion.

On motion of Mr. MILLS, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at Thirty minutes past Eleven.

Mr. CASEY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, Feb. 22, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

CIVIL SERVICE SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Mr. BLAKE moved, that on Thursday next this House will resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House to consider of the following Resolution:

That it is expedient to provide that the provisions of the Canada Civil Service Act, 1863, and any Acts amending the same, and of the "Act for better ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada, by providing for the superannuation of persons employed therein in certain cases," and any Acts amending the same, shall extend and apply to the Officers, Clerks and Servants of the Supreme Court of Canada, and of the Exchequer Court of Canada, at the seat of Government—Carried.

ASSISTANT INSPECTORS OF PENITENTIARIES.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of the Bill to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia. He said: It is not necessary to make further explanations than I have already furnished to the House. I may, however, refer to a suggestion made from one quarter of the House on the subject. This measure is not at all a consequence of the legislation to reduce the number of inspectors. The necessity arises from other considerations altogether, which would be applicable to the old Board, namely, the inspection of penitentiaries in provinces which are so remote that the travelling expenses alone would exceed the salaries which we propose to pay to the local inspectors. The further off those Provinces are, the more necessary it is to have somebody on the spot to make a closer and fuller inspection than if we had to send an officer there. The public charge is insignificant, and, as I said before, it does not amount to the travelling expenses.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My hon. friend is quite right. It would be impossible for one inspector to go to Manitoba and British Columbia. It would take him so long that he could not attend to all his duties, while if a Board were appointed it would be broken by the absence of some of the inspectors. I think these inspectors

should be of such standing as to give confidence to the House and to the country. It seems to me that this is a temporary measure more than anything else.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The intention is to find, if possible, a suitable person in each Province to whom this salary will be more a supplement than anything else. I do not anticipate any difficulty in finding proper men. The measure may in some sense be temporary, but I am afraid until we extinguish time and space it will be permanent.

Mr. BUNSTER—I think it would be impossible to find a gentleman fit for the position who would take it for the salary offered. Wages are higher in British Columbia than here, and certainly a gentleman capable of performing the duties would not accept a smaller salary than mechanics and laborers are paid.

The Bill was read the second time.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of Bill to make provision for the collection and registration of Criminal Statistics. He said: I have but a few observations to make in reference to this measure in addition to what I said when introducing it. On that occasion I promised to explain to the House, as far as I could, what, in a general sense, were the possible number of records that might have to be made, and give such other information based upon the procedure in England, and heretofore in Canada, as might be at all useful. In reference to provincial statistics on this subject, the information which I have been able to gather is only to be found in the Province of Ontario. There is there a system which furnishes to a very large extent what is required on the subject, although, from the fact that it is designed more with reference to provincial objects—there being some provincial acts which are not criminal laws of Canada, and yet involve fine and imprisonment—we cannot obtain all the information which, according to the system which has grown up in England, may be required. The results are startling as to the growth of crime in the country. The

commitments to jail in Ontario for the year ending Sept. 30th, 1872, were 6,958: for the year ending Sept. 30th, 1875, three years later, they were 10,073, making an increase of about three-sevenths of the whole amount in three years. We have partial statistics from Quebec. The commitments in 1872 were 4,241. If you assume the same percentage of increase in Quebec as we find in Ontario, it would give 6,650 commitments for 1875, or a total of between sixteen and seventeen thousand for the two Provinces, and about 20,000 in round numbers for the entire Dominion in 1875.

In Ontario a very large number of cases resulted in acquittal or discharge, the number being no less than 2,312, or about three-tenths of the whole number. This seems to me, speaking without reference to the statistics of other countries, to be a very large proportion of persons who have been subjected to the ordeal of commitment for crime and afterwards found not guilty.

Then, with reference to the minor class of crimes, part of which may be under provincial, and part under Dominion laws, and with respect to which I have no means of distinguishing one class from the other, there were no less than 3,663 commitments for the offence of being drunk and disorderly. Besides that, there are many for breach of by-laws and other crimes which might be designated as infractions of provincial by-laws punishable by committal.

This enormous increase in the number of persons charged with, and in the number convicted of crime, if you compare it with the increase of population, is remarkable, but it must not be supposed that it is attributable to any abnormal growth in 1875, for the increase of that year was less than that of 1874. I think these figures demonstrate the importance of our obtaining such statistics as may inform the minds of us who are responsible for those laws which prescribe what are crimes, the penalties for them, the criminal procedure, and the general effect of these laws upon the criminal class, as might enable us, perchance, with wisdom to amend them. As I have said, the practice in Ontario, under administrative regulations, has been such as to furnish

a very large amount of information of which I have given the House only the general result without the details. Anterior to Confederation there was established in Lower Canada a system which afforded fuller details in reference to judicial statistics than in the other Provinces, but it supplied hardly anything, indeed, that is useful except the general results I have given the House as to the number of commitments made in the course of the year. As to the other Provinces, I have caused enquiry to be made so far as public sources of information and sessional papers, &c., gave the means of doing so, but it does not appear that there exists any useful provision at any rate for obtaining criminal statistics. As I have said the provision made in Lower Canada in this regard before Confederation was very considerable and very general, but since Confederation the Criminal Procedure Act has been extended to the whole of the Dominion. The portion having reference to convictions before Magistrates' Courts, imposed upon these Magistrates the duty of making a return to a local officer of their convictions and sentences, whether by fine or imprisonment, and also required that officer to advertise in a local paper the results in schedules, and transmit these results to the Minister of Finance. I presume, from the nature of the office held by the gentleman to whom the results were to be sent, that the object of this step was a pecuniary one, to see that what belonged to the Crown was properly remitted. I have endeavoured, as far as I could, in the present measure, to adopt existing plans sanctioned by the authority of the Parliament of Canada; and the Bill provides for the continuance of these returns, the only difference being that they should be forwarded to the Minister of Agriculture, who has charge of the Department of Statistics, instead of an officer to whom they are really of no consequence. The Minister of Agriculture can see just as well as the Minister of Finance that the fees are collected; and what is really important, can utilize them with a view to the compilation of statistics. That, however, was the only existing provision of the law which it seemed possible to embody

absolutely in the Bill as capable of being made available under any circumstances. I felt at the time the measure was introduced, the importance of availing myself as far as possible of the systems at present followed in the other Provinces; and I did not like, with the information I then possessed, to propose a permissive clause; but since its introduction, I have, as I expected, received various communications on the subject, and of such a character as to induce me to inform the House of my intention to suggest a permissive clause, which enables us to utilize, where systems of statistics have been or may be established, the provincial method, so far as we can do it without injury to the harmony and completeness of our own system. It will be remarked that there are great advantages in the close supervision necessarily given by the inspector of local institutions and the returns made by virtue of his office relative to his inspection of the gaols, &c., once at any rate, and generally twice a year. He is able to ascertain how the reports are actually prepared, and check by actual inspection their accuracy with regard to the number of the persons confined in the gaol, &c. He is able to judge—and as I have been informed, his investigations frequently put him in a position to check errors—how far the officer is discharging his duty; therefore I feel it to be a very important part of the measure that we should avail ourselves of provincial machinery in this regard. The extra trouble given should be paid for, and a clause I shall suggest to be added, after the seventh section of the Bill, will be to this effect:

That in connection with the collection of criminal statistics, or the obtaining of any part of the information to be embraced in the schedules authorized under this Act, the Ministry may cause to be taken out of any moneys provided by Parliament in this regard, such sums as may be agreed on, not exceeding the amounts otherwise payable to the sheriffs and wardens for like services, under the 4th section of the Act.

I do not however propose to alter the cast of the Bill at all, but I wish to complete it, giving us full power to make collections by our own authority of all statistics. I mentioned at the time I introduced the measure that I

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thought it both politic and just that we should not impose this duty upon these officers without the payment of some small fee—just because it is an additional duty, and politic, because we cannot expect an additional duty properly performed unless this is done. I have felt a considerable degree of embarrassment as to the amount of remuneration to be given. It seemed tolerably clear to me that the general principle should be the payment of a small, fixed sum, in the first instance, for making the return. I also felt that there ought to be some little additional fee; but it was not so easy to decide whether it should be calculated according to the number of words employed, or the number of cases with reference to which information is given. On the whole, I concluded that the latter plan was most proper, for the number of cases with which the officer would have to deal would be a better measure of the trouble taken than the number of words used, obviating the employment of needless verbiage in the report. The rates I am about to propose are extremely moderate, and in this relation it is to be remembered that these officers are bound to make returns to the Local Governments, entering most of these things, if not all of them, as in Ontario. It is hardly conceivable, in any well-ordered Province, that the sheriff or gaolers should not be obliged to keep records of most of these matters, and the additional duty would be practically that of sending us the results of the entries. My intention with reference to the money resolution will be explained when we reach the notice in this connection on the paper. So much I have said with reference to the prisoners committed, either for trial or under conviction and what remains is with regard to the other and no less important branch of the matter—the returns of the business transacted in the courts themselves. It did not appear to me that we could hope to get satisfactory information by relying upon the reports of sheriffs or gaolers, obtained casually or otherwise. Besides, the acquittals would, in their returns, be entirely excluded from consideration. I have, therefore, added the suggestion that the clerk, or officer performing that

duty, and when there is no clerk, the judge himself, shall make out the schedules, and fill up such as are sent to him with reference to the criminal business transacted in the Court.

Now, Sir, passing to what is done in this relation in England, I may say that the system of judicial statistics there, which is much wider of course than our sphere concerning such statistics, embracing, as it does, the civil as well as criminal, was commenced very many years ago, and has been gradually improved. I think that about the year 1852 it was practically commenced by directions from the office of the Secretary for the Home Department, and as far as I can ascertain, it has gone on by degrees and by administrative arrangement only. There are some provisions in the old Statutes in connection with statistics, but they refer more to the means, first of all, of obtaining photographs of members of the criminal classes and the description of individual criminals, and secondly, to the provisions of the ticket-of-leave system, than to such matters as those which we are now called upon to consider. The more analogous legislation which I have been able to find, is that of Scotland in 32 and 33 Vic., Cap. 33, where provision was made legislatively for the collection of criminal statistics in Scotland; and in the second section of that Act, it is provided that the Clerks of the several Courts for the administration of Criminal Justice, the Keepers of Records, and other persons receiving remuneration for the performance of public duties, shall fill up, and transmit to the Department for the collection of criminal statistics, returns relative to the the business transacted in their offices during the preceding year. That Act also provides that each schedule sent should bear the signature of the Lord Advocate for Scotland, and a summary remedy for default, and for reports touching the state of crime, to be made by the Sheriffs. The House is aware that Sheriffs perform judicial functions there. These returns go to the Home Department with the view of contributing to the completeness of the system. I may say that I have taken advantage of the Scottish law; and I have also added provisions con-

tained in Act of the Parliament of Canada concerning the imposition of penalties, included by the right hon. member for Kingston in the amended Act, itself drawn from Acts of that Parliament. I have had called to my attention the question whether the natural year should be adopted for the returns. This would involve of course considerable delay before the statistics can be expected to be prepared in the different offices. I think that this will require about two months, and that I propose to allow. Then there would be the further delay of compiling the results and tabulating them, and this would take I do not know how much longer, but a considerable time. It would not be possible, as is very obvious, if the natural year is adopted, to furnish to Parliament during the Session the usual satisfactory returns with regard to the preceding year; and there may be a question whether—although I confess that I have an impression in favor of the natural year—on the whole the efficiency of the returns would be impaired by taking some earlier period, as the 30th of September, securing the returns by the 1st of November, and during the Session these results might be laid before Parliament. We also have the incidental advantage, which is not unimportant, of having the assistance of the Provincial machinery and of Provincial officers to a very large extent. It is the year used in the Province of Ontario, though it is quite probable that if we adopted the other that Province might also be induced to change its year. If not, it is clear that additional labor would be imposed on the officers, having possibly to a certain extent an injurious effect on the service and our arrangements in connection with this system of statistics. I have no further suggestions. The House will perceive in the Scottish Act the forms for the schedules. The forms which are to be used shall be approved of by the Governor in Council, so that the whole Council shall be responsible for the adoption of any schedules which the officers in question under this Act will be obliged to fill up.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked

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if any provision was made respecting breaches of provincial laws?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The Bill provides for the collection of criminal statistics of Canada, and I do not propose to provide for that. With reference to the Province of Ontario, we can very easily collect the statistics, and perhaps as a mere matter of departmental administration the Minister charged with this duty in that or any other Province could make a supplementary report which can be communicated to the House. I did not think it expedient to mingle that subject with the statistics of crime of Canada.

Mr. BROUSE—I don't rise for the purpose of opposing anything in this Bill, but on the contrary to congratulate my hon. friend on bringing it forward. At the same time I regret that the Bill has not gone further. When my hon. friend on my left (Mr. Dymond) brought this question forward, it was stated that it was not within the province of the House to deal with it. I also brought forward another matter—that relating to sanitary science, and was informed that it could not be dealt with here. While expressing satisfaction with the present measure, I may repeat that a larger and more important question has been given the go by, and that no reference is made to health statistics, which would be of far greater importance than the mere collection of criminal statistics. The legislators of England have declared that it is the first duty of a statesman to legislate for the health of the people, and in other countries such legislation has had the effect of reducing the rate of mortality from 40 in 1,000 down to its present comparatively low figure. I think the hon. gentleman should give a reason to this House why this important subject should not be dealt with. I do not intend to go into the matter fully at present, but will avail myself of another opportunity to bring it before the House.

Mr. DYMOND—I think the history of this subject should encourage my hon. friend. Two years ago I made a motion to obtain statistics with regard to one particular class of crime, desiring to obtain not merely the convictions and sentences, but also the com-

mitments where acquittals had taken place. I was then informed that it would be impossible for the Government to act in the matter. On a second occasion I ventured to add to my motion an address or recommendation, that attempts should be made through the local Governments to obtain the information which my hon. friend now proposes to get by this Bill. I congratulate the hon. gentleman on his having accomplished what was two years ago alleged to be an impossibility. I always knew my hon. friend would perform great things, and I hope that he or some other member of the Government will endeavour to carry out the suggestion of the hon. member for South Grenville. It is all very well for us to obtain information regarding the extent and nature of the moral disease which prevails in our midst, but it is equally important that we should understand what are the laws acting upon and regulating the health of the community—what are the climatic effects on longevity, and what parts of our country are more healthy than others, which can only be done through some such agency as that proposed in the Bill before us.

The subject of statistics has been brought before the House on other occasions. I remember that the hon. member for South Waterloo either made a speech or moved for a Committee last year, and the attention of the Senate was also called to the question. I venture to suggest that my hon. friend the Minister of Justice will be able shortly to give us the means of collecting statistics relating to sanitary matters.

It will be satisfactory, however, that this House will not be asked to pass criminal laws in the dark in future. Hitherto we have had no information before us, even as to the existence of certain classes of crime. We shall now be able to see what the effect of our legislation has been—whether justice has been administered satisfactorily under the laws that we enact, as well as to obtain some reliable information relative to the social condition of the people—a subject in which we are all deeply interested.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—In respect to the observations of my hon. friend from North York, I may say that he

asked for certain returns, and was told, if I remember aright, it was not in the power of the Government to obtain them. We want to get power, and we are proposing this legislation in view of that clause of the British North America Act which gives us control of statistics. It was impossible to do it without a law, and in order to get over that difficulty the measure is proposed.

With regard to the remarks of the member for South Grenville, I admit that physical health is important, but it is not with that subject this Bill proposes to deal. By embracing that that subject, the system would be much more extensive, and would be coupling two subjects, alike only in the matter of statistics. Vital statistics should undoubtedly be dealt with, but I believe that those who carefully consider the great range of subjects over which a system embracing that subject would extend, and the enormous expense which would be incurred in carrying it out, would hesitate before presenting legislation to make use of the powers invested in us in that regard.

The Bill was read the second time.

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

Item 5—A Bill to amend the Criminal Law relating to violence, threats and molestations—was then called.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Let it pass.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD was understood to suggest that it might be as well to repeal and re-enact the old Act as to proceed with this measure.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—My right hon. friend has the honor and glory of being father of that legislation, and I don't desire to deprive him of any of his laurels.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am very sorry that the hon. gentleman has not exercised the same magnanimity with reference to a very important act providing for the trial of controverted elections by judges.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I proposed that Act.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentlemen may have proposed a Bill, but not that Act, which was passed by us.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I proposed one almost similar in 1872. The hon. gentleman wanted to run his election without it and voted it down.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentleman says he proposed an Act precisely similar.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I did not say precisely.

Hon Mr. TUPPER—Well, the hon. gentleman used a term equivalent to it—“very similar.” Yet the Government, without giving any reason to this House, or to any person, as far as I am aware, repealed that Act and put another in its place. If the hon. gentleman had been animated by the same magnanimous feeling he has displayed now to my right hon. friend, he would have taken the opportunity of making the very slight modifications introduced in the Act to which he referred, and left it on the Statute Book as our Act.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It is not fair to charge me with the sins committed by my colleagues before I joined them. I was not guilty of murdering his Election Act.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I certainly must excuse the hon. gentleman on that point.

The subject then dropped.

THE NEW NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the second reading of the “Bill respecting the North-West Territories, and to create a separate territory out of part thereof.” He said—I have very little to say in addition to the remarks I made in introducing the Bill. The intention is simply to appoint the Governor of Manitoba to govern the territory immediately east and north of the present Province—to detach, in other words, all that portion known as the North-West Territory east of Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis, and to create a new territory, which shall in the meantime be governed by the Governor of Manitoba. It is uncertain when we may have the boundary on the west and east side of Ontario determined. The boundaries of the North-West Territories on the east

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are equally uncertain, and it is considered desirable in the interest of the good government of the country that we should have this arrangement made. As soon as the western boundary of Ontario is determined, and if the Province of Manitoba take no action for the enlargement of the boundaries of that Province, another arrangement may be made.

The first section of the Bill is devoted entirely to a description of the boundary and the Territory. I cannot remember the name for it at the present, but it is an Indian name.

The second section repeals certain provisions which are not made applicable under this Act.

The third section provides that the Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba shall be *ex officio* Governor of this district.

We take power in the fourth section to constitute and appoint a Council if need be. We do not anticipate there will be any necessity for it, nor do we make provision for paying any members of the Council. It is merely to enable us, if necessary, to constitute persons to advise the Lieut.-Governor for the time being.

The other provisions of the Act are practically making applicable the provisions of the general Act of last Session and the schedules at the end of the Bill of the Acts that relate to the Government of the North-West Territories.

In the seventh section provision is made for the transmission by the Governor of that Province to the Governor in Council at Ottawa, within ten days from the passage of any law, a copy thereof: this is in accordance with existing provisions of the law.

Mr. MASSON—I would like to know why clause 11 in the North-West Territories Act is left out of this Bill; whether it has been found unnecessary or impracticable? A great many powers are taken from the Territorial Government, among them those which provide for taxation for local purposes. The Hon. Premier will, of course, give us his reasons for curtailing powers which, last session, he thought it necessary to confer to so large an extent. I would like to know what means the Local Government will have to provide for improvements and for the education of the people.

Will they be obliged to appeal to the Federal Government to provide for these things?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Bill is only temporary in its character. Section eleven refers only to the Act of last Session. The laws established by this Bill are those in force at the present moment in the North-West Territories—neither more nor less. The Act of last Session proposed the creation of a municipal system and conferred practically all the powers of self-government as a Province. It is only when such powers are exercised that the clause in question comes into operation.

Mr. MASSON—How will the people of that country be educated or provided with public improvements?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They will have precisely the same power they have at present in the North-West Territories under the existing laws.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does this Bill affect the powers conveyed by the North-West Territories Act, so far as its jurisdiction goes?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It detaches this section of country from the jurisdiction of the North-West Territories' Government.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does this Bill provide for Municipal Government?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It provides for no municipal purposes of any kind.

Mr. MASSON—How does it provide for education?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We make no provision for that in this local Act.

Mr. MASSON—I understand the Government last Session when they introduced their Bill thought it advisable to provide for education. They now give no power for municipal taxation or the education of the people. Is there any law in that Territory which gives to the people there those rights and privileges assured to them by the 11th clause of the Act of last Session?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The Act of last Session has not yet been put in force. At present all the Territories of the North-West are governed from Manitoba. The Act of last Session pro-

posed, and I think rightly proposed a system which gave rudimentary representative institutions coincidentally with its going into effect. The Bill of this Session takes off a very small portion of the enormous territories of the North-West for the particular purpose which my hon. friend, the Premier, clearly explained. He pointed out in the present condition of that country, with its comparatively limited means of access, with its vast unsettled plains, and with a portion of the territory lying partly east of Manitoba, that it was advisable as a mere temporary measure to adopt this system of government in that country for a short time. He pointed out as soon as the boundary of Ontario and the North-West Territories was settled, the question would immediately arise whether a portion of the territory, for present purposes annexed to Manitoba, would belong to that Province. If not annexed to Manitoba it would be under the jurisdiction of the Government at Fort Pelly. If this territory is annexed to Manitoba the laws of that Province relating to schools will apply to it. If re-annexed to the North-West Territories, clause 11 of the Act of last Session will apply. But this cannot be done without at the same time conferring powers of taxation, and no such powers can be exercised without representative institutions.—We could not give to the few people there representative institutions, and therefore we continue for that part of the Territories the primitive system of government—the same system which the right hon. gentleman opposite thinks should continue for a long time to come. Now, that is not the view of the Government, as the Premier explained. He said the Act was passed last Session with the intention of bringing it into operation at the earliest practicable moment; but pending the settlement of the boundary question it is proposed to leave the few people who will be outside of this territory in the position that they now occupy.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—As I stated at the time the Bill was introduced last Session, I think that territory might well be governed from Manitoba without a separate Legisla-

ture, but I did not at all contemplate that country would remain for a long time without a government of its own. My contention was that the constitutional Governor of Manitoba had so little to do he could economically enough for a good many years govern the whole of the Territories under the provisions of the Bill of last Session.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I am very glad to hear that.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman will find if he looks back that I approved of the Bill, and the only objection was that a separate Government was unnecessary. This Bill is a permanent one on the face of it, and I think a clause should be introduced to say that it is temporary. Under this Act there can be no taxation. Then any expense or cost in working the machinery of the Government of this country will, I take it, be chargeable on the Dominion Treasury.

My hon. friend will no doubt explain later in the Session why the Act of last year was not brought into force. If I recollect aright, when that Bill was introduced to this House, I ventured to state, with the sparse population of the West, outside the boundary of Manitoba, that the Lieut.-Governor of that Province would perform all the duties of government required for a time in the Territories, and there would be no necessity for establishing a separate Government until the country had been better settled. But it was stated by my hon. friend that it was highly expedient that there should be a Lieut.-Governor and a Government appointed for the Territories without any delay. Delay has taken place; and I venture to say that that portion of the country need not be brought under the operation of the law at present. The reason is still stronger now than it has been since last Session, as part of the territory is taken away under this Act, the part which has the most population. As I understand the boundaries, the bulk of the territory that will come under the provisions of this Act lie to the east of the western boundary of this Province, and to the east and north of the eastern boundary of Manitoba. The majority of the people who

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

have gone into our Western country are settled in this district; at all events, a large percentage of them have settled about Lake Winnipegosis in the immediate vicinity of Manitoba, although not within the limits of its jurisdiction; therefore there is less reason for the establishment of the new Government under the Act of last Session. There can be no satisfactory legislation by a Government of this kind, even if the population were there, for you cannot have educational legislation or impose taxes. Even though they had Municipal Councils they have not the authority to confer on them powers which they do not possess themselves, to impose school taxes; therefore the ordinances passed by the Lieut.-Governor in Council would be of a very unsatisfactory and inadequate description. It would, no doubt, be satisfactory to the House to ascertain how long the hon. gentleman thinks that that country will be governed under this Act.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There are several reasons why the Act of last Session was not put in force, some of which I can mention to the House. In the first place it was very desirable we should obtain the utmost possible information as to the probable distribution of population that would settle in the different districts of country. The Great Lone Land, as Mr. Butler terms it, was but imperfectly known, and it is only by recent explorations that many facts concerning it have come to our knowledge—facts that seem to be essential in considering the question of creating the seat of Government. We had determined on a vigorous course of action with regard to the expulsion of offenders by the North-West Mounted Police, and through their efforts we have been able to vindicate the majesty of the British law in these territories. By their means we have been enabled to acquire a great deal of information respecting the settlement and resources of certain parts of the country of which very little was previously known. We find that a large population is rapidly settling at the north bend of the Saskatchewan River, where there is a population already of between 500 and 1,000 souls. South of that, where the railway is to cross, the land at the south

branch is being located, and one person has erected a saw and grist mill this year. Assuming the Jasper House and Lake Winnipeg are the central points, the place where we shall likely establish the seat of Government is 250 miles from Fort Pelly, and 550 miles distant from the town of Winnipeg. At one time we thought Fort Pelly was the best place for the establishment of the Government House, but other information leads us to the conclusion that it would be better to remove it further west. A vast territory can be developed, and is now partly developed, in the Peace River District. Fort Pelly appears to be too far east, and Government would be more difficult if located there than if it were established at the centre of the Territories. It is already difficult to reach remote settlements by any authority that we can put in motion, and we must have an authority that can easily extend to the different points. The place which we shall probably select as the seat of Government must be one favourable for the location of a considerable town; it ought also to be favourable as an agricultural district, with an abundance of fuel and timber, and easy access from the different posts established by the Government in the Territories. I have far less doubt now than ever of the wisdom of establishing this authority, and of the utter impossibility of the Governor of Manitoba governing that vast territory. The Indian question itself, is a very serious one. We have found it necessary to ask Lieut.-Governor Morris, who has devoted himself earnestly and with an assiduity beyond all praise to make himself useful in developing that territory, to travel 200 or 300 miles to meet the Indians in treaty, and it was impossible for him to make that journey in less than two or three weeks. We cannot expect him, when we are obliged to meet and treat with other Indian bands in the Far West, to leave his Government for eight weeks at a time on this business. We find it necessary therefore to have another officer of superior rank, equal to that of the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, to meet those Indians, although Lieutenant Governor Morris has not

his hands so full that he could not give his attention to more work in his immediate vicinity. It is a different thing when he is asked to travel 400 or 500 miles from his own Province, when matters pertaining to the Territories would demand his consideration. I have felt myself at liberty to consult with Lieutenant Governor Morris on all these matters. Although we were not politically allied, it does not prevent us from entering cordially into matters connected with these Territories, and it was entirely his opinion, as well as the opinion of this Administration, that until this boundary question between Ontario and the North-West Territories is settled, the portion east of Manitoba should be governed by the authority settled in that Province. We cannot apply the laws of Ontario to any part of that territory, although it may belong to this Province, until the boundary is decided on. Ontario claims the whole of it to Manitoba; while others assume that the boundary is as far east as Fort William, and that the terminus of the Pacific Railway there is really in the North-West Territories. If all the territory west of Fort William is given to Ontario, then the laws in relation to Ontario will come into immediate operation there; on the other hand if the North-West boundary is found to be at Fort William, then the laws applicable to the North-West Territories will be enforced there, and we can conceive of no difficulty that can arise that will prevent us from being able to determine these boundaries by legislation next Session of Parliament. The only settlement of any consequence east of Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba, is the settlement of Icelanders on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. There are very few settlers in that region, and though our friends claim that there is but little land in that direction that can be settled, recent explorations have led us to a different opinion. Settlement has gone south of Lake Manitoba, and north of Lake Winnipeg there is also a very considerable settlement. The prospect is that there will also be a very large population on the slope of the Rocky Mountains, where Colonel McLeod is stationed with the Mounted Police force, near Fort Benton.

Our officers there collected in something like six months \$6,000 in duties on articles imported from the United States. The territory there is developing into a very rich country. It is a very fine grazing section, although from its greater elevation it is a little more subject to frosts than the other parts of the country of less elevation. There can be no doubt that the country from Lake St. Henry to the North Saskatchewan and a little beyond it is eminently favourable for settlement. There is a steady descent from the boundary northward. At the boundary the elevation of the prairie land is not far from 5,000 feet. At the Jasper House it is about 3,500 feet on the average. Progressing northward towards Smoky River, it is not more than 2,000 feet. Where the Peace River bends southward we find that the elevation of the prairie is not much more than 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, and with this declination north the climate grows milder, and the isothermal lines appear to follow the level of the country. This indicates two things:—That there is a rich country fit for settlement from the United States boundary all the way north to Lake Athabaska, and that as we go northward the land is better than in the south. There is no reason why a very large population should not pass into that vast country, stretching northward seven hundred miles, and enjoy a climate as favourable as in any part of Canada proper, except, perhaps, the south-west peninsula of Ontario. These considerations render it necessary, in our opinion, that this central authority should be established; that the people abroad who read our reports and seek for information about our country should understand that we have not merely an immense extent of fertile territory in the North-West, but that it is in a position that law and order can be enforced; that there is nothing to be feared from the wandering tribes of aborigines, and that everything has been done to prepare for the introduction and settlement of the large population that may naturally be expected to arrive from Europe. These measures have been adopted after due consideration, and the Bill is to provide for a difficulty of only temporary existence

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in consequence of the delay in ascertaining the western boundary of Ontario and the eastern boundary of the North-West Territories.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My hon. friend will see that a permanent Act doing away with that clause might create misunderstanding, and probably dissatisfaction.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I shall consider whether it will be necessary to insert the words mentioned before the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—I think it very desirable that it should be a temporary Act, for in its wording I think that there are some very objectionable features. It assumes the delegation of our authority, not only to the Governor in Council, but further to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and the Lieutenant-Governor is to have the authority and power of altering our laws; that is, he is to have greater power than we give to any Provincial Legislature, greater than we gave last year to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, in the North-West Territory, advised by an Elective Council. I do not think that is right, nor do I consider that it was intended such power should be granted to an irresponsible body, or the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The hon. gentlemen present, who were in the House some years ago, will remember how sarcastically the present Chief Justice of Manitoba used to refer to this new institution of the Governor in Council; and this is now to be extended in a most remarkable manner. We are delegating these powers to the Lieutenant-Governor, with the power of altering, amending, and modifying any Acts, or Act, of the Parliament of Canada, or any parts thereof.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Would my hon. friend allow me to tell him that this is simply a consolidation of the laws under which that Territory is governed to-day?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—I think that my hon. friend is mistaken. I cannot find it in the North-West Territories Act.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I am not speaking of the North-West Territories Act of 1875, which is not in force, but of laws passed by my hon. friend's leader.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—If the right hon. gentleman passed an objectionable law, I do not think that we should re-enact it. It is no reason because he is an ass, that you should be a basilisk. This would be over-riding the legislation of the country, and I think that when my hon. friend, the Minister of Justice, looks into it closely, he will see what I contend is really the case.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I may say in answer to my hon. friend that this Bill has been, I believe, prepared with great care. Instructions were given that this should be done in the consolidation of the existing laws under which the territory is governed. We repeal the three Acts which are at present in force there, and simply re-enact a measure giving precisely the same powers; we did not intend to alter, and I do not believe that we have altered, these powers in any particular.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I would like to ask the Head of the Government at what time he proposes to put the North-West Territories Act into operation?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I cannot answer that question at the present moment.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—With reference to this Bill I congratulate the Government on the conclusion at which they have arrived, after careful consideration, concerning the other measure.

Last year we had the North-West Territories Bill introduced and passed. Provision had formerly been made for the Government of that Province by the Governor of Manitoba, and a Council composed of a number of gentlemen of high standing and of great ability, who had given a great deal of time and attention to any legislation, or any measures found necessary in this connection. The Administration thought it wise to introduce a Bill last Session, for the government of these Territories, abolishing this unpaid Council, and providing for the appointment of an independent and separate Government and Council, with the various other machinery required. It was also at the time announced to the House that it was the intention to establish that Government at Fort Pelly. It appeared to me that it would

be wise to pause before incurring this new expenditure. We had already all that was necessary for the government of Manitoba. This Session we are asked to create a new authority, and what was the reason given? That there was a number of inhabitants in the adjacent district, and that it was desirable that they should be brought under the influence of the Local Government, but only until the time when the boundaries were established between Ontario and the North-West Territory. I understood my hon. friend to say he hoped that matter would be adjusted when Parliament would meet at the next Session. If this be the case I cannot understand why we should go to this expense.

Hon. Messrs. MACKENZIE and BLAKE—There will be no expense.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentlemen provides for the establishment of a Council.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There will not be a dollar of expense.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Very well; I do not then understand why it is necessary to alter the North-West Territories Act in relation to this section, if it is intended to put the Act in force at all, especially when my hon. friend told the House that he intended to ask for different legislation at the next Session of Parliament touching this matter. This is a question to which I am sure the House will give its most careful consideration. I think that the facts quite justify a postponement as well as the wisdom of obtaining still further legislation with respect to this whole country before we materially change its form of Administration. It is besides inexpedient to adopt legislation for a single season. No doubt, it is very important that what is designed for new countries in this relation, shall be changed as seldom as possible, for people have become familiar with laws of a certain kind, and with a certain mode of Government, and it is not well that a year afterwards this legislation should be swept away to be replaced by another system. Experience shows the wisdom of a little delay in connection with such matters,

and we should comply with the dictates of experience in the present instance, if we permit the measure to stand over for a time.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk)—It must be evident to everyone, and more especially to those who are intimately acquainted with the subject, that a territory of such vast extent, cannot be properly and suitably governed from a point so distant as Winnipeg. At the same time I was very glad to hear the observations and explanations given by the Prime Minister—and that is, that the seat of Government of the proposed new Province is to be removed a considerable distance further west. In the North-West there are already very large settlements at different points near Bow River and the South Saskatchewan, and again beyond Edmonton, and at Fort Albert, &c.,—perhaps altogether comprising four or five thousand people; but there is also a district to the north of that again, equally well fitted for settlement with the region south of the Saskatchewan. A few days ago I received a letter from a gentleman in the Peace River District, who has travelled over the greater portion of the northern part of the territory, and he states his belief that for one acre of good land to the south of the Saskatchewan, there are five acres to the north. I am not quite so sanguine; but, at the same time, I know that there is a very large extent of country to the north which is as well suited for settlement as the portion to the south. Settlers will come both from the United States in the direction of Bow River, and also from British Columbia and the United States by way of Peace River, and it is absolutely necessary that there should be some legal Government to give attention to any difficulties which may arise.

It must be further recollected that in this portion of the Territory, the great body of the Indian population is found; these are very different to those in the south, and if there are any troubles to be experienced, danger is to be apprehended from the Indian tribes living on the upper portion of the Saskatchewan. I do not, myself, fear any such troubles, but many do,

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and I consider that it would be only prudent to take the necessary precautions. With regard to the section it is proposed to detach from the North-West Territory, I am of opinion that the provisions of the former Act would be found quite sufficient for the time being. That Act has been there administered during three or four years by a Council, which instead of having too much power, I consider had scarcely enough authority in several instances. Indeed, it was more an Advisory Council than anything else, and the Government has really been controlled from Ottawa; but nevertheless I must say that the Dominion Government has, on most occasions, given every consideration to the recommendations of this Council, and carried them out. I do think that for the moment the provisions of the old Act will be quite sufficient as regards the comparatively small portion settled, and of the district which it is to detach, nine-tenths or ninety-nine hundredths, or nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths, will have no settlement for many, many years to come; and neither require legislation respecting taxation or schools, or almost any other purpose during that period. Settlement will be somewhat tardy between the Lakes Winnipegosis and Winnipeg, also a small portion near the mouth of the Winnipeg River, and possibly near Fort Francis or Rainy River. I trust that the Government will persevere with the measure, and carry out the promises of the Act of last Session as concerns the large section of the territory west and north of Lake Winnipegosis, which can be properly governed by any Council such as that which is proposed for the portion to be detached in this Bill.

The Bill was read the second time.

SALARIES OF COUNTY COURT JUDGES.

The House then went into Committee to consider certain resolutions respecting the salaries of County Court Judges of the Province of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Scatcherd took the Chair.

The Committee rose and reported the resolution.

ASSISTANT INSPECTORS OF PENITENTIARIES.

The House went into Committee to consider the following resolution:—

"That it is expedient to provide that the Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries to be appointed under the Bill intituled 'An Act to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia,' shall each receive a salary not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars per annum and travelling expenses to be determined by the Governor in Council."

Mr. Scatcherd took the chair.

The Committee rose and reported the resolution.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

The House went into Committee again, Mr. Scatcherd in the chair, to consider the following resolution:—

"That it is expedient to provide that the Minister of Agriculture, or such other Minister as is mentioned in the Bill intituled 'An Act to make provision for the Collection and Registration of the Criminal Statistics of Canada,' shall cause to be paid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for that purpose, to any Clerk, Officer or Sheriff filling up and transmitting the schedules required under the first section of the said Bill the sum of _____ and the further sum of _____ for each _____ comprised in such schedule; and to any officer transmitting the returns required under the second section thereof the sum of _____."

Mr. BLAKE said he proposed to fill up the first blank with "\$," the second with "5cts." and the third with the word "case," and the last with \$1. In conformity with the announcement made on his motion for the second reading of the Bill he proposed two additional sub-sections.

The amendment was adopted, and the Committee rose and reported.

THE AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

The debate on this question was resumed by

Mr. PLUMB, who said — I have been somewhat surprised at the disposition to oppose the passage of the resolution. It seems to me that the enquiry is one which very properly comes before the House. The fact that we have spent a great deal of time in discussing the propriety of making enquiry in another direction should be no reason why an interest so important as that which is involved in the resolution should not be treated with the same

courtesy and the Committee granted as well as in the other case. Gentlemen who assume to take the farmers under their special protection, in the course of the debate last night said there had been no petitions presented to the House. The same thing, I think, may be said of the resolution proposed the other day—there were no petitions in favour of the action taken. It was brought before the House without any apparent outside desire that such an enquiry should be made. I cannot see why the same argument was not used against that Committee as was brought forward against the one proposed by the hon. member for Centre Wellington.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Will my hon. friend allow me a moment? I suggested to the hon. gentleman opposite that if we had a simple understanding, such as we had with the Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures last year, that although the power to send for persons may be left in that motion to provide for it if necessary, people should not be called in unless there was some necessity for it, there would be no objection to the motion. I objected to it last night because of the power it conferred to send for persons, as I found two Sessions ago that this power was exercised very much to the detriment of the public revenue. Thousands of dollars were spent during that Session in calling witnesses, many of whom seemed altogether unnecessary for the objects of the enquiry. If this suggestion is adopted, the Committee may be appointed at once.

Mr. PLUMB—I am not authorized to make any modification in the resolution. I do not see why it should not be treated in the same way as any other resolution before the House. If, as gentlemen claim, there is no depression in the agricultural interests, the enquiry will do no harm. I am not prepared to say that one interest in this country can suffer without others being injured. I know there has been a very large competition on the frontier, and there has been a constant increase in the importations from the United States. Last year we imported 5,105,258 bushels of wheat, and

exported to the United States 410,000 bushels. We imported of Indian corn 3,696,746 bushels, and of other grain 180,000 bushels.

The gentleman who asks for this Committee represents an agricultural community, and was elected when he last appealed to his constituents by an increased majority. I consider that quite a practical endorsement of his course, and an expression in favour of protection. We are all, no doubt, in favour of an exchange of natural products if we can obtain it, but the advantages must not be all on one side. I hope this Committee will be struck in order that we may learn the cause of the decrease in our exports and the increase of our imports of farm produce to and from the United States.

Mr. SMITH (Peel)—I am sorry to learn that the Premier objects to granting this Committee.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I had no objection at all to granting the Committee from the first. My only objection was to bringing witnesses or creating large expenses. I am willing to grant the Committee on the same understanding as the Committee was granted last year to the manufacturers.

Mr. SMITH—I am quite sure the country will sustain the Premier in this. It has been pointed out that this is the third time that the hon. member for Centre Wellington has got this Committee and has done nothing. This is a serious matter. While some have pooh-poohed this motion—and I confess I was one of them at first—there can be no doubt that many of our farmers desire to have the question discussed and thoroughly investigated. I don't know that I can agree with the hon. member for South Wellington when he says if the farmers of the West required this Committee they would have discussed it at the meetings of the Agricultural Associations. It is well known that farmers do not study those things so much as they should, and that they are not prepared to take such action on them as commercial and manufacturing men would. I cannot agree with what the hon. member for South Brant said,

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that he had no doubt a petition will be presented next year signed by 100,000 farmers.

I think that it would be well that the farmers should be placed on the same footing as other producers. I find that the great mass of the products brought into this country pay a duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while most agricultural products are admitted free. Horses, cattle, swine and sheep are charged 10 per cent.; and this duty should be at least raised to $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Then we have grain of all kind, flour and Indian corn coming into Canada absolutely free. Now, it is said to be absurd to ask an exporting country to be protective, but the United States, which exports largely, although raising farm produce and grain of all kind which they send over here, protect themselves against us; yet still they are prosperous, both with regard to producing powers and revenue. Certainly, we ought to occupy the same position. The farmers only ask to be placed on the same footing as other producers, and no more; and I have no doubt that the agitation which will be created amongst them in this relation will force this House to give attention to their interests.

Mr. McDUGALL (South Renfrew)—I am opposed to this Committee, though representing an agricultural community and being myself interested in that particular business. I think the arguments of those who are asking for this Committee are based on the expectation that the interests of the agriculturists will be benefitted only by the imposition of duties on those articles that are imported into this country and which they raise. I believe the question of protection to home industries agitates the public mind more than any other, and no people are more deeply interested in it than the farmers. They are the principal consumers and must pay for this protection. Surely they are interested in preventing that being done.

Now, I say by granting a Committee which is evidently intended for the purpose of putting a duty on articles produced by the farmers, they admit the case that is being attempted to be made out by the manufacturers. At this particular moment I think that

every person who is anxious that injustice shall not be done to the farmers should do everything that lies in his power to prevent the manufacturers from having a protective duty imposed. Admitting it is quite possible for the manufacturers to be right and those opposed to them to be wrong, I believe a large proportion of the agricultural population think they are asking what they are not entitled to.

If they think that the manufacturers are asking what they are not entitled to, it is their duty certainly not to ask for what, if it were granted, would be as far wrong in their case as if asked by the manufacturers. I believe that no duty placed on articles raised by farmers can be of any service to them. They export those articles that are really the principle part of what they raise, and the prices of which are governed, not by the prices that prevail in the home markets, but by those which prevail in the markets to which they are exported.

There is not the slightest reason why the time and attention of the farmer should not be as profitably employed in raising articles for export as for home consumption or local markets. Great Britain will give us as much for our cattle as will make stock raising a profitable business in this country. That being the case, is there any reason why our farmers cannot use their coarse grain and roots in the raising of cattle for export? In doing so the farmer not only makes profit for himself, but it gives him the means of improving the value of his land, which is not only an immediate profit but a profit for all time to come. It is therefore evident that the duty asked for would be of no practical benefit to the farmers of Canada.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury) — Representing a constituency almost entirely agricultural in its interests, I wish to say a few words with respect to the motion before the House. It may be of very little advantage, the investigation of this subject by a Committee, and if I could see any to be derived from it, I would be the last person in the House to raise my voice against it. In fact I do not intend to do so now—but the gentlemen who are proposed on the Committee are not

a fair representation of the Dominion. For instance, the mover has proposed thirteen names; ten of these are from Ontario, two from Quebec, one from the Maritime Provinces, and the remaining Provinces of the Dominion are not represented at all. The agriculturists of the Lower Provinces have different, and some of them conflicting interests from the farmers of Ontario, and to consider the interests of a portion of the agricultural community and ignore the interests of the other would, I think, be unfair. Another objection to the Committee is that a large majority of its members are not agriculturists. I think there are intelligent men in this House who could throw much light on the subject, who are not named. Gentlemen who are not practical agriculturists may be intelligent enough on other questions, but they cannot throw such light on a subject of this kind as parties who are directly interested in this pursuit. I think these are very grave objections to the constitution of the Committee. I believe, if we are to have a protective policy in favour of manufactures, that all the different industries of the country, agriculture included, should have an equal advantage, if there is any. The difficulty of protecting every branch of business and industry in this country must be apparent to every intelligent man. It would be a task I think no Government would undertake. For instance, in portions of the Lower Provinces the price of agricultural products depends very much upon the prosperity of the lumber trade. That branch of trade is at present in a very depressed condition, and in order to benefit the agricultural interests the lumber trade would have to be improved, and as it could not be done by protection there would be no other way except by a bounty, which is out of the question.

For these reasons, in my opinion, the difficulties likely to arise from this question are very many. I have been on Committees of this kind, and have always found that the agricultural interests were made a secondary consideration; that the millers' interests were generally first looked to, and the interests of farmers neglected. I fear that the present Committee, selected as they are, would do the

same thing. I do not wish to continue the discussion, but when the hon. gentleman from Brant informs us that we are likely to be inundated with a flood of petitions from the Grangers of Ontario if the agricultural interests are not protected, I would tell him that we have agricultural associations in the Lower Provinces also. They are satisfied with the operation of the tariff, and if the Grangers of Ontario, whose interests are antagonistic to those of the Lower Provinces, urge the Government to put a duty on flour and meal, they will have petitions from the Grangers of New Brunswick against it. They are in favour of free-trade and against a protective tariff.

The debate was unfinished when the House adjourned at Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 23, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair! at Three o'clock.

MEMBER INTRODUCED.

Mr. HECTOR CAMERON (North Victoria) was introduced by Sir John Macdonald and Hon J. H. Cameron, and took his seat.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON introduced a Bill to amend the law relating to Criminal Procedure. He said: This is in part the same measure that I introduced last year, and its object is to provide for the examination of certain witnesses in criminal cases. I have also added two clauses that I consider it advisable to bring before the House, in consequence of matters that have occurred since the last session of Parliament. One is in reference to procedure where a witness was found guilty of a crime, convicted and sentenced. There is a doubt whether he can be examined as a witness. The law already provides that he can give evidence before conviction, but there is no provision for examining him after sentence. A doubt has been expressed by no less than three judges of the Superior Court of Upper Canada as to whether he can be examined or not,

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and I find that the American authorities hold that he can not. The other clause is one of a much more important character, and one which I have no doubt will require consideration, particularly at the hands of my hon. friend the Minister of Justice and those who, like myself, are members of the legal profession. It is a curious anomaly of our criminal procedure that the law allows the punishment of a man convicted of crime by the evidence of an accomplice, while at the same time, the judge advises the jury that no conviction shall take place unless there is corroborative evidence. That anomaly should be ended. The law should not be one way while the direction of the court is another. If corroborative evidence is not required, then the party ought to be allowed to offer himself as a witness. My own opinion is, that the view of the judges both in this country and in England is the proper one. I propose to offer for the consideration of the House a clause which shall require that in such a case, in addition to the evidence of the accomplice, there shall be such corroborative evidence as the judge may think proper to submit to the jury.

The Bill was read the first time.

THE INSPECTION LAW.

Mr. FORBES introduced a Bill to extend to the whole Dominion of Canada the inspection of certain articles of Canadian produce.

Hon. Mr. POPE—Explain!

Mr. FORBES—A Bill similar to this was carried through the House last Session and was thrown out by the Senate.

The Bill was read the first time.

ABORTION.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON introduced a Bill to amend the Criminal Law relating to the crime of Abortion. He said: In this Bill there are two clauses, one declaring the case in which it shall be murder, and the other in which it shall not be murder. I think it is quite evident from what has occurred during the last two or three years, and from the cases that have been before the courts, that there ought to be some alteration in the law. In all cases in which death

ensues, the crime is murder. This arises from the old common law doctrine which declares that if in the perpetration of a felony, death is caused, the crime is murder. Of course one can easily understand how that would be the case under the old English law, which made every felony a capital crime. There was no felony that was not punishable with death, and the consequence was it mattered very little whether a man was convicted on one charge or the other.

The difference of intention was one of so extraordinary a character, that before the Committee appointed some years ago for the purpose of examining into the question of culpable homicide, when most of the judges were one after another examined, they all seemed—or the majority of them—to consider it strange that a principle which was taken from the original statement, should be the one upon which action should continue to be taken down to the present time. Now that the statement was this:—That if a man fired into a flock of fowls, with the intention of killing and stealing one of them, and he shot a person while doing so, such shooting would be murder; but if he fired at the same flock, not with the intention of stealing the particular fowl at which he fired, but merely wantonly, and shot somebody, it would not be murder. Well, of course, it is very difficult indeed to understand upon any other principle than the old one of which I have just spoken, how the fact of firing at a fowl, with the intention of stealing it afterwards, which was a felony, made the unintentional killing of a man murder on the part of the person who discharged the gun, while in the other case, when he shot in mere wantonness, such killing was not murder. That principle has prevailed in the English law to the present day, but it does not prevail in connection with other things of quite as much consequence. Take, for instance, the case of a man indicted for the crime of perjury. It may be established in the clearest possible way that the accused is, or is intended to be, guilty of wilful perjury in some particular point, but if touching some other point in the indictment he is not shown to be so guilty, he

cannot be found guilty, because it so happens that the matter is not put forward concerning which he may be culpable and there are various other things of the same kind which really require consideration. While applying this to what is now before us in this country, and to what we have seen practised, particularly during the last three or four years, I think that principle will be found quite clearly opposed to the common sense and the common understanding of everybody; and we should endeavour to put an end to the crime which I have mentioned, not treating it in the way in which it has been treated heretofore, in accordance with the common law doctrine, but in an entirely different fashion, making it—wherever there was wilful intention to kill, or where it would be proven that death would result from the use of the means in question—murder; and where not wilfully done and where the intention was of a different character, changing the indictment from murder to manslaughter. In the United States it is called murder in the second degree by the laws of every State in the Union. They have what we have never had—degrees of the different descriptions of crime, and I think it not advisable, in connection with a matter of this importance, the effect of which is known to be so extended,—and the conviction of parties under it, is hardly likely in every instance to be carried out to its full extent—and where the death penalty under the law is not approved of by common sense,—to leave the law in such a state. This penalty should be really so prescribed that it should be properly exacted, and not as is actually the case, never hardly carried out because it is felt that it would scarcely be advisable. It is equally applicable to cases of accessory before and after the fact; and one cannot help seeing that where a person—who might be accessory before the fact relative to an act illegal in itself, but which he never contemplated in any particular whatever—caused the death of a party, that it is a most extraordinary circumstance that there should be that sort of murder without intention—the man being liable to be convicted, though, in point of fact, the idea of

such a thing never entered his head. The effect of this system has been seen in various cases. The executive clemency is evoked and its exercise is necessary, for it is felt that the law ought not to be put in force. This should not be the case. In the same connection, there is another matter of great importance in the administration of the law. We are fortunately freer from the publication of advertisements and the circulation of pamphlets touching affairs of this kind than the country to the south of us; but at the same time we know perfectly well that there are always cases in Canada in which such circulation, and notices and advertisements in newspapers as to places where information, drugs, and advice, &c., can be obtained, are apparently made without any thought of difficulty whatever; and I propose by the third clause in this measure to make the publication of these things by pamphlet, or newspaper, or advertisement, or of any hint, order or address, by means of which persons may secure medicine or advice for such purpose, a misdemeanor punishable in the courts. I venture to say that these facts have come to the knowledge of many of us during the course of investigations which have taken place of late years, and I myself saw, only a short time ago, in one of our courts, a table covered with pamphlets, advertisements, and photographs of all these things, pointing directly, every one of them, to what I have said. This will be found to be a most salutary measure, involving every person guilty of such crimes in the punishment arising from the commission of a misdemeanor. I do not propose to make this so heavy as to be calculated to prevent its infliction, but to prescribe an imprisonment not exceeding one year with or without hard labor, in the discretion of the Court. I beg to move the first reading, seconded by Sir John A. Macdonald.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Mr. Speaker, of course the House will not expect me to offer any opinion regarding what my hon. friend has not stated—the details of the Bill, which he intends shall be presented for our consideration; but with reference to the general principle affecting at least a portion of this

measure, I will say that for my part I have been unable to come to any other conclusion, for some time past, than that our law required a change. There are two propositions which seem to me to apply to this case, and to indicate that at an early day some reform should be made in the law. The first is, that punishment held inapplicable by reason of its extremity, in the popular sense, to any particular crime, is inexpedient, because it defeats the end in view, negating punishment to a certain extent; and the second, that any punishment which is excessive and inapplicable when convictions take place, defeats the great object of framing certain clauses in the law. Ground for invoking the executive clemency ought not to be given, because I think that it may be laid down as general principle, however difficult it may be found to apply it in all cases, that the punishment which the law prescribes to any particular crime should be that expected by the public to be the fate of a convicted criminal.

The observations of the hon. gentleman are applicable to a much wider range of consideration than those to which he has in fact applied them or to which the Bill has relation. The hon. gentleman has himself cited other instances to which they perhaps apply with even greater force than those to which he has given them application in connection with his proposed legislation—as for instance, being accessory after the fact. He has by no means exhausted the applications, and with regard to the class of crime, which unfortunately involves the taking of human life, it may be said that the law is not in accordance with practice, but as to whether it would be expedient on the whole to deal with this question by a comprehensive measure, which might put it on a better foundation, or to deal with it only in the particular relations to which my hon. friend has referred, I reserve my opinion. I have, however, come to the conclusion—and had time permitted, I would have been so prepared at this Session—to introduce at the next Session for the consideration of the House a much more comprehensive measure than that which my hon.

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friend has very properly submitted, as dealing with the pressing grievance to which he has made allusion. I do not think, Sir, that there will be any difficulty at all in acceding to the third clause, or, at any rate, to its principle; but with reference to the other clauses, I have given my unreserved opinion that these are not the only questions open for consideration.

The Bill was read the first time.

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I beg leave to introduce a Bill making more effectual provision for enquiry into corrupt practices in connection with Elections for the House of Commons.

There has been, Sir, for a long time upon the Statute Book of England, as a part of the legislation with reference to elections, a provision for enquiry into corrupt practices in cases in which Committees of the House—at that time the tribunals appointed for the purpose—reported that there was reason to believe such practices were general at the elections. The functions of these Committees have been extremely important and useful. When the legislation was introduced into this country by which enquiries into elections were transferred to the judges, so much of the English law as had regard to the judges reporting to the House of Commons that there was reason to believe corrupt practices were committed at elections was retained, and such reports are at present required: but there is no provision for any action being taken on them, and they are consequently nugatory. We have recorded on our journals numerous reports from several judges concerning cases in which there were corrupt practices. We have one case, I remember—and there may be more—in connection with which it was reported there was reason to believe that corrupt practices prevailed to an extensive degree, but with reference to none of these has anything been done. In addition to this legislation in England, subsequent measures were passed, providing for cases with regard to which there has been no enquiry into such practices upon a petition—permitting a petition being sent to the House by a certain number

of electors within a certain time after the election, representing the existence of general corrupt practices, with a view to empowering Parliament to pass an Address to the Crown for an enquiry into the facts. These two provisions are still found not to meet the question completely; both in England and here, the difficulty has been found to exist to which my hon. friend the member for North Hastings referred on more than one occasion during the last Session, and also other members, and for which the remedy they proposed was felt by myself and others to be inapplicable. I think my hon. friend for Cardwell will be of the same opinion. The attempt made was mainly to cause the petitioners, against their will, to enter into a more prolonged investigation at their own cost; and I had no hesitation in saying to the hon. member for North Hastings—and my hon. friend coincided with me—that if this would not be practicable: first, because it is very difficult to make men do what they do not wish to do; and secondly, because a serious evil is threatened with regard to these petitions, owing to the large costs they involve. The addition of unnecessary or inequitable charges to those which are inevitable would render less efficacious our system for the trial of controverted elections; this would be another ground for apprehension to petitioners, and therefore I would be unable to accede, regarding these two main grounds to the view which, in such a way, would tend to prolong these investigations. But, Sir, as I have said, the difficulty of making investigations for the purpose of ascertaining whether general and extensive corrupt practices have prevailed has frequently prevented them in England as well as here. At the last Session a Select Committee was struck to enquire into the operation of the Act for the trial of controverted elections, which Committee made several recommendations. Amongst them was one, the substance of which I propose for the consideration of the House as an additional ground for authorizing an Address for the issue of a Commission; and that is, to add to the duties of the election judges the duty of reporting whether they are of opinion that the enquiry into a con-

tested election has been rendered incomplete by the action of any parties to the petition of contestation, and whether further inquiry as to corrupt practices is desirable.

That additional report is to be made by the judge under the Controverted Elections Act. Then we will have the judge reporting, when corrupt practices extensively prevail, whether in his opinion the enquiry into that matter has been rendered incomplete by the action of any parties, and that further investigation is desirable. Upon any of these three grounds, or upon a petition of a certain number of electors, charging the existence of corrupt practices, being presented, trial may be had. Hitherto the ground was usually a petition for enquiry. Before proceeding to advert to the effects of that procedure, I may state that I propose to ask the House to provide that wherever a Judge has reported, as he is authorized to report by the existing and proposed law, that corrupt practices have, or that he has reason to believe they have, extensively prevailed, or that the enquiry was incomplete and further investigation is desirable, no new writ should issue except by order of the House, which has the matter in its own hands upon meeting. My hon. friend from Frontenac suggested something of that kind last Session, and I myself put a resolution on the paper that it was desirable. It is highly important that the process should extend to the constituency, which should understand that a temporary disfranchisement may follow—that it will certainly take place—in case it has disgraced itself by permitting extensive corruption to prevail at an election. There are obvious reasons why the provinces should have power to mitigate the effects of any trial. Our Federal constitution is one of those. Under that constitution a certain strength is given to our provinces, and it would be essential, although there is no reason to expect any considerable number of cases in which writs will be delayed, to provide that the provinces should be able to give additional representation to other constituencies, in order that the proper quota of representation may be preserved. This, although an unlikely

contingency, deserves to be taken into consideration upon any occasion when the House is asked to issue a writ.

Having made these observations, Sir, I may say that the Bill in its details is founded upon the English Act. I hope, however, that in its language it may be found to be somewhat improved. I have endeavored, as in some other cases where Bills have been based on English legislation, to follow a more modern and sensible form of phraseology, and if possible to simplify the language. I have had to consider what the English Parliament had also to consider, what alterations were necessary as to Commissioners. I am proposing to the House to provide for a commission to issue to one or more of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or to one or more of the Judges of any Provincial Court competent to try election petitions, or to one or more persons appointed by the House itself, being advocates or barristers of not less than seven years standing in the Provinces. These provisions are elastic, and give the House power to deal according to circumstances with the class of persons to whom the commission is issued. I think it is obvious that, while it is desirable to avail ourselves of the services of the Judges of the Supreme Court for this purpose, their other judicial duties may be such as to render it impossible for them to be utilised. Similar observations apply with very great force as regards the judges of two of the larger Provinces. It is desirable in all cases to utilize a judge, but it is probable that it will often be found impracticable, without detracting from the efficient administration of justice, to call upon them to enter into what might be a protracted investigation. Therefore, provision has been made for the House to select advocates or barristers to conduct the enquiry when it is deemed necessary.

The Bill gives full powers for the calling of witnesses and for punishing those who do not attend, and contains also a very ample clause for indemnifying those witnesses who may have answered truly, in the opinion of the judges, all questions put to them on the subject of the election. I may say that the earlier Act of England con-

tains a more limited clause, and it was found wise afterwards to extend it. The object one has in view in an enquiry of this description, where corrupt practices appear to have extensively prevailed, is to get at the proof, to search to the bottom, and ascertain how far corruption has prevailed in the constituency; and I think it is wise under the circumstances that a very liberal indemnity clause should be placed in the Bill.

A different view—it may be open to question and argument—but a different view may be taken in reference to the class of witnesses examined on cases of election petitions. The House will remember we have adopted a rule that the answers of a witness shall not be used in evidence against him; but he is still exposed to the apprehension of what the consequences may be of an acknowledgment of his guilt. We can see very clearly what the consequences of this may be. In the first place it adds strength and vigor to his testimony supposing he was guilty; in the second place it proves the fact, morally at any rate, that he is guilty, and is consequently some argument in favour of a more extensive indemnity clause. But, whatever the argument may be, it is absolutely essential for this part of the investigation that there should be a clause to indemnify witnesses who attend and give evidence, but not for witnesses who refuse to speak or who cannot claim a certificate of indemnity on other grounds.

The provisions of the Bill are such as to have an extensive enquiry first of all into the election complained of, and secondly into any elections prior until we come to some election at which we can find corrupt practices, but those provisions don't require further explanation at my hands.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON asked whether the clause relating to constituencies was taken from the English Bill?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—That was introduced into the English law several years ago. Curiously enough, in that law it is only on the petition of two electors that such enquiry was instituted. I felt some difficulty about that, and I have left a blank in this copy to

be filled in if the House demands a petition of a larger number of electors.

The Bill was read the second time.

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I beg to move the first reading of a Bill to provide for the more effectual administration of the laws relating to corrupt practices at Elections. I have already observed that we have found upon the reports presented to us by the judges under this Act, numerous names of persons reported guilty of corruptions. In the English law a provision was made that under certain circumstances, and with reference to certain corrupt practices, it should be the duty of the Attorney-General to consider those cases, and, if the evidence is sufficient, to cause a prosecution to be instituted. Complaint has been made, and I think rightly, of the practical working of the present election law in this particular. Gentlemen who are candidates for election to the House of Commons, as a rule—invariably—scrupulously abstained from any act which might be construed into a corrupt practice, yet numerous other persons have been found guilty of such offences. Notwithstanding that legislation has imposed upon those acts the stigma of crime, and fixed a penalty for their commission, there has not been a single instance of—I won't say conviction—but any attempt to prosecute. Now, Sir, the observations which my hon. friend made in regard to the law on another subject apply in their spirit to this also. It is our duty, if we do consider those Acts to be crimes, and if we find our law remains a dead letter, to endeavour to take some steps to make it a living letter—to arrange it so that there may be an effective administration of that law which we maintain in our Statute Book. I think that the suggestions of the Select Committee to which I have referred as having sat last Session upon this subject are worthy of attention in this particular. One was that wherever the judge—I don't profess to quote literally, but to give merely the substance—upon the trial of an election petition, should find that a person was guilty, or that there was sufficient evidence to put him on

trial, provision should be made for his being summarily tried at an early day for that practice. I believe members receive with great satisfaction generally any suggestions that may tend to the security of their seats, and it is my opinion that all our seats are imperilled to-day by the Acts of those who are wicked enough—to use the language of the law—and indiscreet enough—to use the softer language of those who desire to speak mildly—to violate the law. The agent, the impalpable agent, cannot be defined by law, for the moment that is done a means of evasion will be found and we will have licensed corruption. It is something which is beyond the pale of the law, and the agent works without the slightest apprehension of any penal consequences. We mitigated this to a certain extent last Session when we put in a provision that the agent might be made responsible for a portion, if not all, of the consequences of the petition. But that is very small satisfaction, nor does it meet the grave objection that we should retain upon our Statute Book laws which declare certain acts are crimes, and yet, although names of persons have been returned as committing them, no prosecution or conviction has taken place. Therefore, I hope that from the highest motive to which I have just referred, and to the other and not altogether unworthy motive, namely, that it will secure our own seats and strike terror to the hearts of those who are still disposed to violate the law, that the House will agree with me in making some provision for the short, sharp, summary trial of those persons against whom the evidence adduced upon the investigation of an election petition is sufficient to warrant prosecution.

My Bill provides that in case of the trial of a petition, any person is found guilty of corrupt practices within the meaning of the statute, or there is sufficient evidence in the mind of the judge to warrant his being put on trial, the judge shall summon him at any time or place to be named—the time within a certain number of days—and the place a convenient Court House or available room—to be tried. The judge can also bind by recognisance the persons present to

appear to be tried or to give evidence as the case may be, and the Bill provides that the issue of the summonses shall be reported to the Secretary of the Province and to the Secretary of State—to the Secretary of the Province, because the administration of justice is in the hands of the Provincial authorities, and it is important these trials being of great public consequence, that he should have formal intimation of when the trial takes place; to the Secretary of State of Canada with a view to its being possible for the Attorney General to discharge the duty, which I suggest by a subsequent clause, which shall be imposed upon him, analagous to the duty imposed by the English act, to assist counsel in the prosecution. I propose it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to subpoena any witness who may be material. There is a provision also for the trial of the accused by the judge who sat on the petition; and if he is unable to attend then some other judge competent to try such cases within the Province will take hold of the matter; and I suggest that the trial should take place before the judge alone and without a jury, for the same reasons which have influenced, I dare say, the action of the prosecution in all such cases. I believe the trial of a question of corrupt practices by a jury would be attended with similar results as the trial of an election petition by a jury—a disagreement in almost every instance.

Then, there are some other provisions which are based largely upon those provisions incorporated some years ago in the Act of Parliament providing for the trial of prisoners at county courts by consent. There is also a provision for the punishment of witnesses who fail to attend, and a general provision as to penalties, which enacts that in cases of conviction the offender should be sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for a period not exceeding three months, with or without hard labor, and at a fine not exceeding \$300 and to pay the costs taxed by the Court.

There is one crime, that of personation, which is punishable under the present law by imprisonment for six months. I thought it better, in dealing with

the matter in this summary manner, to propose a uniform maximum term of three months, which would be quite adequate for the purpose. What we want is that justice should be speedy and certain, and not that the punishment should be unnecessarily severe. I think it is necessary there should be some term of imprisonment, because I hold it is of the highest importance that a moral stigma should be attached to this offence, and that a wealthy offender should know that he cannot escape by paying a fine of \$200.

I also propose for the consideration of the House, a provision that no summons shall be issued or prosecuted under this Act, if it appears that a criminal prosecution for the same case has been tried; but that on the issue of any summons under this Act, the criminal proceedings shall be stayed. Otherwise proceedings which would be ineffectual might be commenced in the course of the trial of the election petition, expressly to withdraw from the operation of this Act the cases which it was apprehended might come under it. I think it better, therefore, to make such provisions as shall enable the judge and make it his duty to grapple with all cases that have not already been disposed of under the legislation which I now propose.

I thought it better to combine in one Act all the provisions for the punishment of corrupt practices which it appeared proper to ask the House to assent to.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON—Supposing the judge should decide a case in favour of the accused party, is he to be indemnified in the expenses?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—That is a subject worthy of consideration. It will be observed that the action is to be taken by the judge himself, and it is not on the motion of any private individual that such summons is to issue. It is only if, in the course of an election petition, it is made apparent to the mind of the judge himself that it is his duty to order a summons to issue.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON—I quite understand that. What I wish to point out is, that there should be some provision made to indemnify the accused if he should be acquitted. An addition-

al point is with regard to the expenses of witnesses.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I have thought it expedient at once to grapple with that question. We are dealing with a very important matter, and I propose to introduce a clause to provide that the expenses be paid by the Parliament of Canada.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—This question is so far-reaching in its consequences that hon. gentlemen will be inclined to reserve their opinions until we have the Bill before us. I merely rise to ask my hon. friend whether he has at all considered the Act of last Session? There is one portion of it which I had great hesitation in letting pass without protest, and the more I think of it the more objectionable it appears to be—that is, that no trial of a contested election can proceed against a sitting member during a Session. It appears to me if the allegation is that the sitting member has no right to be here, the sooner it is decided the better. It is no advantage to a constituency that a person who does not really represent them should be here. It appears to me the principle is wrong that a person who has no right to sit here should, by special legislative action be allowed to hold a seat in this House for any length of time.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—That has nothing to do with this measure at all. Of course second thoughts are sometimes best, and the hon. gentleman during the recess may have found objections which did not occur to him while the measure was before the House last Session. My own opinion was expressed then, and my hon. friend from Cardwell and myself formed a coalition on that subject. It was considered fair and reasonable. The practical objection to the hon. gentleman's arguments was this—our Sessions are so short it is utterly impossible to expect if a trial is commenced during a Session (mark, it does not deal with a case commenced before the Session) that you can get a new member into the House before it rises. That is one of the reasons. I think it is quite probable both the Election Law and the Controverted Elections

Act may require some revision before the next general election. I have myself a strong idea that some of the minor details of the law with reference to the ballot may require amendment. It would be inexpedient to legislate early on that subject. I think we should wait until we discover what further improvements can be made in it before the next general election.

The Bill was read the first time.

THE INSOLVENCY ACT.

Mr. DELORME asked whether it is the intention of the Government to amend the Insolvency Act?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The Government has under consideration suggestions made from several quarters, but no conclusion has been arrived at whether any legislation will be necessary or not.

THE CULBUTE CANAL.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings), in the absence of Mr. Wright (Pontiac), asked, whether it is the intention of the Government to take any steps for the improvement, during the coming season, of the navigation of that portion of the Ottawa River between the foot of the Culbute Canal and the head of the Calumet Rapids?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to do anything in that quarter this season.

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. Fiset asked whether it is the intention of the Government, in the interest of the Intercolonial Railway and for the promoting of its regular working, to make arrangements with the Grand Trunk Railway Company for the acquisition of the portion of their railway between Rivière du Loup and Point Lévis?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman is aware that it is absolutely necessary for the Government to reach Point Lévis upon a portion of the Grand Trunk Railway—that portion between Rivière du Loup and the terminus opposite the City of Quebec. The Government are in correspondence with the Grand Trunk Co. about an arrangement which we hope will be suitable to them and to us. I am not

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prepared to say at this moment what that arrangement will ultimately be, but it will be mentioned to the House when it is arrived at.

POSTAL EXTENSION.

Mr. DESJARDINS asked whether in view of the increasing wants and requirements of the localities surrounding the City of Montreal, it is the intention of the Government to adopt any means which would give those localities greater postal facilities?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The Government have no present intention of dealing with the subject in the manner indicated in the hon. gentleman's question.

CUSTOM HOUSE AT LÉVIS.

Mr. FRÉCHETTE asked whether it is the intention of the Government to establish a Custom House, or at least a Bonded Warehouse, at South Quebec, Lévis?

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—There is no objection to granting a Bonded Warehouse at Lévis, provided it is under the rules and regulations of the Port of Quebec.

COMMERCIAL AGENCIES.

Mr. BERNIER asked whether the Government intends taking proceedings in order to protect the commercial class against the reports (too often false) of commercial agencies, which have often the effect of ruining the credit of persons perfectly solvent?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The Government have no present intention to take any special action in this matter.

BEACON LIGHTS ON THE SAGUENAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE objected to the following question, which contained an improper charge against a Government officer, being allowed to stand:

“Mr. Cimon—Why the contract for building two beacon lights at the entrance of the river Saguenay was given to Ambroise Trudelle for \$900.00 while tenders had been received for the work from

Louis Lavoie, Murray Bay, for.....	\$490 00
Joseph Tremblay, Chicoutimi, for.....	500 00
Joseph Warren, Murray Bay, for.....	590 00
Joseph Warren, “ “ “ “	600 00

Mr. MASSON—It has been allowed to stand, and if it is not asked next

time it comes up it could then be dropped.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will take good care that no such question be allowed to stand again. If the hon. gentleman is present—

Mr. MASSON—He is not here.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I give notice this question must be put or dropped the next time it comes before the House.

Mr. MASSON—It will be put or dropped according to the rule of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It disappears at once. I invoke the rule.

Mr. SPEAKER—The question has been allowed to stand.

PACIFIC RAILROAD SURVEY.

Mr. DEWDNEY asked when the Report of the Surveys of the British Columbia Section of the Canadian Pacific Railway made in 1874 and 1875 will be printed and distributed?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am very sorry I am not able to answer the question of the hon. member to-day. On account of the very serious domestic affliction in the family of the Chief Engineer, I have not been able to see him for two weeks. I hope the hon. gentleman will be satisfied with the answer. I will see him at the earliest possible moment.

PRESQU'ISLE HARBOR.

Mr. BIGGAR asked whether the Government intend placing a sum in the Estimates to complete the Harbor of Presqu'Isle on Lake Ontario?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am sorry to say we will not be able this year to place a sum in the estimates for this purpose. We do not think it is required so urgently as to demand a vote to be taken at the present time.

COMMISSION OF FINANCIAL AGENTS.

Mr. TUPPER asked what rate of commission was agreed to be paid to the Financial Agents for negotiating the recent loan, and the commission they are to receive for paying the coupons on the bonds; also, the names of the parties to whom the loan of 1874 was allotted, with the amount to each

respectively? He added: I may be permitted to say I was anxious to have this information at the earliest moment possible, or I would have put a motion on the paper asking for a return. It would be extremely convenient if the hon. gentleman would, instead of answering the question verbally, lay the papers on the Table.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—With respect to the first part of the question, I may say the financial agents received no commission on that part of the loan negotiated under the Imperial guarantee, and a commission of one per cent on the remainder. The rate of commission on the bonds was one-half per cent on the guarantee, and the usual amount on the other. With respect to the remaining portion of this question, I take this opportunity of laying on the Table returns which give information so far as it can be furnished. With respect to the names of the parties to whom the loan of 1874 was allotted, I was advised it would be impossible to give them, inasmuch as the usual course is to keep them secret, and it would be a breach of confidence to mention them.

REFUNDING DUTIES.

Mr. STEPHENSON asked whether during the past two years duties levied on foreign manufactured Steam Fire Engines imported into Canada have been refunded; and if so, the amount of duties so refunded, and to whom?

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—There has been no refund of duties for Fire Engines imported into the country during the last two years.

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE GULF.

Mr. Fiset asked whether it is the intention of the Government, in the interest of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, to subsidize any company willing to undertake it, or to construct themselves a telegraphic system, which would have the result of putting the Island of Anticosti and a great portion of the North Shore of the St. Lawrence in communication with the telegraphic lines of the South Coast, according to the suggestion made by the Hon. P. Fortin to the Quebec Board of Trade?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—The Government fully recognize the importance of this work, but they do not intend at the present Session to make any movement with regard to it.

ST. LAWRENCE RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

Mr. BLAIN.—Mr. Speaker,—It will be remembered that last Session there was some very considerable discussion regarding this matter, and then it was doubtful what was likely to be the policy of the Government—whether the Minister of Public Works would improve the navigation of the St. Lawrence so as to give twelve or fourteen feet of water. I was at the time, as I am still, interested in the question, and I am not sure whether the Minister of Public Works has altered his plans or not. I would like, therefore, Sir, to know whether it is the intention of the Government to adopt twelve or fourteen feet. A requisition was presented to the Administration, urging that surveys should be continued, and estimates furnished the House touching these improvements, covering the items, which I suppose are in all probability in the possession of the Government. I accordingly move, seconded by the member for East York, that a report concerning surveys of the St. Lawrence, and estimates for improvements giving fourteen feet of water, be laid before the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The policy, Sir, that the Government has adopted with relation to this subject, is this: On the works which necessitate excavation on the lower locks, guard locks and the like, provision is made for fourteen feet, but in all other places, where there has been a depth of twelve feet, the walls of the locks will be simply raised two feet, giving fourteen feet. It is desirable to obtain twelve feet as soon as possible, and the additional two feet can be secured at any time, while the canals are being used. With regard to the River St. Lawrence, as I pointed out last year, it will take a little over one and one-half millions of dollars to ensure twelve feet of navigable water at the points where shoals are to be found in the bed; and it will require a very much larger sum,—perhaps three times that amount—to obtain

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fourteen feet in the river proper. I have not deemed it necessary to employ any very large number of surveyors in order to have a report regarding the exact cost of this additional work, for this will be done by the regular staff of the Department. A portion has been finished during the past seven years, and the remainder will be accomplished as we find that we can spare men and money for the purpose. I can only say that everything is being done therefor with a view to ultimately securing fourteen feet of water as the standard depth, but we will have twelve feet available at a much earlier period by the course we have adopted than would be otherwise possible. The papers will be very incomplete, but such as they are they will be brought down.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Might I ask the First Minister in the same connection, whether these means—which strike me, as well as a great many others, as defective—with relation to deepening of canals, apply to the vicinity of the St. Gabriel Locks, and whether it is proper to raise the walls to secure uniform depth in this, as it is proposed to do in other cases? I ask the question for the purpose of information.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Oh, yes; the same system will be followed on the Lachine as on the Welland Canal.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—As most of the vessels coming from the Lower Ports draw from sixteen to nineteen feet of water, it would be very desirable to have nineteen feet of water in the locks. I believe that this was the recommendation, but the contracts are only drawn for twelve feet. Unless we could get nineteen feet up to the point of discharge for coal, near the manufactories in the upper part of the town the deepening of the canals would be of no use to the Lower Provinces. If the difficulty cannot be overcome by raising the walls, it would be well to consider the question of deepening.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Well, that involves another point altogether, Sir. The depth at the St. Gabriel Locks will be fourteen, not nineteen feet; and although it would be very convenient for the people of Montreal to ob-

tain nineteen feet, it is no part of our business to provide an additional harbor at Montreal—and this is a pure question of such accommodation—one mile and a half above the present position. The Dominion has guaranteed a considerable expenditure for the improvement of the St. Lawrence; and the Harbour Commissioners have had a very large amount placed at their disposal to increase the harbour accommodation in the River proper. This has been extended for over a mile of wharfage and by the excavation of basins in the canal below the St. Gabriel Locks; but the Government do not propose to extend it above these locks.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I would simply make one further remark for the information of the House. The First Minister seems to think that it is simply for the convenience of the city and port of Montreal to make such an improvement, but I would observe that it is more for the convenience of Nova Scotian coal owners and the very large number of persons owning vessels engaged in that trade, than for the manufacturers, because coal could be landed at a spot where they would obtain more for it.

The motion was carried.

FISH AND FISH OILS.

Mr. DECOSMOS—In rising to call for returns of the correspondence respecting the non-admission of fish and fish oils into the United States from the Province of British Columbia, I take occasion, Sir, to draw the attention of this House to certain facts. In the year 1871, British Columbia became a part of this Dominion. In the same year the Washington Treaty was negotiated. In the same year, 1872, legislation was passed, as was required, to apply the provisions of the Treaty to British Columbia and under the 21st Article of the Treaty, fish and fish oils were to be admitted into the United States duty free. During 1872 application was made by the owners and exporters of fish and fish oil for the entrance of fish and fish oil into the United States on the Pacific Coast, but such entry was

refused. Many similar attempts have been made since, but without success. While the late Administration was in power I brought the matter several times to its notice, and I have since followed the same course. What steps the Government of the Dominion have taken in this relation I do not know, but we are aware of the action of the United States authorities, as well as their reasons, so far as communicated by the Custom's Officers. They maintain that British Columbia, not having been a part of the Dominion at the date of the negotiation of this Treaty, cannot be admitted to the enjoyment of its benefits. I believe that this position is unreasonable. We might as well take a similar course concerning Alaska with reference to treaties between Great Britain and the United States. Now, such non-admission operates unfavourably on our fishing industry, and though a young Province, if the records of 1875 be examined it will be seen that we exported during the year some \$134,000 worth of fish and fish oils, nearly double the value of the exports of fish from Ontario; about one-third of the total exports of fish of New Brunswick, and one-fifth of those of Quebec. When in San Francisco recently, I was informed by the manager of a company of capitalists living in Massachusetts and Connecticut, that the latter proposed to erect an extensive establishment for the purpose of canning salmon and making fish oil, with the view of exporting them to other markets than those of the United States; also that if the 21st Article of the Washington Treaty were in operation, they would double or treble their capital, in order to can for the American as well as foreign marts. I therefore hope that the Government will consent to bringing down the papers required at an early day, and, further, that if possible, some explanations will be offered in this connection by one of the Ministers to the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Some correspondence has passed on this subject. I am afraid that the result will not be eminently satisfactory to my hon. friend, but such as it is, it will be brought down.

ISLE AUX COUDRES LIGHT-HOUSE.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I move that an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, for a copy of the contract between the Government and Mr. Charles E. Forgues, of Malbaie, for the construction of a Light-house upon Isle aux Coudres; also copies of the correspondence which took place upon the subject and a statement shewing the amount claimed as compensation or damages by virtue of the said contract, and the amount paid to the said Charles E. Forgues, or to any other person in this matter.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I have no objection to bring down the papers, but certainly they are rather voluminous. It relates to a contract made by the late Government of which my hon. friend was at the time a member. It was not proceeded with, and compensation was given. I really do not know whether he objects to this as insufficient, or to the contract itself.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Perhaps a portion of it will answer my purpose. My object is to know the reason why the work was not proceeded with, and what the amount of the indemnity was.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I think that my hon. friend knows the cause why the work was not continued; if not, I can tell him—the late Administration did not desire it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Let the papers be submitted.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—The contract involved an expenditure of five or six hundred dollars. The compensation I allowed was, I think, \$181. However, I can bring down all the papers.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I was told in the country, that the reason for arresting the contract was because the location was unsuitable.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—This was the case.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That is strictly the fact; it was stopped after finding that the amount of money it was contemplated to expend exceeded the requirements, and a change of location was desirable.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

PACIFIC RAILWAY TELEGRAPH.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for a statement of the tenders received for the construction of a line of telegraph in connection with the Pacific Railway, shewing the names of the parties tendering, the amount asked by each such party and the names of the sureties; also copies of the contract between the Government and F. Barnard, Esquire, in relation to the construction of the said line of telegraph; copies of all correspondence which may have been had with the Government on the occasion and since the passing of the said contract with a statement of all claims which may have been made in virtue of the said contract shewing the amount promised or paid in connection therewith, including all Orders in Council or Departmental Orders in relation to the cancelling or suspension of the said contract or to the indemnity to be paid in respect thereof.

The motion was carried.

THE OFFICE OF AGENT-GENERAL.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of the following papers:—

1. The Order in Council creating the office of Agent-General of Canada for England or the United Kingdom.
2. The Commission or Letter of Appointment of Mr. Jenkins to the office of Agent General.
3. The general instructions given to the Agent-General and all subsequent modifications thereof.
4. The Order in Council abolishing the office of Agent General.
5. The letters and correspondence relating to the termination of Mr. Jenkins' employment by resignation or otherwise.

The motion was carried.

PURCHASE OF LANDS.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all correspondence between the Canadian Government, or any member thereof, with the Hudson Bay Company relating to the acquisition or purchase by the Dominion from the Company, of their lands in Manitoba and the North-

West Territories, or either of them, and of all Orders in Council, despatches and other papers respecting the same.

The motion was carried.

THE CULLERS' OFFICE.

Mr. McDOUGALL (South Renfrew), moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, praying for a Return:—1st, Of the names of persons who have ceased to belong to the Cullers' Office since 1st January, 1875, through death, superannuation or otherwise, distinguishing the cause and employment in each instance, with allowance in each case for superannuation. 2nd, Of the names of those who have been added to the staff in either a temporary or permanent capacity during the same time. The hon. gentleman said:—You will recollect, Mr. Speaker, that during last Session a Bill was passed giving authority to the Minister of Inland Revenue to superannuate certain cullers and other persons connected with the office, it being found there were many who were unable to do their duty, and others employed who were not really required for the business of the office. Since that time there have not been as many persons superannuated as was expected. No doubt that was greatly owing to the fact of the lamented illness of the gentleman at the head of the Department. At the same time, I think it is well that the attention of the Government should be drawn to the fact that the lumber trade require that the number of cullers should, as soon as practicable, without forgetting what we owe to those persons employed during years of activity, be reduced to the number required and capable to discharge the duties of the office. It will also be recollected, I think, that no persons were to be added to the staff in the meantime. The reason why all who could be dispensed with were not to be dismissed was that it was felt it would be a case of great hardship if men, who were unable to obtain employment outside and were capable of doing their work, were deprived of their situations, and it was understood they should be retained as long as they performed their duties properly. But in view of the understanding that no new men should be engaged, it is rather

surprising that additions should actually have been made. It was the habit of former Governments, I know, to put a great many persons in the cullers' office, as it was a convenient position for persons who had made themselves useful at elections; but there is no reason why that practice should be continued under the present Government; therefore it was rather surprising that any addition should have been made to the staff. At the same time, I am glad that those additions did not go to any great extent; but I think it is the duty of every person in this House to call the attention of the Government to any neglect in this direction so that it shall not be repeated. I trust, Sir, that the Government will give their attention to this subject, which may not appear important to them, or at least to the country generally, but is of vast consequence to the lumber trade, particularly as it was understood that this office shall be self-sustaining.

While on this subject, I may express the hope that no persons still capable of doing duty, and who are required in the office, will be superannuated. But before anything is done in the way of providing employment for additional people, I trust that those not actually required and whose services can be dispensed without injustice, will be dismissed. If there is money over and above the expenditures of the office in the hands of the Government, I think—although that is left to the Administration—that the superannuation allowance be paid out of that fund, and no levy made on the lumber trade for it. But if there is no such surplus the trade should, of course, make provision for this allowance.

Mr. WHITE (North Renfrew)—This question was brought up in 1874, and a Committee appointed to investigate the working of the culler's office. Those of us engaged in the lumber business felt that a larger number of cullers were employed than was necessary for the requirements of the trade. The object of the Committee was to obtain information from parties connected with the trade as to whether that feeling was general. The evidence taken was conclusively in favour of a

reduction, especially in the square timber department. The Supervisor of Cullers himself testified that 20 men were amply sufficient to perform the duties in the square timber department, and all the other evidence pointed in the same direction.

As has been observed by my hon. friend from South Renfrew, it was understood that the office should be self-sustaining, and not a charge upon the revenue, and I believe such is the fact.

In the several Acts relating to the Culler's Office at Quebec, power is given to raise or lower the tariff of fees so as to make the office self-sustaining, and I may say here that not only has the office been self-sustaining, but a considerable sum has been added to the revenue. Under these circumstances, the lumber trade naturally expected that the recommendation of the Committee would have received some attention at the hands of the Government.

We expected that the number of cullers would be reduced as speedily as possible, having a due regard to the rights and privileges of those who held positions in the office. I am sorry to say that the expectation has not been fulfilled. I think some gentlemen have been superannuated and removed from the office, and perhaps one or two have been added to the staff. Those who are connected with the lumber trade feel that an injustice has been done them by the additions that have been made to the office. I trust this motion will pass, so that we may be enabled to see how many cullers have been added since the 1st of January, 1875. I trust, also, that hereafter, notwithstanding the sins of the late Government, no cullers may be added so long as it is shown they are entirely unnecessary.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—There is a difference between the cullers of timber and the cullers of deal. Does the Address include all the cullers?

Mr. McDOUGALL—The point is this:—It was felt there were too many cullers in the office. It was also felt that there being no more in the deal department than were required, any vacancies there should be filled from

the timber department, where there are too many. Therefore, there was no object in finding out whether the number had been reduced in either department.

Mr. CURRIER—From the speech of the hon. member for North Renfrew it would appear that additions have been made to the staff of cullers in the Quebec office. If so, the Government are greatly to blame. My hon. friends from North and South Renfrew will see now if they had followed the course which I contended for upon that Committee, they would not have got into that trouble, and there would not have been any expense to the trade. My suggestion was that payment should be made by fee, and that all properly qualified persons should be allowed to act as cullers. The best men would get most employment, and there would be no extra expense put on the lumber trade no matter how many cullers were appointed. I maintain still that is the only thing that can be done to reform the unjust practices of that office. I hope the Government will look into the matter and remedy the evils of which we complain. The Minister who has charge of that Department, I regret to say, is not in the House. He has been ill for a long time, and therefore I hope the members of the Government who have charge of that office will look into this and correct the evils that now exist.

Mr. COOK—This is a question of more importance than some hon. gentlemen suppose. The lumber trade of this country is second only to the agricultural interest, and should receive that consideration which is due it. I had the honour of being one of the members of the Select Committee appointed two years ago. At that time it was understood the number of cullers in the square timber department should be reduced. I am very sorry to see that instead of a reduction there has been an increase. At that time there were 40 cullers, and the interests of the trade demanded a decrease in the number. Although a hint has been thrown out that perhaps the increase may be due to the rewarding of political

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hacks, I do not believe that the Government of the day would put incompetent men into the office on that account. Still there are men employed who are not fit to perform the duty. It was supposed that some of them would be superannuated from the fund on hand, amounting to about \$40,000, which was held not for purposes of revenue but for the benefit of the cutlers. I hope it will not be necessary to bring this matter up in the House again, but that the Government will improve this department as they have all others since they came into office.

Mr. ROCHESTER—Does this motion include all the cutlers ?

Mr. McDUGALL—Certainly, I include the whole department. I may say in reply to what has fallen from the hon. member for North Simcoe, that the expression “ political hacks ” was, perhaps too stiff. I did not intend to make any particular charge against the late Government so far as these appointments were concerned.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I understood him to make use of that expression with reference to the present Government.

Mr. McDUGALL—I am very glad to remove a misapprehension from the hon. gentleman’s mind. I did not make use of the words—I merely said that gentlemen who had been useful or assisted in elections had been appointed. Now, I think it would rather be a charge against the Government if they did not put into office men who had supported them if they were otherwise qualified.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I regret I did not notice the motion sooner, or I would have made particular enquiry into the facts. My recollection, however, is this :—The Minister of Inland Revenue was to proceed to Quebec early in the season in order to have this department reorganized. His long and severe illness prevented that consummation from being realized. My impression is, on making some enquiry for some other reason into the operations of this department, that two clerks were put there at some period last season to do some special

work—copying specifications, or something of the kind—but I believe no additions were made to the permanent staff of the office. The return, of course, will be brought down as fast as it can be made out, and we will have the precise facts placed before us. It was the intention of the Government, and is now, to economize the labour of the department and reduce the number of officials. The hon. gentleman is quite right in stating there is a small surplus to the credit of the cutlers in the hands of the Government. It was the intention of the House, I believe, that the fees collected should be merely sufficient to cover the expenses of this department. I will attend to the remarks that have been made so far as they convey either information or suggestions.

Mr. ROCHESTER—The lumbermen were notified last summer that some change would be made in the tariff for cutting deals. I find by the returns that it remains unchanged.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That return is only up to the 30th of June.

Mr. ROCHESTER—That makes the difference.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew)—The lumbermen have no objection to the appointment of a sufficient number of cutlers to do the work of the office. What we ask of the Government is this—until the number of cutlers in the square timber department is reduced to 20 (and that is a sufficient number to do the work of the office) that no additions be made to fill the place of those who retire either by superannuation or otherwise.

The motion was carried.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all Orders and Minutes of Council, papers and correspondence with the Imperial Government relating to the introduction and passage through the Imperial Parliament of an Act chaptered 38 Vic., 38 and 39, intitled “ An Act to remove certain doubts with respect to the Parliament of Canada under Section 18 of the “ British North America Act, 1867.”

The motion was carried.

ST. PETER'S CANAL.

Mr. FLYNN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for a copy of the report and plan made by Mr. Perley in the summer of 1873, for the enlargement of St. Peter's Canal, with all subsequent reports, Orders in Council, advertisements, tenders and contracts appertaining to that work.

He said :—St. Peter's Canal is a work in which the people of Eastern Nova Scotia feel a deep interest. After many years of agitation, that work was commenced by the Government of Nova Scotia in 1864, the hon. member for Cumberland being then, I believe, Provincial Secretary. A year or two after Confederation it was completed to its present dimensions, but only a very short time elapsed before it was found to be unfit to accommodate the trade of that portion of the Dominion. A glance at the map will show that the canal connects Bras d'Or Lake with the ocean.

It is not necessary for me to say anything with regard to the resources of that important Island. Its vast mineral wealth is yet in the infancy of its development. Since 1859 or 1860 we have opened some 18 or 20 coal mines. Up to that period the General Mining Association had the exclusive right of opening and working our coal deposits, but by the settlement of that question by the Government of Nova Scotia which gave a great impetus to our mining industries, anybody discovering a coal area had the right to open and work it. The inadequacy of the canal for the trade was brought to the notice of the late Government by the members representing the Island in the winter Session of 1873. That Government sent Mr. Perley to inspect the canal and report upon it, and make the necessary plans and specifications. As regards that gentleman, I may say I think nobody could have been chosen who was more competent to discharge the duty that he was instructed to perform. In 1864, when the Government of Nova Scotia was working the canal, he was chosen engineer of the work. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the question, and the plans and reports submitted by him in the autumn

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of 1873 were the results of his labours on that occasion.

When I came here in 1874, in the discharge of my duty as a representative from that Island, I found it necessary to ask for the report, plans and specifications, and they were laid on the table. I was not then satisfied with the depth of water, because I believed it would not be sufficient for the large vessels that would use that route; but I expressed no dissatisfaction, because I found the Government were then willing to proceed with the work on Mr. Perley's report, and had placed \$75,000 in the estimates for that purpose. In that year no tenders were asked for, and no work was done. I felt a little annoyed, and had some communication with a member of the Government. In the Session of 1875 I found tenders had been invited, and the \$75,000 was re-voted. I, of course, felt satisfied and said nothing about the delay, believing the work would go on that season. The tenders were to be in before the 10th of May; and after a considerable time had elapsed, seeing that the contract was not awarded, I telegraphed to a member of the Cabinet at Ottawa—the Minister of Militia and Defence. The answer I received was, that more information was required before the work could proceed. Nothing was done; and I heard nothing further of the matter until I saw in the newspapers invitations for tenders under amended plans and specifications. The contract was awarded to Mr. Tuck of St. John, who has been ready since October last and up to the close of the season to proceed with the work; still nothing has been done. Now, this is undoubtedly a serious cause of complaint; moreover the expenditure of the sum of money involved would have been of great assistance to many of the labouring men of that section. We, in common with every other portion of the Dominion, have felt the depression which has paralyzed our industries during the past year, and the expenditure of this money would have been a great benefit. In Nova Scotia, previous to Confederation, when any public work for which a large sum of money was required was advocated, it was not secured without much difficulty,

but as soon as the assent of the Legislature was obtained, the required expenditure was at once made. Here, however, it appears to be the reverse; no trouble is experienced in getting appropriations, but the difficulty seems to be in getting the appropriations expended. No dissenting voice touching this project was raised either in the Session of 1874 or the Session of 1875; but nevertheless the appropriation has not been expended. My object in making this motion is twofold. In the first place, I wish to enquire of the Government why two years have been allowed to pass, without paying out any of this money which has been voted by Parliament, and in the second place, I desire to know why the plans and specifications submitted by Mr. Perley have been reduced from 50 feet to 36 feet? Then that gentleman reported in accordance with his instructions, he undoubtedly had not only the present but the future in view. He looked to the probable expansion of trade, as he saw that the Island was, perhaps, one of the richest portions of the Dominion in proportion to its size and population; the eastern section of it is one vast mineral bed; and aware of its resources, and knowing how its trade would increase, found it necessary in the interests of the Dominion, and of that portion in particular, to recommend the construction of a canal of suitable size. Our Nova Scotia railway system—whose progress was arrested at the period of Confederation—for we have not built a mile of local railway since—goes no further than Pictou. The Prince Edward Island steamer boats connect with this railway, carrying passengers and freight to the Strait of Canso; but owing to the insufficiency of this canal they have to be taken by land for a distance of fourteen miles to connect with the waters of Bras d'Or. If this canal was sufficiently enlarged this passage by land would be avoided. If Mr. Perley's recommendations were carried out, steamers could pass through to the Strait of Canso and the Lennox passage, using the canal to enter the Bras d'Or, and thence to Sydney. This should be done at all events in the interest of one of the

great commercial centres of the Dominion—Montreal. Previous to Confederation the Gulf steamers were only few in number, but they have since that period been greatly increased—the number, I believe, is ten or eleven.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Eleven regular steamers, and half a dozen others.

Mr. FLYNN—The trade between Montreal and Pictou is also rapidly extending at the latter place, where they terminate their voyage, and we have no regular communication between Pictou and the eastern portion of the Province, at all events between it and Bras d'Or. This trade might besides be greatly increased if facilities were given to importers from Montreal and Quebec, by the enlargement of the canal. If this be not done, many of the advantages he expected to derive from the enlargement of the canal will be denied us. More than this the P. E. Island steamers, of which I have spoken, have been subsidised for eight or ten years to carry mails, and this is another argument in my opinion to convince the members of this House of the necessity of widening the canal to improve the means of communication with these commercial centres. The action of the Government in this matter, I must say, has greatly surprised me, as well as every other resident of the Island of Cape Breton. I could not believe that Mr. Perley had altered his plans as being too extravagant, nor can I think that the Minister of Public Works would do so without consulting some one. I feel it my duty, under the circumstances, as one of the representatives of the Island, to protest against that reduction, and in doing so I am sustained by the unanimous public sentiment of the Island on this question. I take still stronger ground, and hold that the Government should have made no material alteration without consulting Parliament. The facts are, that in 1874 I asked for the plans and specifications; they were laid on the Table of this House, and they shewed that the recommendation was for the widening of the canal to the extent of fifty feet. If the Government has the right to materially alter the dimensions of Public

Works after Parliament has voted money, based on plans and specifications before the House, then much of the duty we perform here is perfectly useless. The sum of \$75,000 was voted by Parliament, and the vote was repeated at the Session of 1875. The size of the canal was never in question, and I maintain that the plans should never have been changed, as has been the case. Had the matter been brought before the House I have no doubt, that the arguments that could have been urged by the members for Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, who are a unit in this relation against any alteration, would have been considered conclusive. The members from the other Provinces know full well the advantages of their canal in developing the resources of the Upper Provinces, and in 1874 and 1875 we voted nearly six millions for their improvement; and I have no doubt that animated by a fair and honourable spirit towards us, they would not have consented to the reduction made in the width of the only canal we have in the Maritime Provinces. As a representative, I feel I occupy a very peculiar position. In 1874 I saw no necessity for raising my voice, for the vote was in the estimates. At the Session of 1875 I occupied the same position, and I thought that there would be no difficulty whatever. I am aware that there is no department of the public service, the duties of which are more onerous and involve a greater amount of responsibility and labour than of the Department of Public Works; but while I am willing to make every allowance for the first year, 1874, I cannot assume the same attitude in regard to the neglect in not prosecuting the work in 1875. This delay and the reduction in the size of the canal have caused great dissatisfaction in that section of the country, and I do not hesitate to say that that dissatisfaction will be much increased if the amended plans are adhered to. Perhaps it may be shown that this alteration was made under a misconception of the requirements of the trade of that portion of the Dominion, and that a smaller canal was considered sufficient. I think I

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have shown that it will not be. I therefore ask, on behalf of the people of the Island of Cape Breton, that the canal be enlarged according to the report made by Mr. Perley. I don't ask this as a favour, but as a matter of right; I ask it on the broad ground of public necessity, and I trust the Government will give it due consideration. If they do, the result of that consideration, I hope, will be to adopt that report, and so satisfy the just demands of the people of that section.

But, Sir, whatever may be the result of this motion—whether the Government adhere to the amended plans or adopt Mr. Perley's report—I have discharged the duty which devolved upon me as a public man, and the entire responsibility now is theirs.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE suggested that, as it was proposed to adjourn early, the debate should be adjourned. He would answer the hon. gentleman very fully at the next sitting.

On motion of Mr. Tremaine, the debate was accordingly adjourned.

The House adjourned at Fifty-five minutes past Five.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, Feb. 24th, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

TRANSLATING THE REPORTS.

Mr. MASSON drew the attention of the House to the fact that no issue of the Official Report had yet been translated into French, although the House had decided that this work should be done immediately. He thought it was the duty of the Committee to explain how it was that two weeks of the Session had passed without a number of the Report in the French language having been distributed.

Mr. BOWELL said the Chairman of the Committee, who was the President of the Council, was not present to submit the report which had been prepared. The Committee had thrown the responsibility of the translation of the debates into French upon the translators of the House. At a subsequent meeting, and after making an

enquiry into the matter, it was deemed advisable to change the mode of translation and give it out by contract, provided a suitable person could be found to undertake the duty.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said this matter could, of course, be brought up as a matter of privilege, but it would be better to leave it a little later until the Chairman of the Committee was present.

Mr. MASSON explained that his reason for bringing it up was that the time for presenting reports had passed.

The matter was dropped.

BANKS AND BANKING.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON introduced a Bill to amend the law relating to Banks and Banking.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT asked for explanations as to the object of this Bill, and how far it affected the rights of private individuals or banks.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON was understood to say that as it is now, the banks frequently have great difficulty in reference to drafts and checks which are made payable to order on demand. He did not propose to extend the law as far as it had been extended in England, but to confine it simply to checks and drafts payable to order, and to provide that wherever a check or draft is made payable to order on a bank, that either the payee or the maker may cross the check or draft in the name of any other incorporated bank, and that then it shall only be payable to or through such bank. It also provided that the bank on which a check or draft made payable to order on demand was drawn, should not be obliged to show the genuineness of any endorsement.

Mr. SPEAKER—The strict rule, of course, would require that such a measure as this should originate by resolution in Committee.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the rule had not been enforced.

The Bill was read the first time.

EXAMINATION OF ENGINEERS.

Mr. COOK introduced a Bill to provide for the examination and licensing of persons employed as Engineers elsewhere than on Steamboats.

The Bill was read the first time.

PROTECTION OF LIFE.

Mr. COOK introduced a Bill to provide means of escape for persons falling into the water in the vicinity of Wharves and Docks.

The Bill was read the first time.

Hon. Mr. TUPFER—What is the object? Does the hon. member want to establish a swimming school?

Mr. COOK said a Bill similar to this had been introduced by him last Session and by consent was withdrawn, but he meant if he could to have it passed this time. The idea was to provide ladders on docks to enable persons falling off to hang on them until they could be rescued. At Collingwood, twelve lives had been lost, all of whom might have been saved if such means of escape had been provided. In Toronto and other places many persons had been drowned in the same way.

THE INSOLVENT ACT.

Mr. BECHARD asked whether it is the intention of the Government to amend the Insolvent Act in such a manner as to provide that the Official Assignees be no longer permitted to act outside their respective districts?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I stated in answer to a question the other day, that the Government have under consideration several suggestions with reference to the amendment of the Insolvent Act, but have not arrived at any conclusion on any of them. I do not know whether this suggestion will be acted on in the manner indicated or not.

FOG WHISTLE ON THE SAGUENAY.

Mr. CIMON asked whether it is the intention of the Government to have a Steam Fog Whistle placed on Lark Point (Isle aux Morts) at the mouth of the Saguenay, in connection with the Lighthouse there?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—It is not the intention of the Government to erect a fogwhistle there.

BEACON LIGHT ON THE SAGUENAY.

Mr. CIMON asked why the contract for building two Beacon Lights at the entrance of the River Saguenay was given to Ambroise Trudelle for \$900, while tenders had been received for

the work from Louis Lavoie, Murray Bay, for \$490; Joseph Tremblay, Chicoutimi, for \$500; Joseph Warren, Murray Bay, for \$590; Joseph Warren, Murray Bay, for \$600?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—The reason why Lavoie's tender was not accepted is, it was received too late. The tenders were opened on the 20th February. His tender was not received until the 23rd. Tremblay's was not received till the 24th. Warren had two tenders. We accepted the one for \$590 and notified him accordingly, but he refused to take it. The next lowest was Trudelle's for \$600, and he took the contract and has finished it.

RECIPROCAL USE OF CANALS.

Mr. CUTHBERT asked whether the Government are taking any, and if so, what steps towards removing the obstructions now placed in the way of Canadian Ships or Barges or Canadian Forwarding Companies' boats, passing from any port in Canada to New York and back *via* the Richelieu River, Lake Champlain, Champlain Canal and Hudson River, and placing them on the same footing as American barges navigating our rivers.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman has put his question in such a way that I would require to make a speech of considerable length in order to answer it. It is not convenient that questions should be asked, nor is it regular they should be put, in that manner. I can only answer him by saying that the Government have taken such steps as they conceived to be most judicious for this purpose, and all that is possible under the circumstances. If the hon. gentleman wishes to move for papers, that will be the proper way to ascertain what steps have been taken; but it is impossible for me to make mention of what the steps are.

PENSIONS TO VETERANS.

Mr. THOMPSON (Haldimand), asked whether it is the intention of the Government to continue the pensions given to the veterans of 1812-14, and whether they propose to increase the amount awarded to each person, and to what amount?

Mr. CIMON.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—If the hon. member will examine the estimates he will see it is the intention of the Government to ask the House to vote the same sum as last year. Any further information that the hon. member requires will be furnished by the Government when they reach that vote in the estimates.

CERTIFICATES OF MASTERS AND MATES.

Mr. WOOD asked whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill to compel masters and mates of vessels navigating the Inland Waters of the Dominion to procure certificates of competency before taking command?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—It is not the intention of the Government to introduce a measure on the subject this session. Both last session and the session before a Bill was introduced on this subject. There was a good deal of opposition to it both from Ontario and Quebec, and we did not press it. If, however, it is the desire of hon. members from Ontario and Quebec it can be introduced again.

THE LAWS RESPECTING INDIANS.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM asked whether it is the intention of the Government to amend the Act passed in 1874, intitled "An Act to amend certain Laws respecting Indians, and the extension of the same to the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia," so as to confer on convicting Magistrates the power to give to all persons convicted under that Act hard labour as a part of their sentence?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—The particular subject of the hon. member's question is under the consideration of the Government, and in a few days the Indian Bill will be brought down and their policy will be fully developed.

THE COAL MINING INTEREST.

Mr. McKAY (Cape Breton), moved, seconded by Mr. Carmichael, that an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General for a return of the number of tons of coal imported into Canada during the past year from the United States, and for the correspondence between the Canadian and the United States Govern-

ment regarding the removal by the latter of the duty imposed on coal exported from Canada to the United States.

He said in connection with this motion, I beg leave to say a few words, in as much as I consider that it has reference to one of the most important industries we have in the Dominion of Canada. I have not yet heard on the floor of this House anything said with reference to the mining interest of the Province of Nova Scotia, and if anything respecting it has been uttered it has not been said in the forcible manner which its importance requires. When you take into consideration that there is as large a sum as twelve millions of dollars of capital invested in the Province of Nova Scotia coal trade, and that there are five hundred thousand tons of shipping annually engaged in the carrying of coal from the Province to other ports of Canada and to foreign countries; that there are as many as 23,000 hands employed in connection with this shipping; and taking into consideration that in 1873 there was as much as \$123,000 expended monthly in the payment of different persons employed in and about the mines, this House will come to the conclusion that these interests deserve some attention at our hands. The extent of the coal fields of Nova Scotia is very great. By reference to works published on this matter, it will be seen that the largest available deposits of coal in Canada exist in Nova Scotia. It is true there are some deposits in the North West, but it is not known whether they are of the quality to make them serviceable or not. It is well known that there is coal in the Province of British Columbia, but it is so far west that it never can be of any possible value to the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, or the Maritime Provinces, and there is no possibility of a coal trade arising between that Province and the east. This being the case, I think this House should take into consideration the position of the Dominion with reference to an article of such importance. The great Province of Ontario is entirely dependent upon a foreign country for every ton of coal consumed in it.

All their manufactories driven by steam are entirely dependent upon the United States for their fuel, and any civil commotion that might take place in that Republic might have the effect of closing down these factories and raising the cost of coal in Ontario to famine prices. Therefore, there is only one place on which Quebec and Ontario can depend with any degree of certainty for their coal supply, and that is Nova Scotia. It seems to me in so far as our tariff is concerned, the position we stand in is a very humiliating one. Our neighbours seem to think they can take everything from us and give us nothing in return. They seem inclined to impose duties upon everything we send to them, and with reference to our country we adopt the very reverse. We cannot send a ton of coal to the United States without having to pay a heavy duty. Every ton of 2,000 pounds exported to that country has to pay, before it is taken from the vessel or placed on the wharf, a duty of 75c., while we admit the very same article free. The province of Ontario being almost entirely dependent upon the United States for coal, it will be said by these people it is not right to tax their fuel, but I wish them to understand as the tariff now is a number of the duties fall very heavily upon the Maritime Provinces and fall very lightly upon the Province of Ontario. I do not speak in this way for the purpose of creating sectional feeling; my intention is quite the reverse. My object is simply to induce this House to understand that unless we have certain trade interests protected; unless the East can trade with the West and exchange commodities, I do not think this confederation can hold together. It seems to me that the tenure of remaining in the position which we now hold is that each part of the Dominion must trade with the other; that each must take into consideration the interests of the other for the purpose of fostering trade between them. We in the meantime should be given to understand that the great Province of Ontario will show some consideration to the little Province of Nova Scotia. I do not think that the imposition of a

duty on United States coals would fall so heavily on the people of Ontario as some persons consider it would. At the same time I think, in the interests of the Dominion, the duty should be imposed, as it would create a traffic between the Maritime Provinces and the west that does not now exist.

It may be news, Sir, to many hon. gentlemen in this House, that Nova Scotia, with some 400,000 people, imported from the United States \$1,418,380 in value of breadstuffs during the past year. Now, why should not that trade, of pretty nearly \$1,500,000, be transacted between this Province and Ontario, which could take our coal in return for the flour we need. Hon. gentlemen will recollect that Nova Scotia is almost a non-producing country, as far as grain and breadstuffs are concerned. Men engaged in fishing and mining, as a matter of course, are not agriculturists, and as there is an excess of grain and breadstuffs in Ontario, why should there not be an exchange? I may also draw the attention of the House to the fact that New Brunswick has imported during the past year flour and grain to the value of \$682,142, and Prince Edward Island to the amount of \$55,452, so that here is a market for Ontario which would make a return for any duty imposed on American coals, which have been imported during the past year to the value of \$2,437,494. These, or at least a certain portion of them, could be supplied from Nova Scotia. It is true that we have no anthracite coal, but we have bituminous coal of the very best quality, which we send in large quantities into the Province of Quebec; and if a duty equal to that imposed by the United States on our own coal were imposed on the American product, we could provide for the wants of Ontario in that respect. Our trade in this relation has diminished during the year just passed to a very great extent. Our exports over the border, compared with those of the previous year, were reduced to the extent of about 50,000 tons. They have, on the whole, however, increased very largely—that is, when the year 1871 is taken into consideration. That year we sent out of the Province 280,908 tons, while the shipments in 1875 advanced

to 706,795 tons. The policy which the United States has adopted towards this country is well illustrated, in my opinion, by the tax imposed on the tins—2½ cents each—containing the lobsters admitted by treaty free of duty—proving that we have nothing whatever to expect from the American Government. The next step they will take will probably be to levy a duty on our fish barrels, for although pickled fish are allowed entrance duty free, still by a parity of reasoning we may assume that this may be done. I might, say, Sir, that this question is of very great importance to the people of Nova Scotia, who are awaiting anxiously the action of this House. They wish to see something done for the protection of an enterprise in which they are extensively engaged, and I trust that their expectations will be realized. I hope that Parliament and the Government will take steps in this direction; either obtaining the removal of the duties imposed by the United States on our coals or levying an equal duty upon American coal. The influence, I believe, which has been brought to bear upon the authorities at Washington in the former relation, emanates from the Pennsylvania coal mine owners, who desire to exclude our product from the Eastern sea-board, and I consider if these proprietors understand that reciprocal imposts will be levied, they will exercise the same influence to secure the abolition of the duty of which we complain, because they export largely into Canada. The tariff was arranged in this direction, simply because they cannot on the Eastern seaboard compete with our mines, as our coal is sent by water whilst their's is sent by rail. I trust that any conclusion reached touching this matter, will be after serious consideration of the House; and I declare in all sincerity, that there is no question which is at present agitating to a greater extent than this the public mind in our Province. There is bound up in it, a vast amount of capital—not only Provincial but money which has come from abroad, to the total extent of twelve millions of dollars. I again beg leave to press this matter, not only on the attention of the Ministry, but also on the consideration of Parliament.

Mr. MacKay.

Mr JONES (Leeds)—I agree with a good deal that the hon. gentleman has said; but there are one or two points to which I would like to draw attention. I hope that the trade between the Lower and Western Provinces will be encouraged as much as possible; also that a duty will be placed on certain American coal coming into Canada, that is the coal we mine in Nova Scotia; but a duty should not be levied on coal which we do not possess. I do not think that the returns will separate the qualities used; but I am of opinion that seventy-five per cent of this article used in Ontario is Lehigh anthracite, and hard coal employed in blasting furnaces and factories, and this sort is not mined in Nova Scotia.

In asking for these returns, I think that the hon. gentleman should endeavor to have it shown what quantity of bituminous and anthracite coal is brought into Ontario from the United States. Our trade with the Eastern Provinces should be encouraged in every possible manner, and nothing can do this so much as the imposition of all the duties we can on American productions, and particularly on bituminous coal. An hon. gentleman behind me says—corn also; and I agree that this should be the case. If a duty were imposed, as I have indicated, it should be equal to the American impost, and might well even exceed it.

Mr. CARMICHAEL—I have the honor of seconding the motion made by the hon. member for Cape Breton, being impressed in the importance of the coal trade of this Dominion. At the same time, I am not all committed to the sentiments the mover has expressed. This industry, with others, is undoubtedly in a depressed condition; and if the Government can remove this unfortunate state of things, it would be of great moment, particularly to the Nova Scotian coal mine proprietors. I am not, however, of opinion that the course suggested would increase the production to the extent anticipated. My constituency is as much, or even more, interested in the coal industry than any other part of the Dominion, save the district represented by the hon. member who makes the motion. I am, besides, personally

interested; but I am, nevertheless, an impartial judge in this connection. I second the motion in order to ascertain what steps, if any, the Administration have taken, or whether it is possible to adopt any measures to prevail upon the American Government to reduce their duty on coal. It is of very great importance that it should be lowered; but at the same time we are not entirely dependent on their action. Trade between the two countries would be greatly benefitted by such action; and it is to be regretted that the United States do not see as yet the propriety of this course. They are injuring us to a certain degree, but themselves more. The effect of placing a duty on American coal, as far as I can learn, would not exclude it at all from our market, unless it be levied, not on bituminous coal, but on anthracite.

Mr. JONES—No!

Mr. CARMICHAEL—We see the position in which strong Protectionists place themselves when it comes to the practical point of imposing duties. The only way of meeting the Americans at all, is to place a duty on anthracite, excluding coal we do not produce. The manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec demand protection; but when it comes to the question of putting an additional tax on them, for we all know to what an extent coal enters into manufacturing--

Mr. JONES—I would ask the hon. gentleman whether this bituminous coal is used for manufacturing purposes in this country at all?

Mr. CARMICHAEL—I am certain that it is used very largely. This coal is surely employed for producing steam more than anthracite—at any rate, I know it is used extensively.

The greatest market for Nova Scotian coal is Quebec; and it is burned on steam boats, &c. Let us look at the facts. The whole argument appears to be in favour of a retaliatory policy against the United States, and this I believe would be a piece of consummate folly, which would not affect our neighbours, but increase the taxation for Ontario. The hon. member for Cape Breton talked of our receiving

our food from Ontario, but what does it imply ?

It implies this : If you give us a tax on coal, you must give the farmers of Ontario a tax on food, and what would the effect be on Nova Scotia ? It might benefit the coal interests, but would work to the general injury of the Province. The result also of the imposition of a duty would be a retaliation against Great Britain. It might shut out a few tons that come into Quebec and as far as Montreal, but no reasonable person can expect that we can successfully carry coals to Ontario. Such being the case, the result of the duty will be to tax the people who purchase the coal. It is impossible that it could affect the Americans to that extent as to induce them to lower their duty. We had far better show that we have a more correct idea of the true principles of trade, and follow the example of the mother country in such matters. The true method to promote the mining and other interests of Nova Scotia, is to refuse to inaugurate the protective policy we have heard so much about lately. Protection means taxation, and by adopting such a system, the cost of living will be increased ; consequently the cost of the production of coal will be augmented. Still, if the people are willing to be taxed to the amount proposed, I cannot object ; but what I have adduced is an argument against the system, and I hope the Ministry will consider it if they contemplate any change in the tariff. I trust they will not inaugurate a protective policy and put increased taxation on the coal-producers of Nova Scotia.

I know that to some extent the sentiments I have uttered may be used against me in my own county. The cry with a few there is "Protect our industries," and by those it will be said that a man from Pictou, representing coal interests, was opposed to protective duties. But, nevertheless, these are my sentiments, and I am disposed to utter only what are my honest convictions. I believe it is for the interest of Nova Scotia, as I have no doubt it is for the interest of the whole Dominion, to firmly resist any-

Mr. CARMICHAEL.

thing like the beginning of a false protective policy.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I should like to remind my hon. friend for Leeds that the Customs returns don't discriminate between salt and coal.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I think it is very desirable that the Customs returns should discriminate between the two, and I am satisfied that it could easily be accomplished. All that is necessary is to have a simple word in the entries, and the Hon. Minister of Customs could call the attention of the officers to the matter. Where entries are made it would be easy to give a discriminating return.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE made a reply to this suggestion which was not heard at the reporters' table.

Mr. CURRIER—There is one thing my hon. friend from Pictou is mistaken about—the coal used for steam purposes. I know of no steamboats or stationary engines which use soft coal. At any rate anthracite is always used in this part of the country. For heating our houses and dwellings anthracite is altogether employed.

Mr. CARMICHAEL—The more reason why anthracite should be included.

Mr. MACKAY—I understood the hon. member for Pictou to state that he deems it almost impossible to organize a trade between Nova Scotia and Ontario which would be mutually beneficial. When a statement of that kind is made the House should be placed in possession of the authority on which it rests. I think the hon. gentleman is very much mistaken. On one or two occasions some three years ago, when coal was costing at the pit's mouth \$3.50 per ton, and when freights to the United States were in some instances as high as \$5, I think the experiment was tried of sending coal to Toronto, and it was discovered we could not compete with our neighbours across the lines. But the hon. gentleman has not mentioned that there is a great difference between the price now and then. That which then cost \$3.75 a ton *f.o.b.* can now be purchased in Nova Scotia for \$2 and less per ton, and I contend that if we can send a

very large quantity to the Province of Quebec—if we can send as far west as the city of Montreal, and can compete with the United States there—if our tenders are received by the Grand Trunk Railway to the exclusion of those of the United States—I contend that we can send as far as Toronto, if not further, were some little inducement held out to us. It might be unwise to suggest that a duty could be placed on every ton of coal sent to Ontario, but if a trade was established between the Provinces, that tax could be returned. I am satisfied that the people of Nova Scotia would be perfectly willing to have a tax upon the flour which is now imported from the United States as a return. I represent a constituency that would certainly agree to such an arrangement, and I will say further that the constituency the hon. gentlemen represents feels precisely as I do on the subject. I doubt very much if the hon. gentleman would feel safe in expressing the sentiments in his country that he has uttered in this House.

Mr. CARMICHAEL—The hon. member for Cape Breton said I gave no grounds for stating that coal cannot be carried to Ontario. I thought the reason was obvious to every member. For instance, my hon. friend has stated that the price of coal has been very much reduced. That is very true. Coal sold in Pictou this season at \$2.10 per ton. The common price, indeed, was \$2.20. The very lowest freights this year, and every person is aware they were very much depressed, were \$2. That makes \$4.10 for the coal, without insurance or other charges, delivered in Montreal. Now I have been told that the Grand Trunk has made contracts for coal delivered in Detroit for \$3.50. A gentleman acquainted with the subject informs me that freights this season have ranged from \$1 to \$2, but put on \$1.75 for freight to any portion of Ontario on the Lakes, and that, with cartage, brings the coal up to above \$6 per ton. If it be true, as stated—and a member of this House, who is a coal owner dealing now in the United States, is my authority—that coal is delivered at Detroit River at \$3.50, how is it possi-

ble to convey coal from Nova Scotia to compete with it?

The hon. member has stated that I would hardly utter those sentiments in my own county. Even supposing my opinions are unknown there, which is unlikely, we have some intelligence, and look at the papers occasionally, and it is very possible that such sentiments as are calculated to do me injury would find a rapid circulation. But whatever my convictions are, I am accustomed to give them free utterance.

Mr. MCGREGOR—I heartily endorse the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Pictou. In Ontario we can buy soft coal at the mines for 90 cents. It costs \$1.90 for railway freight, 20 cents for pockets to hold it in, 40 cents for shipping, 40 cents profit for the dealer, and other charges which bring it up to \$3.50 per ton. Now I am satisfied that they cannot ship from Nova Scotia to Ontario and compete with that, and it is impossible to build up the trade suggested.

Mr. MACKAY—Is not the mine to which reference has been made in the extreme western portion of Ontario, and lying immediately contiguous to the United States?

Mr. MCGREGOR—Well, say 90 cts. for the coal at the mine; \$1.90 from the mine to the port in Ohio, \$1.19 thence to Toronto, 20 cts. for pockets, and 40 cts. profit—that makes \$4.50. I am an old shipper and can assure the House that the hon. member for Cape Breton cannot possibly ship coal for that amount to Toronto. It is therefore impossible to put enough duty on to force us to deal with Nova Scotia. We should be very happy to deal with her, as I think it is out of our line to trade with our American friends; but if we can save \$2 a ton it is our duty and interest to do it.

Mr. MACKAY—By permission of the House I should like to ask one question—(“order.”) I think the subject is of sufficient importance for hon. members to bear with me a little longer. Can any member from Toronto inform us as to the price of coal in that city in the months of December and January. I was there during those months and the coal to which reference has

been made was \$6.25 per ton instead of \$3 and some odd cents.

Mr. MCGREGOR—The hon. gentleman is speaking of what it cost delivered in a man's yard. Of course, after it is landed at the wharf, there is hoisting, dockage, carriage to the man's place, and the profits of the third dealer, which bring up the price.

Mr. DYMOND—The hon. member wants to know what bituminous coal cost in Toronto in December last. I have had the same experience as others in that city, and the price of coal bought by the single ton and delivered in the yard was from \$5.50 to \$6. I desire to bear testimony to another matter on which I had an opportunity of making some observations, namely, the importation into Ontario of coal from the Maritime Provinces during the existence of the now celebrated national policy. I think if there are any gentlemen here who are desirous of imposing a tax on coal in return for other advantages, they might take a lesson from the experience obtained on that occasion. I believe just two small vessels freighted with coal did, by some means, reach Toronto. I hope my hon. friend will never send us any more coal of that kind if he expects us to burn it. It would be dear at any price or for any purpose. I visited the yard where it was stored, and heard the opinion expressed by the dealer. At that time we had to pay 50 cents per ton on coal burned in Ontario, and nobody in Ontario was any better for it. That was the practical experience we had on the occasion. What we felt to be, shall I say iniquitous, in that tax was, that it fell upon a small portion of the community only—namely: the population of our frontier towns. Of course, when we get further into the country where wood becomes cheaper, people can obtain fuel of another kind, but where our manufactories are, where our dense and poorer population is, there the weight of the coal tax fell. I remember the gentleman who then represented East Toronto, forgetting the vote he gave in the House, declared on the hustings that he would have been an unjust and dishonourable man if he had ever voted for that coal tax.

Mr. MACKAY.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I had not intended to speak on this question, but I feel called upon to make some remarks in reply to the allusion which has been made by the hon. member for North York to the national policy. He has emphatically condemned it not only on the present but on former occasions. After a very general expression of opinion on both sides of the House in favour of meeting the prohibitory tariff of the United States upon articles, the growth and produce of Canada, by a similar tariff, the Government of which I had not then the honour to be a member introduced their policy imposing a duty of 50 cents per ton on coal, and a duty upon salt, grain and several other articles. It is true that duty was subsequently abandoned. Although a number of hon. gentlemen, among them my hon. friend from North Oxford and Mr. McGill, who was then member for Hamilton, and who, I am happy to say, has no longer a seat in this House, were the loudest advocates in favour of adopting a policy of that kind, when they found the Government were disposed to meet their patriotic declarations in favour, not of a retaliatory policy in reference to the United States, but a reciprocity tariff, then they formed a combination to embarrass the Government and to prevent them from carrying out the very views they had themselves expressed. There was one honourable exception to this,—Mr. Cameron of South Huron. I will do him the credit to say he resisted all party seduction on that occasion, and refused to abandon or obstruct a Government that had consented to adopt the policy he urged upon them. The hon. member for South Oxford, after urging the Government to adopt that policy, and after they were committed to it, not only voted against it, but joined his party in endeavouring to obstruct us in every possible way. Under the circumstances, the Government were placed in a position of very great embarrassment. The majority by which they were enabled to carry this policy was a very small one, only seven or eight. After a year's experience, some of the gentlemen who had previously supported that policy objected to its con-

tinuance, and the Government were compelled to abandon it owing to the bad faith of the hon. gentlemen who had been loudest in urging it upon them. Although it was only a year on the Statute Book, it was long enough in existence to dissipate the objections that had been raised against it. When it was proposed to adopt a policy by which we should have, if not free trade, a reciprocity in tariffs—a policy that would have, more than anything else could strengthened the Free-Trade party in the United States—how were we met by the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, now sitting on the Treasury Benches? They said we cannot afford to excite the hostility of the United States; it will be fraught with danger and disaster. That was one of the objections. Another was that it would have the effect of very largely raising the prices of some of these articles—coal, for instance—without giving any benefit whatever to the country which produced them. The experiment was tried for a single year, and as every person who has paid attention to the subject knows, there never was a time in Canada when coal was cheaper in Quebec and Montreal than during that period. What was the effect in the United States? Was there exasperation, excitement, or any attempt to injure us? No, the natural result followed. No sooner had we imposed a duty of 50 cents per ton on coal than the duty on the same article in the United States was reduced from \$1.25 to 75c. per ton. There was also an immediate reduction of duty on potatoes and several kinds of lumber, and though the policy was in force but one year, Canada has reaped the benefit of it ever since. The result was to stimulate the coal trade in Nova Scotia, and the competition engendered by the investment of \$12,000,000 in that interest had the effect of bringing down prices in this country. The arguments of the hon. member for Pictou are suicidal. I give him credit for earnestness, because he knows they must be distasteful to his constituents, but he forgets the results which will follow the adoption of such a policy as has been proposed. Two objects would be attained. The protection to flour

from the great Province of Ontario would fully meet and counterbalance all they would lose by the duty on coal. You would have the revenue if you did not succeed in bringing Nova Scotia coal into Ontario. The consumers would pay, as others have contribute their share to the revenues. The trade which would follow the adoption of this policy, by sending cargoes of flour down and bringing coal back, would have the effect of reducing freight, while at the same time it would foster the industries of the country. That is not all. You would protect Ontario against the great danger of leaving her dependent upon monopolies in the United States which, after crushing out the coal industries of our own country, would demand their own prices. It was the case with our salt. When that article was discovered at Goderich the United States manufacturers flooded our markets with salt, and sold it at a lower price than it cost to produce it, for the purpose of killing that industry.

So it is with reference to all these articles. If you want to make this great Confederation of British North American Provinces a Union in fact as well as a Union on paper, it is the duty of the Government—whatever political party may occupy the Treasury Benches—to consider with the greatest care and attention every means by which inter-provincial trade may be fostered and promoted. Is there any great injustice in asking the people of Ontario to submit to a tax of 50 cents or 75 cents per ton on coal? You say it is sectional because Ontario alone has to bear the imposition of that tax; but that tax is a comparatively small amount. But what did the hon. Minister of Finance do the Session before last? He came down to this House and asked us to impose a duty of one dollar per ton on the construction of foreign shipping built in Canada. Who were going to pay that duty? Who was that tax going to fall upon, at a time when the shipping trade of the Dominion was in a depressed condition? Take the trade returns and you will find that Ontario with her 2,500,000 of population built only 7,000 tons of shipping that year, while Nova Scotia with a population of 380,000 built

84,000 tons. So my hon. friend asks that this small population should contribute to this country a tax on 84,000 tons while the people of Ontario should pay it on only 7,000 tons; and yet the hon. gentleman undertakes to tell us we should not deal in sectional taxation. I say there are other means of promoting trade between the Provinces. If the cost of transportation is too great, the interests of Ontario and Nova Scotia would be promoted if subsidies were given to lines of steamers for the purpose of transporting flour to the Maritime Provinces and bring back coal as return freight without increasing its cost to the people of Ontario, I am very sceptical as to the cost estimated by some of the hon. gentlemen of this House of delivering Nova Scotia coal in Ontario. If I mistake not, I heard one hon. minister state that after calling for tenders for the delivery of bituminous coal for the use of the Government in Ontario, they made their contract for Nova Scotia coal, for he said they could get it cheaper than from the United States. I believe it is the duty of the Minister of Finance to give his most careful consideration to this subject, and that it may result in means being devised that will build up inter-provincial trade and industries. I cannot congratulate the member for Cape Breton on the seconder of this resolution. I did not intend to say anything on this question, but for the remarks of the member for North York. I cannot permit him to say that the coal of Nova Scotia is not fit to burn.

Mr. DYMOND—I simply testified to that which I have seen and that alone. I saw these two little freights of coal, and in speaking—not with any professional knowledge of it—I gave the account of it that I received from the dealer.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I cannot permit the character of Nova Scotia coal to be aspersed in that way. I can point to the public records, and the highest authority we can have on this question—Sir William Logan—who has testified that we have the finest bituminous coal in Nova Scotia ever discovered on the Continent of America. I can also tell that hon. gentleman that the coal which has brought the

highest price in this city of Ottawa he will find to be Nova Scotia coal. That from the mines of Sydney and Spring Hill are not excelled in any part of the United States for fuel purposes, and I regret that my hon. friend from North York should have been so unfortunate in his expressions as to throw out a statement calculated to prejudice the interests of Nova Scotia. There is no industry in the Dominion to-day suffering more from the general depression than the coal interest, and involving as it does a large amount of men, capital, and shipping, none requires more careful consideration on the part of the Government in order to adopt measures that will remove that depression and put the trade on a safe footing.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman says that he was an advocate of what he calls a national policy, although he has never yet developed his ideas of what a national policy is. But he was an advocate of this policy before he became a member of the late Administration, and he says that his opinions prevailed with the late Government to adopt it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I never said anything of the kind. I said, on the contrary, it was the support volunteered by the gentlemen on the other side of the House that induce the Government to adopt the policy.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I shall volunteer the statement then that in their speeches the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House did not support the policy, and there is no doubt the hon. member for Cumberland was the active gentleman who procured the duty on flour entering into the Maritime Provinces, and the imposition of a tax on coal introduced into the Province of Ontario. He opposed all this while a Minister, and one of his first acts was to abolish that policy by his own motion.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentleman says I abolished the policy; if the hon. gentleman turns to the Journals he will find this is what took place:—A motion was made to repeal a certain portion of the duties. The Government of which I was a member, and a number of their friends, voted to

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put all these together in the resolution so as to have the united strength of all interests in order to retain that policy on the Statute Book; and when the motion was thus amended the hon. gentlemen will find that I and the Administration of which I was a member supported it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman will find that they accepted the motion of this House to abolish these duties. The Administration at that time commanded a large majority of this House; but the influence of my friend, the member from North Oxford, and the then member for Hamilton, caused him to abandon the policy, which my hon. friend then declared was purely patriotic and in the interests of the country. The hon. gentleman from Cumberland is not quite fair in his remarks toward the hon. member for North York. He knows very well that my hon. friend did not denounce the Nova Scotia coal as being very bad. Every coal mine, including those of Nova Scotia, has a bad article of coal as well as a good article, and all my hon. friend said was that a bad article from a Nova Scotia mine reached Toronto, although it may not have been the fault of the mine. Nevertheless, it is perfectly clear that it is utterly impossible to impose any duty less than two or three dollars per ton, which will force the coal of Nova Scotia to the Upper Provinces; and it is equally impossible to protect the farmers of Ontario by imposing a duty on foreign flour coming into the country; because what governs the flour market is not the price in Canada, but the price in the European markets; and what governs every kind of grain going to Europe is the European market. It is a mere matter of convenience to the manufacturers to have a duty imposed on grain imported into this country. The hon. gentleman knows that salt cannot be protected by a duty on salt when we have the richest salt wells in the world, and we are able to produce at one dollar or a dollar and a half per barrel a better article than they charge two dollars per barrel for in Michigan. It is so preposterous to say that the salt interest has been fostered by protection that I

am amazed at the hon. gentleman at this period of our history making such a remark. We know very well that a great deal of the flour imported into Halifax, St. John and other ports of the Maritime Provinces is imported as return freights from the ports of Boston, New York and Portland, by vessels carrying other produce to these ports, and the imposition of a duty means simply to make these people pay more for their flour or give them less for their freights—he may take it in any way he pleases. It is not my intention to say anything on the general policy indicated by the hon. gentleman—occasionally on the one side, and occasionally on the other. I have heard the hon. gentleman as a fierce advocate of protection, but I defy any person who has listened to him to-day or at any other time to say he is an advocate for protection for anything except for a few articles on which he expects to make some political capital and create local excitement in some circles. The hon. gentleman did not propound a fixed policy on matters of trade; but whenever he is prepared to discuss matters of trade policy I shall be ready to meet him and take issue with him if I object to the course he pursues. I have sometimes been able to boast of the hon. gentleman as an ally in questions of trade policy, and I hope to utilize him yet in that character; but I do him the justice to say that there is not a gentleman in this House who is able to propound a trade policy of any kind who will not find the hon. member for Cumberland at some turn or other as an ally of his. With regard to the motion before the House, it will be interesting to show the various classes of coal and the amounts that come into the country, and it will be an interesting question to know how far any legislation we can adopt in this country is likely to affect the coal imports. No one can doubt the extreme importance of the the coal interest of Nova Scotia, and no one will be disposed to do anything that can be done, more than I am in order to place that trade, if this be possible through any act of ours, upon a better footing than it occupies at present.

Mr. OLIVER—I had no intention of speaking in this regard, and would

not have spoken had not the hon. gentleman from Cumberland done me the honour of making reference to myself, with respect to a measure which was passed by this House some years ago and which, it is very true, I supported. I then advocated the levy of a duty upon all grains raised in Canada as well as upon coal and salt. I do not know whether it was the influence of the hon. member for Hamilton and of myself that induced the Government to impose such a tax, but this is what I am led to believe by the remarks of the hon. member for Cumberland. However, I no more assumed credit at that date than now in this relation, but the influence which was brought to bear, and which shaped that policy, was possessed by the hon. member for Cumberland, with whom I went, as he has stated, to wait upon the Finance Minister to urge him to place a duty on grains, salt and coal. When the policy was laid before the House this was done with reference to wheat, flour and the coarser grains raised in Canada, as well upon salt and coal, and I supported it; and this course I would have continued, had not a change taken place. It was altered at the instigation of the hon. member for Cumberland, wheat being left on the free list. Now, I consider that if we protect at all—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I must interrupt my hon. friend, and ask on what authority he says that the hon. member for Cumberland used any influence to secure the omission of wheat from the list. I have no hesitation in saying that the statement is entirely unfounded.

Mr. OLIVER—I do not wish to convey the meaning, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. member for Cumberland used his influence to have wheat left out.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—Hear! hear!

Mr. OLIVER—But I mean to say that after the policy was changed the hon. member's influence was brought to bear upon the Government to secure its adoption. Wheat was omitted, and the only vote I cast against the policy of the Government at the time, was in this relation:—When Mr. Macdonald, who then represented Gleggarry, but is now Lieutenant Governor of

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Ontario, moved an amendment to this effect—that if wheat was to be kept on the free list, flour should bear it company. I supported it. I believed that if protection was good for the millers, it should be extended to the farmers; and after its amendment I supported the measure until it became law. The hon. member for Cumberland states that he is very much pleased on account of the defeat of the gentleman that at that day represented Hamilton; and I have no doubt that the defeat of many other gentlemen then members of the House, who pursued the same course on that occasion, would have created within him a lively sense of satisfaction.

We know what happened during the following year: the measure was displeasing to the entire country, and the result was that the Government, with the assistance of a very large number of the members of the Opposition, repealed the Act. We have scarcely heard a word of complaint since.

It appears to me that the proposition of the hon. mover of this resolution is to place a duty on coal and wheat, so as to secure inter-provincial trade—the policy also of the hon. member for Cumberland. It may answer the purposes of Nova-Scotia coal mine owners, but would it benefit the residents of the Western section of the country? I think not. I notice in the returns that we import yearly 660,000 tons of coal, and if 50 cents per ton additional duty were imposed, the people in the Western Provinces would pay annually \$330,000 towards the protection of coal mine proprietors in Nova Scotia. I don't believe that it would tend to the latter's benefit; and what good would result? We talk of inter-provincial trade, and hear a great deal about opening up new markets for the products of the West. It is desirable to secure all the marts possible for this purpose; but we should not levy extra taxation to this end, when we well know that it will not increase the price of produce. We are aware that for all our wheat, flour and grains, there is already a ready market with prompt payments in gold. Then why should we adopt so foolish a course as that suggested? On a former occasion there was some reason in taxing produce

imported; we were in full possession of our fisheries, and of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and a great many western people thought that if such duties were levied on American products the United States might be induced to give us reciprocity. This reason no longer exists; we do not have the exclusive ownership of our fisheries, which are as much American property as our own for a number of years, while they have the joint enjoyment of the navigation of the St. Lawrence for all time to come, under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington. We export to a large extent—over and above the amount we import—of all kinds of grain—something like eleven millions of bushels—and would it add one cent to the price of wheat, or flour, or the coarser grains, if imposts were placed on American products? It would not.

I may state that notwithstanding the serious charges repeatedly brought against myself and others in this regard by the hon. member for Cumberland, he is the only one who seems not to see the course I pursued was correct. I did not wish the millers to benefit by duties when the farmers were left out in the cold, at the instigation of large numbers of millers in the House supporting the Government. They wished to keep their mills running during the scarce season of the year. I have therefore nothing to explain. Allow me to tell him that my county is purely agricultural; also that my constituents fully approved of my course, returning me by the majority of 1,211. I believe, further, that my present course is correct. We should, as far as is consistent with the welfare of the people and the development of the resources of the country, have free-trade in all things. What indeed will be the result if this agitation be continued? Everything must be protected—every single interest from the Atlantic sea-board to the Pacific Ocean; and I would like to know who is to pay for all this?—Why, Sir, the consuming public; there is no doubt of it, and this public is composed of the agriculturists throughout the length and breadth of the country in a greater proportion than any other class.

I was greatly amused with the utter-

ances of my hon. friend from South Leeds, who was perfectly willing to protect soft coal, but hard coal he desired to have entered free.

Mr. JONES—We have no such coal in the Dominion.

Mr. OLIVER—Very true; but the coal interests cannot be protected as long as hard coal is admitted free of duty.

Mr. JONES—Why?

Mr. OLIVER—Why? Hard coal is universally used in our section, in the very back settlements of the country.

Mr. JONES—Hear, hear.

Mr. OLIVER—It will be impossible to protect soft coal without also protecting hard coal, because the latter will be used in its stead. If taxation is levied in this regard, every consumer in the West will pay it without reaping any corresponding benefit.

Mr. BOWELL—On two or three occasions since Parliament opened this subject regarding coal, salt, wheat and flour duties, has been under the consideration of the House; and I have not only been surprised, but amused at the dexterous manner in which my hon. friend from North Oxford has treated it in every instance, giving, as he has done, each time different explanations. A short time ago I heard the hon. member state that it took exactly twelve months to change his opinion, and that if the hon. member for Cumberland had changed his views, surely he, a more humble member, was also justified in doing so. Now, I find by looking at the records that it did not take twelve months for the member for Oxford to change his mind, but only about a month, as it was only between the 7th of March and the 27th of April of the same year, and only then when an opportunity was presented for defeating the Government, or placing it in a false position before the country, being at the same time desirous of destroying its influence. I do not think that the hon. member has forgotten the strong protectionist speech he made on the 7th of March, and his vote against his own proposition on the 27th of the following April.

Mr. OLIVER—No; I did not do so.

Mr. BOWELL—The hon. member shakes his head and says no; but if he will turn to the Journals and the Votes and Proceedings of the House, on the 7th of March, he will find the following resolution, moved by himself, using very strong language in favour of the principle of protection. It is recorded:—“That Mr. Oliver moved for an Address to His Excellency, praying for the imposition of an import duty on wheat, flower, Indian corn, hops, coarse and fine salt, and coal.” He said the Government had sent a deputation to the West Indies and South America with the view of opening up a trade with these countries; and then went on in his argument to say:—“For instance, immense quantities of flour were being imported into the Maritime Provinces, which, if a proper duty were imposed, would be supplied by the Upper Provinces.” He went further and stated:—“Whenever there was any excitement or uneasiness in any of our local markets—the very argument used so forcibly a few nights ago, by the member for Hamilton, which only a repetition of what my hon. friend from South Oxford said in 1870, for he declared:—“Whenever there was any excitement or uneasiness in any of the local markets the facilities offered to the United States were such as to enable them to step in and undersell Canadians. For instance, last year we imported into Canada 1,685,000 bushels of Indian corn, which comes into direct competition with our own coarser grains.” Then, a little further, he said: “The large distillers in the country are not content to buy Canadian grain, and had no interest in the local market, which in consequence suffered great loss.” “In coal”—the very question now under discussion—the hon. member said:—“In coal we import \$951,000 worth, and import it in the face of a restrictive tariff.” There was no doubt, he said, that if a proper duty was placed on the article, inter-provincial traffic, which was predicted in the Confederation debates, would be brought about and be beneficial to the whole Dominion. He also said, in reference to salt:—“That the object of the American manufacturers was to

“cripple our markets, and that they were succeeding.”

I don't know, Mr. Speaker, how any gentleman advocating the policy of the protection of national industries, and of the products of the soil and of the mine, could by any possibility have used stronger language than that used by the hon. member who has been defending himself to-day, and has argued during the present Session in favour of free-trade pure and simple. It is true the Premier came to his rescue and selected that very article of salt to which my hon. friend from North Oxford referred in 1870. The Premier asked how it was possible that we, who have the best salt mines on the continent, could be crushed out of existence by the importation of American salt. That argument was forcible and well answered by a gentleman who formerly occupied a seat in this House for South Huron, Mr. Cameron. And it was in this wise: He told this House—the debates are on record—that the salt producers of Syracuse sent their produce to the Western sections of Ontario, and sold it at a lower price than they did in the vicinity in which I live, which is nearly opposite to the place where it is produced, for no other reason than to crush the salt industry of this country out of existence.” So it is at the present day with almost every branch of industry; that is, the Syracuse salt was sent three or four hundred miles further and sold cheaper than in places of three miles from where it was manufactured. But to return to my hon. friend's position. After having made his very strong protection speech we find him forming one of a deputation of some 40 or 50 members of this House, who waited upon the then Finance Minister, Sir Francis Hincks, to urge the adoption of a protective policy. No man spoke more loudly, with more feeling—and in justice to my hon. friend, I say it—or more forcibly than did he in favour of such a course; and that deputation having been composed of men of all shades of political opinions, the Government came down with the desired policy. Then what do we find? On the 7th of April, a little more than a month after the

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Government had conceded the point asked in favour of protection, we find that Mr. Macdonald of Glengary, then a member of this House, moved to restore flour and meal, the very articles upon which the member for North Oxford asked to have a duty imposed, to the free list. On the very next day the name of the hon. member for North Oxford was recorded in favour of that motion, and in opposition to that which he had asked the Government to do. That is the only charge upon that point which has been preferred against the hon. gentleman by the hon. member for Cumberland.

—Mr. OLIVER—Allow me to make one remark. I have never denied the statement. I always stated that I voted for the amendment, and gave my reason on other occasions for doing so. That reason was that the Government, in place of leaving the tariff as it was first introduced, made a change and left wheat out.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Allow me to correct the statement just made by the hon. member for Hastings—that that was the only charge I made. I made a much wider charge than the one mentioned. It was that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) having induced the Government to adopt a policy which alienated a considerable section of their own supporters, turned round and on that very tariff joined in vote after vote and endeavoured to break down the Government.

Mr. BOWELL—That is precisely what I was coming to. So far as the vote I alluded to was concerned, that was the only charge against the hon. member for North Oxford, and it was dexterously parried by the introduction of the question of wheat. I quite agree with the hon. gentleman that a duty should also have been imposed on wheat; but I find no record that the proposition first introduced by the Government of that day was subsequently changed. I do know, however, that the whole policy one year after was altered. But I cannot understand why a man who believes in the theory and propriety of the imposition of duties upon a number of articles, and discovers that he cannot get all he asks, must then turn round and

vote against the whole. There seems to be a difficulty in carrying on a strictly party Government as it is in this House, for we find a man advocating the imposition of a particular duty on a particular article, and before the words cease to reverberate through the halls, especially if he sees an opportunity of defeating a Government against which he has arrayed himself, he does not hesitate to eat his own words and swallow any resolution which may have been proposed by himself. It would thus appear that a man's own consistency was of much less consequence than the turning out of a Government. No matter what policy my hon. friend may have advocated, or what resolutions he may have moved, if he voted against that policy and against a motion he himself made, it is quite evident that he was willing the farming interest, in fact every interest, should suffer so long as the Administration was defeated.

On the general question I am, to all intents and purposes, a Protectionist—you may term it old fogeyism if you please. My experience and study have convinced me of this fact, that in all new countries where industries are developing, the proper policy for a Ministry to adopt is one which will protect those industries until they are able to stand alone. In the past, both in England and in the United States, such a policy has been followed. Those countries have grown under it, and become wealthy, and their example warns us that free-trade is not adapted to Canada at present. I don't pretend to deny—it would be folly to do so—that as an abstract principle, free-trade may appear correct; but like many other theories which look well in argument, the moment you reduce it to practice we find it cannot be carried out. I hold that the true policy for Canada at this day, if we ever desire reciprocal trade with the United States, is to legislate exclusively for ourselves, without any respect whatever to our neighbours. The only way to do good is to place ourselves in a position that when they (the United States) shall desire free-trade with us we shall have something to give them in return. We should not, as in the past, surrender everything to

them. We should not have given them free navigation and other rights as we did under the Washington Treaty, which every member will recollect I opposed and voted against in the last Parliament. We find the present Government, however, sending an ambassador down to Washington to give up the pecuniary benefits we expected to derive from the difference between the value of their fisheries and ours. And what is the consideration? To enable us to get into their markets to sell the products of the West and the coals of the East.

They treated us just as I anticipated they would, and as I believe they will on all future occasions when demands of a similar character are made; and for this reason—we have nothing to offer them in return for the reciprocal advantages we may seek. They contend that their fisheries are quite as valuable as our own, and that the benefits they extend to us under the Washington Treaty are sufficient compensation for any difference—if such exist—in the value of the fisheries of the Maritime Provinces; and, in this regard, they will no doubt secure the best of the bargain, as has been the case in connection with almost every treaty they have negotiated with Great Britain, whether a question of boundaries or trade were concerned. Our only proper course is to block them in every port of this country. I am prepared to carry out the policy enunciated a short time ago by a gentleman who occupies a high position in the Dominion, holding that we should have reciprocity, if not in free-trade, at least in the shape of a protective tariff. Until that day arrives we will never prosper.

Mr. MILLS—Would you put a tax on coal?

Mr. BOWELL—-I would.

Mr. KILLAM—How much?

Mr. BOWELL—I care not how much; but at all events enough to protect your coal interests in Nova Scotia. If we do not adopt this course with regard to all coal—although anthracite is largely used in the part of the country where I live—the Nova Scotian article will never be properly protected. While I ask for a full protection for

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the farmers' interests, I am quite ready to extend it to the fullest extent and secure a protective tariff in favour of every single article we produce in this country, more particularly if these products are kept out of the American market by duties.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I did not intend to speak on this question, and I would not do so, did I not wish to refer to some remarks which have been made by the Hon. Premier, with reference to the coal trade. When it is stated we can compete with the United States in this connection it must be remembered that there are points beyond which we cannot do so. Terminating at the mouth of the Lachine Canal, as far as Montreal is concerned, Nova Scotia can compete with American coal, and is year after year maintaining its own; but ere we can find a market in Ontario, we must have the St. Lawrence Canals deepened to eighteen or nineteen feet, in order to enable our vessels to pass up to the western ports on the Lakes. At Montreal it costs thirty cents per ton to discharge coal from one vessel into another, and if we were to supply Ottawa or any western city, we must transfer it to the canal boats, losing by delay, renewal of insurances, and other expenses in this relation.

While I am a Free-Trader, I hold if we cannot get reciprocity in trade, give them a touch of reciprocity in tariff. I would like to have the canal question considered in connection with this. If this Dominion is to be bound together by commerce as well as by political ties, there must be an exchange of products. The hon. member for North Oxford says the effect of the national policy which he was so anxious to have adopted, and for which he voted, was to put \$330,000 taxes on Ontario, but he forgot to say that the smaller population of the Maritime Provinces took 700,000 barrels of Ontario flour, paying \$380,000 taxes for the protection which that national policy gave their industries.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Both sides lost.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The question of protection, I suppose, will be discussed when the Administration bring down their policy, and then I

will be prepared to state what my opinion is on that subject.

Mr. YOUNG—I think the hon. members for Cumberland and North Hastings have very unfairly attacked the hon. member for North Oxford. However, his constituents will regard the assault of the Deputy Leader of the Opposition as a high recommendation. An attempt has been made to represent him as inconsistent. I cannot see the slightest inconsistency. He says he voted against the national policy after one year's experience had shown him that it was unsuitable to the country. He surely cannot be blamed for having voted according to his convictions. We have heard further that though he went on a deputation to urge the Government to put a duty upon certain articles, he voted against the same proposition a few days after. But the explanation is easily understood. He states distinctly that the reason he so voted was because wheat had been left out of the dutiable portion of the tariff with a view to conciliate certain other interests; and that he, as representing an agricultural community, felt in duty bound to refuse the other portions of the tariff unless wheat was included in the list. He voted against the Government on that occasion, and the reasons he gave for his conduct are perfectly satisfactory and consistent. But I do not think it lies in the mouth of the hon. member for Cumberland to speak of inconsistency with regard to this question of tariff. If my hon. friend from North Oxford changed his position in one year, I can show that the member for Cumberland changed his vote in a few minutes on that question. When the Government brought down their tariff in 1871, it was proposed that the policy known as the national policy should be changed, and the majority of the House so decided. There was a resolution moved shortly afterwards by the hon. member for Hastings to this effect, seconded by Mr. Brown:—

“That in view of the negotiations now pending at Washington between representatives on the part of the British Empire and the United States, touching questions which may lead to a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, it is in the opinion of this House inexpedient to repeal the duties now imposed upon certain articles enumerated in section two of the

Bill as amended. Be it therefore *resolved* that the Bill do not now pass, but that it be referred back to Committee of the Whole, for the purpose of expunging all the words between the word ‘coke’ and the words ‘is hereby repealed’ in section two of said Bill.”

This, Sir, was in fact a proposition to retain the duties on wheat coal and coke. And I find among those who voted against it was Sir Francis Hincks, and further down on the list was the name of the hon. member for Cumberland. So that if my hon. friend from North Oxford changed his position in one year on that question, my hon. friend from Cumberland changed his in a few minutes. But look at the action of the Government. The first Session the duties on these articles were taken off; the very next year they were reimposed, and the following year were repealed. We all know when that took place on the floor of this House—when it was sought the third time to reimpose the duties—the Finance Minister came down and stated that such was his intention with regard to wheat and those other articles, but before he left he announced that the Government intended to change their opinion. And then between six and half-past six he came again to the House and informed them that the Government intended to impose these duties. So they changed their policy every year for the first four years they were in power, and twice in a single day.

At this point the SPEAKER called Mr. Young to order, as his remarks were not relevant to the question before the House.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I wish to lay on the Table the statement of revenue and expenditure of the Dominion up to the 10th of February.

WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. McCALLUM moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence between the Department of Public Works and the Superintendent of the Welland Canal as to the damages to lands along the Grand River by raising the water in the upper level of the said canal; also copies of all instructions to valuers in valuing said damages; also of reports, if any, made by valuers

to the Government in the years 1874-75; also, the amount of damages paid, or to be paid, to different parties, giving number of acres paid for or to be paid for.

He said:—My object in placing this motion in your hands, Mr. Speaker, is that the people I have the honour to represent in this House have a grievance against the Government. The Dominion Government some years ago, by instructions to their engineer, raised the banks of the upper level of the Welland Canal, thereby raising the water much higher for 15 miles than formerly. By that means they have flooded a considerable amount of land along the Grand River. The matter was brought before the notice of the Government last year, and surveyors were sent to value the land, but still the parties have not been paid for the land.

At Six o'clock the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, February 25th.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

After Routine,—

REPORTS AND BILLS.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD presented the Annual Report of the Minister of the Interior, also a Report on the Geology and Resources of the region in the vicinity of the Forty-Ninth Parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, by George Mercer Dawson, Geologist and Botanist to the Boundary Commission.

Mr. THOMPSON (Haldimand) introduced a Bill intituled "An Act to incorporate the Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Co."

Mr. JOHN MACDONALD (Toronto) introduced a Bill intituled "An Act to authorize the shareholders to the Union and Permanent Building Society to change the name of said Society."

Mr. IRVING introduced a Bill intituled "An Act to enable W. Smith Amies to obtain letters patent for a new and useful article of Artificial Manure."

Mr. McCALLUM,

Mr. JETTE introduced a Bill intituled "An Act to amend the Act respecting the Citizen Insurance Investment Company."

EXPENSES OF ELECTION TRIALS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that on Tuesday next the House will resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:—

"That it is expedient to provide that the travelling expenses of the Judge and all expenses incurred by the Sheriff or other officer in consequence of any sitting for trial, and for providing a Court room and any accessories under the Bill (No. 13) intituled: 'An Act to make more effectual provision for the administration of the Law relating to corrupt practices at Elections of Members of the House of Commons,' shall be defrayed out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purpose."

The motion was carried.

SALARIES OF COUNTY COURT JUDGES IN NOVA SCOTIA.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the reception of the Report of the Committee of the Whole on the following resolution:—

"1. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide that the salaries of the County Court Judges of the Province of Nova Scotia shall be as follows:—

"Six County Court Judges, each.....	\$2,000 per annum
The County Court Judges for the County of Halifax	2,400 per annum

and that to each of the County Court Judges there may be paid for actual travelling expenses such sum not exceeding the rate of \$200 per annum as may be allowed by the Governor in Council.

"2. Resolved, That the salary of any of the said County Court Judges receiving less than \$2,400 per annum shall after a period of three years service as such County Court Judge be \$2,400 per annum with travelling expenses as aforesaid.

"3. Resolved, That the said salaries and allowances may be paid out of any unappropriated moneys forming part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

"4. Resolved, That the 8th section of the Act passed in the 37th year of Her Majesty's Reign, intituled 'An Act to amend the Act 36th Victoria, Chapter 31, for the re-adjustment of the salaries of Judges and other purposes' shall apply to the said County Court Judges in the Province of Nova Scotia, and that they shall be entitled to the same retiring allowance or annuity on the same condition and payable in the same manner as if they were expressly referred to and included in the said section."

The motion was carried.

A Bill founded on the resolution was introduced and read the first time.

ASSISTANT INSPECTORS OF PENITENTIARIES.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the reception of the report of the Committee of the Whole on the following resolution :

"Resolved, That it is expedient to provide that the Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries to be appointed under the Bill intituled 'An Act to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia,' shall each receive a salary not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars per annum and travelling expenses, to be determined by the Governor in Council."

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that the resolution be referred to the same Committee as the Committee on Bill Number 2.

The motion was carried.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the reception of the report of the Committee of the Whole on the following resolution :

"1. Resolved, That it is expedient to provide that the Minister of Agriculture, or such other Minister as is mentioned in the Bill intituled, 'An Act to make provision for the collection and registration of the Criminal Statistics of Canada,' shall cause to be paid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for that purpose, to any Clerk, Officer or Sheriff filling up and transmitting the schedules required under the first section of the said Bill the sum of one dollar and the further sum of five cents for each case comprised in such schedule; and to any officer transmitting the returns required under the second section thereof the sum of one dollar."

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that the resolutions be referred to the same Committee as Bill Number 3.

The motion was carried.

THE BUDGET.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Mr. Speaker,—In rising to move the resolution which I am about to place in your hands, I may say at the outset that it would be both idle and dishonest on my part to attempt to conceal from the House, that the circumstances under which we meet are such as deserve our very gravest consideration. It is unfortunately too true that we are now passing and have been passing for a period of several months, through a commercial crisis great and almost unparalleled in severity; and, although I think that the statement made by

His Excellency in his opening Address to Parliament, that the distress in question was rather local and special than general, and that the great bulk of our people still continue to enjoy a condition of reasonable prosperity—although I think that that statement is true, and admits of reasonable demonstration, still I am not at all disposed to deny that there are cases of great hardship existing in this country. At the same time, Sir, I think I am justified in saying that, although the particular crisis and the particular form which it has assumed, were not, in the very nature of things, and could not be, calculated upon; still, as the House is aware I have always contended, from the fact that there is a very considerable diminution in our imports into this country, and of the revenue derived therefrom, that this might not unreasonably be expected. This, in effect, was foreseen, and to a considerable extent discounted beforehand. And I think I shall be able to show the House that there are certain important mitigating circumstances which may go far to relieve the apprehension which many persons have, not unnaturally expressed at the state of things which at present exists. Without at all desiring to underestimate the gravity of the commercial crisis to which I have referred, I believe, Sir, that this country has had other and much graver crises in its history than the one through which we are now passing, and that it has emerged from them comparatively without injury to its reproductive powers. It may appear paradoxical to say so, but in my judgment the position of this country is really far less dangerous to day than it was two or three years ago. And I make this assertion the more pointedly because I see that certain parties, both in this House and out of it, are in danger of falling into an error which I desire to correct so far as in me lies. A few years ago, as everybody in this House knows, many persons were betrayed into undue confidence from supposing that the remarkable expansion which had then taken place indicated an absolute substantial progress. Now, I never desired or intended to deny that there was underlying that expan-

sion a really great and genuine growth of this country; but I took occasion more than once to declare that it was not wise to base our policy on the hypothesis of the balance of the expansion to which I have referred, at present. Sir, the cause is exactly opposite. In place of undue confidence we have undue alarm, and undue apprehension; and as might have been expected, we find that from bring over confident we are now in a state of what I may almost call cowardly alarm.

On that occasion I deprecated that over confidence—as I think the House will admit not without sufficient reason—and I deprecate now the undue apprehension which I perceive to exist, as I hope and believe on equally false grounds. I think this country, as I have stated before, will be able to weather without permanent injury the commercial squall—commercial tornado if you will—by which it is at present assailed, and although I do not intend to enlarge on this point at present, I think, before the debate closes I shall be able to show some reasonable ground for entertaining that opinion.

Now, Sir, my first duty on the present occasion is to review as briefly as I conveniently can the position of this country in the year which has just closed; and that is of the more importance, because the results of the year's operations require to be carefully considered in view of their bearing not only upon the present year, but also with reference to certain matters which occurred in the past. If the House will look at the Public Accounts which have been laid upon the table, they will perceive that the total ordinary revenue for the year which closed on the 30th of June, 1875, amounted from all sources to \$24,648,715; and the ordinary expenditure during the same period to \$23,713,071, leaving a balance of \$935,644. They will also perceive from the trade and navigation returns that whereas the total importation in the year ending 30th June, 1874, amounted to \$127,404,169, the total importation during the year which has just closed only amounted to \$119,618,657, showing a decrease on the importations of the last year of \$7,785,512. The ex-

ports during 1873-4 amounted to \$89,351,928, while for the year which has just closed they amounted to \$77,886,979, showing a decrease of \$11,464,949.

It may be well to point out that of that decrease of nearly eleven and a half millions, about one million was due to a diminution in the amount of bullion exported, and about three and a half to a diminution in the exportation of goods not the produce of Canada. The total diminution of imports and exports amounted therefore to no less than \$19,250,460, being a total decrease in the volume of the trade of that year of very nearly twenty million dollars as compared with 1873-4.

Now, Sir, it may be well perhaps to call the attention of the House to the fact that in the receipts and expenditures for the past year will be found a certain number of cross entries which swell the totals a little more than would be otherwise the case. This will be chiefly observed in the interest columns, and the cause of it was this: As hon. gentlemen know, we were compelled to pay off a very considerable portion of the public debt maturing in London on the 1st of July, 1875; and to do so we were obliged to keep a considerable amount of money lying there at interest. The receipts and disbursements on this account may therefore be considered as accidental, and practically balance each other. Moreover, in the process of paying off the Seigniorial Indemnity up to the 1st of January, 1875, a large additional charge was inflicted on the present year, as I find, for some reason or other, contrary to the usual practice, that the interest which matured on this fund up to the 1st of July, instead of being charged, as customary to the past year, has been habitually charged to the current year. I may

There is another item to which attention should be directed, the item of \$121,700, put down as a charge for the survey made between ourselves and the United States. Now, I think that I mentioned in the Budget Speech of 1875, that this particular sum of money had been actually expended in 1873-4, but that owing to a delay in the transmission of the vouchers on the

part of the Imperial authorities, we were not able to include it in the ordinary disbursements of that year. This item, although charged to 1874-5, really and properly belonged to 1873-4.

The last and most important item to which I desire to call the attention of the House is the item on account of the change of guage. With respect to this, I am perfectly well aware that in many cases whole cost has been charged to capital account, and I am also aware that a good deal is to be said for that practice, inasmuch as the change of guage is a permanent improvement which will never require to be repeated; and many railway companies, when it is necessary to make the change, do habitually charge it to capital account, taking, however, in that case, the precaution to charge a certain portion of that amount to the annual income for several years to come. There are obvious reasons why such a course is not expedient in our case, and, therefore, after conference with my hon. friend beside me, we decided that, although it was a permanent and useful improvement, adding largely to the efficiency of the road. Still, as it was the fact that a certain portion of the rolling stock was actually destroyed by the operation, our best course would be to charge two-thirds to the capital account, and one-third to the income, but not to make a further charge hereafter.

With respect to the operation going on of substituting steel for iron rails, that is, I think, an item properly chargeable to income, and is intended to be. I am somewhat particular in making this statement, because, as the House knows, we feel it incumbent upon us, as we are compelled to keep both a capital and ordinary account, that we should be very scrupulous as to what we allowed to go to that capital account.

Now, Sir, looking at general results, I think I am justified in saying that the total result for 1874-5 is on the whole eminently satisfactory notwithstanding the very extraordinary charge above referred to. In spite of the very heavy exceptional charges we are able to show a good balance, amounting to nearly \$1,000,000, and that, too, in spite of the fact that a very considerable proportion of the revenue which

properly belonged to that year was anticipated in the preceding year. This is of the more importance, Mr. Speaker, because there was a very perceptible diminution in the total volume of the imports and exports during that year. It may not be without interest to make a comparison between the total expenditure for 1873-4 and 1874-5. In 1873-4 we expended a sum of \$23,316,000 in round numbers. Of that, Sir, payments for interest and subsidy, over which, as the House knows, we have no control, consumed no less than \$10,255,746, leaving the expenditure in the year ending 30th of June, 1874, at \$13,060,520. In the year 1874-5 our total expenditure amounted to \$23,713,051; interest and subsidy, \$11,124,634; while the controllable expenditure was \$12,588,437, leaving a balance in favour of 1874-5 as contrasted with 1873-74, on items within which may fairly be called within the control of the Government of \$472,083. And if we should reverse that entry of \$121,700 paid on the account of the boundary survey, to which I alluded, and place it in the year when that expenditure occurred, we would have a total balance of not less than \$715,000 of controllable expenditure in favour of 1874-5.

And now, Sir, I come to what is probably a more interesting portion of the present statement, viz.: to our position for the current year, 1875-6, the House will no doubt perceive, from the statement which I had the honour to lay upon the table yesterday, that there has been a very serious diminution in our total receipts for the first seven months of this year. I find that up to the 10th February, 1876, our total revenue, from all sources properly belonging to the consolidated fund, amounts to \$12,870,785, as against similar receipts for the corresponding period last year of \$14,856,121, being a difference, as nearly as possible, of \$2,000,000 against this year and in favour of last. Now, it is quite true that a comparison of those seven months may possibly, to a certain extent, deceive the House, and for this reason: That the receipts during the first half of 1874-5 were unusually large, I believe larger than the

Hon. Minister of Customs at all expected. However, this falling off, although very important, is not quite as significant as might at first sight appear. I intended to have laid upon the table of the House a comparative statement of the exports and imports for the last six months, which by permission I will do now, and send to the hon. member for Cumberland.

From this statement it would appear that whereas in the half year ended 31st December, 1874, we imported and entered for consumption \$69,693,978 in the six months which closed on the 31st December last we only imported for consumption \$51,923,236, showing a decrease in these six months of very nearly \$18,000,000. On the other hand we exported during the corresponding period of 1874 the quantity of \$53,740,729, and during the six months of 1875 we exported \$50,624,845. Now, at present, I will only say this with respect to that statement, that although there has been a very great and formidable decrease in the imports and revenue derivable therefrom, the House will see with satisfaction that there has been a very small decrease in the total volume of the exports of this country, and that decrease has taken place in only the single article of sawn lumber, exported to the United States. Notwithstanding, Mr. Speaker, it is quite true, that the result of the statement I have laid on the table shows that the estimates which I made for the current year must necessarily be revised. I do not at all desire to convey to the House the idea that I foresaw any such commercial catastrophe as has overtaken the country. It is obvious if I had foreseen it I would never have presented the estimates which I then submitted. I was aware, of course, that every estimate made 18 months in advance is necessarily exposed to the chance of being worthless by some unexpected calamity such as has overtaken us. Nevertheless, I believe that the Estimates then submitted were justified, inasmuch as they were based partly on the experience of the two or three years preceding, and on our probable exportations on the imports in ordinary average years. As I

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

remarked at the commencement of my speech—I have more than once pointed out the danger of a large diminution of the volume of trade and commerce of the Dominion, but nobody could expect me or anybody else to know what shape that reduction would assume; whether it would be acute or chronic in the shape it has taken, or whether it would occur in the shape of stagnation for a considerable period, extending over several years, until the natural growth of the country had brought us up to the consumption indicated by the returns for 1873, '74, '75. For this very remarkable diminution in the amount of our imports, there are two main causes. One cause is, the diminution of the volume and quantity of articles imported. That statement I have seen, on some occasions, contradicted, but the trade returns, which I hold in my hand, completely warrant that assumption. But there has been another and a somewhat singular cause at work, and that is not so much the diminution of the volume of these articles as the remarkable shrinkage of value that has prevailed during the last two years. I speak, of course, more particularly, of recent times. Now, Sir, my hon. friend the Minister of Customs, at my request, addressed some time ago a series of circulars to leading merchants in the principal ports, with a view to obtain from them an estimate of the extent of this shrinkage in the more important articles which we import, and from that—although I will not weary the House with the detailed statement—I find this shrinkage has been well nigh universal, spreading almost over every important article which we consume, and extending from 10, 15, 25 and in some cases to 30 or 35 per cent. of the previous value of the articles. It need hardly be said this was a very serious disturbing element in all calculations which either he or I were able to make of the probable imports and revenue to be derived therefrom. Now, in proof of the statement which I made that a very large proportion of the loss of revenue arises from this shrinkage of value, I may state on examining a comparative statement for the six months ending December 21st, 1874, and the six months ending with

December, 1875, I find that it has taken place almost exclusively and entirely in one list. The total revenue received on articles bearing a specific duty was \$1,307,000 for the six months of 1875, as against \$1,426,000 in the preceding half year, showing a diminution of \$119,000 on that list. On what is known as the specific and *ad valorem* articles, the revenue in the last six months of 1875 was \$1,307,000, as against \$1,272,000 in the preceding half-year, showing an increase in that department of \$30,000. There was a very small decrease on the 25 per cent. list; but when we come to that large and important list known as the 17½ per cent. *ad valorem*, we find in the last half of 1874 we had a total importation of \$28,771,000, whereas in the corresponding period of 1875 our total importation only amounted to \$18,142,000, being a reduction on that one class of articles alone of \$10,700,000, and that the revenue which we derived in 1874 from that source amounted to \$5,034,000, as against \$3,174,000 in 1875. In other words, almost the entire loss under customs revenue during the preceding six months has accrued on the 17½ per cent. list. Those figures are very remarkable. They indicate that there was a considerable and undue inflation; but it must be borne in mind, in this particular as in some others, that what is bad for the revenue is, on the whole, good for the country. The result of those figures which I have submitted appears to prove conclusively that, although the revenue of Canada has lost \$1,000,000 or \$2,000,000, the people of the Dominion have gained many millions. It proves that they have been able to buy a large quantity of these goods for a less price than they previously cost, and that the country is, in one sense, largely the gainer by this diminution of values.

There is of course a drawback to this. It has undoubtedly contributed, in connection with other things, to add to the depression that has overtaken the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country. I am not disposed to underrate that effect but still I must call attention to the fact that as our imports have been appreciably diminished, and as it appears a very large proportion of this diminution

does not arise from any decrease of the power of consumption of the people of Canada, but simply that they get better bargains for their money than before, it is on the whole an advantage and not an injury to the people.

Now, it is of course, rather difficult to estimate minutely what particular portion of the loss of revenue is due to shrinkage of value, and what portion to consumption. But I am inclined to think, if we could accurately discriminate between the two causes, we would find the larger part of the loss is due to shrinkage and not to diminution of consumption. This is a matter which it is impossible for me or for any other Finance Minister to guard against in advance.

It may be well before going further to offer a few observations on the causes of the prevailing depression which we all deplore. I do not think there will be found any great difference of opinion as to what the causes are, although I am inclined to believe there will be a wide divergence as to the extent to which they severally operate and the way they act and re-act upon each other. I think it must be abundantly plain to anybody who has watched the extraordinary expansion of our commerce and also of bank discounts that one considerable element of the present depression is due to the large over-importation that has taken place.

We find the imports entered for consumption increased, as follows:—\$87,000,000 in 1871; \$107,000,000 in 1872; \$127,000,000 in 1873; then they remained stationary for a year, and last year they fell to \$119,000,000. We find during the same period that the bank discounts rose from forty-nine or fifty millions of dollars in 1869, on the 1st of July, to \$61,000,000 in the same period of 1870; \$79,000,000 in 1871; \$102,000,000 in 1872; \$116,000,000 in 1873, and \$130,000,000 in 1874, at which point they appear to have remained tolerably stationary. It is perfectly clear by those figures, that there was to say the least, a very considerable risk that many of our importers were holding vastly larger stocks than it was at all prudent for them to do, and that then and after this process had gone on for some years, they were suddenly confronted with

the disturbance in values to which I have alluded. It is no wonder very serious distress was inflicted on some of those people. These causes operate in two ways. In the first place there was a very large depreciation in value caused from the fact of carrying over those stocks from year to year. In the second place, their value was still far the positive shrinkage above-mentioned. There can be no doubt a very large proportion of the distress in commercial quarters is attributable to this cause. The second cause which has operated very powerfully is the unfortunate depression that has prevailed for some years in that great branch of industry, the lumber trade. Everybody who has paid any attention to our ordinary business affairs, particularly in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, is aware, perhaps, this is the largest single industry in the country, except the agricultural. They are also aware that it gives support and employment to several hundreds of thousands of people, and furnishes one-third of our exports to foreign countries; and further that from the nature of the trade and the amount of money it puts in circulation, it is one of special importance to the commercial classes of the community. It is no secret that this industry has been depressed for a considerable period, and I believe, Sir, that it will be found that no inconsiderable part of that depression resulted from the very common cause—that a number of people, without sufficient capital and experience, choose to engage in the production of lumber in the face of a falling market, stimulated, no doubt, by the fact that many of my hon. friends engaged in this occupation were supposed to be accumulating very rapid fortunes. Then, Sir, when great fall of prices took place in the United States two or three years ago, thereby cheapening, of course, the cost of production in that country, it became very difficult for our lumbermen to compete on reasonable terms with the American lumbermen. And this, Sir, I deem to be another and very potent influence indeed in producing the present depression.

There was besides all this, that general extravagance and over speculation, which unfortunately always fol-

low to be any period of inflation or even of great prosperity, continued for several years. Everyone knows our market is limited, everyone knows that there are few manufacturing industries which will allow more than a certain number of people to engage in them, and I think, Sir, most people who have watched the course of business in this country, will agree with me that during the last few years a very considerable number of persons had engaged in manufacturing enterprises for whom there was really no room, as was well said on a recent occasion, many of them possessed neither the brains nor the money to bring their enterprises to a successful issue.

And although I know our banks, as a rule, are well managed and conservative in their way of carrying on business, and although I don't at all mean to say they are one whit worse than their compeers in the United States or Great Britain either for that matter, still I say that various banking institutions of this country are not wholly faultless in this matter. Every-one who knows much about the mode of carrying on banking is aware that banks, when they have accumulated large sums of money, are very apt to discount largely to men of straw. Nothing they can do does such frequent injury to banks as encouraging adventurers of that class, who have entered into speculations; and I don't hesitate to say that no inconsiderable portion of the depression existing has arisen from that cause. I repeat that I do not mean to say that our banks are worse than those of other countries; I merely mean to say that it is one cause common to all banks, so far as I know, to grant discounts at such times to such persons on terms which no legitimate enterprise would warrant. These, Mr. Speaker, appear to be the chief internal causes, so far as I can at present ascertain, which have led to the existing depression.

But it must be remarked that our distress has been considerably aggravated by external causes, over which we had no sort of control. The House knows that the people of the United States have been labouring for two or three years under most unusual depression. The

House knows also that it is quite impossible for a small community like ours, placed as it is in the immediate vicinity of a great nation of 44,000,000 people, bordering on us for two or three thousand miles—the House knows, I say, that it is quite impossible that any long-continued permanent depression can exist in the United States, without re-acting very powerfully upon us. We know, Sir, that when the prices of American staples are high, ours will be high also; when labour is dear in the United States, it will be dear in Canada—when cheap, it will tend powerfully to make it cheap in Canada also. And it is no source of wonder that when the cost of production becomes small in the United States it should re-act more or less unfavourably on those persons engaged in similar manufactures on this side.

I don't purpose at this present moment to enter fully into the discussion raised as to Canada being a sacrifice or slaughter market. But I must admit candidly and honestly, that I have no doubt that the distress of the manufacturers has been aggravated—though I will not say to what extent—by this cause. Then, unfortunately for us, the preceding year was one of general financial trouble throughout the world. I do not know a country in Europe that has not suffered during the year that has just closed. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the commercial depression is confined to New York or Montreal alone. Every one who knows anything of the state of commerce cannot but know that London, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow and St. Petersburg to boot, have suffered and are suffering from a very great and long-continued commercial distress and depression; and this, no doubt, did re-act considerably on the state of things here. It is hardly worth while to indulge in any lengthened proofs of facts which I suppose, all commercial gentlemen will admit. But, if any one desires proof, I will refer them to the language of Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Derby, both of whom have warned the English people that they must not expect a repetition, indeed hardly a continuance of the remarkable expansion which had taken place in England as well as in this

country during the year 1870 to 1873. And if we turn to the neighbouring Republic, we will find Governor Tilden, the chief magistrate of the great State of New York, in his message to the Legislature, speaking in equally strong terms of the condition of affairs in the great Empire State of the Union. Were I inclined to multiply other proofs, I might find them in the fact that many important staple articles of English export have diminished both in quantity and value, and we find gentlemen in the House of Congress rising and proposing resolutions with the view of obtaining more protection for the languishing industries of the United States.

I do not believe it is necessary for me to dwell upon this theme any longer. From all these facts this result, if no other, appears tolerably patent to my mind—if more men and more capital are engaged in any business than it legitimately requires, there is nothing more likely than that you will have distress among the producers; and it does not matter whether your market be 4,000,000 or 40,000,000 or 400,000,000, over-production will always produce distress. Nor does it very much matter for that particular purpose whether free-trade or protection is the policy.

There is another question on which I desire to say a word or two. It has been asked in this House and outside this House whether and to what extent this Government were responsible for the distress which we have witnessed. Now, if this question be asked of me, I should say that neither the present nor the preceding Government were directly responsible for that inflation or for the consequent distress. That inflation would have taken place whoever sat on these benches—in my opinion, at least. I do not believe in a free country it is in the power of a Government to restrain their people from embarking foolishly or recklessly in improvident speculations. All I think, any Government can do is to warn, to caution and carefully restrain its own operations within safe limits, and if it failed to do this, possibly a Government may be indirectly responsible for inflation. Wherever a Government is found

treating a temporary inflation as indicating a stable, enduring prosperity, or entering into engagements which the country cannot possibly fulfil, unless that inflation becomes permanent, then in such a case I can agree that the Government should be held directly responsible. And I leave it with confidence to the people of this country, and to the members of this House, whether that is a fault which can be properly charged to the present Government.

Now, Sir, I propose to call the attention of the House to the estimates of the current year, recently laid on the table. But, before I proceed to details, it may be as well that I should say a few words on one important feature of the general policy of the Government. The House is aware that when we entered upon office we found a very large number of minor public works, of the class ordinarily charged to income, in course of construction or arranged for. I stated at the time that it would be impossible for us to make any reduction in that item of expense for several years. I stated also that I did not expect it would be permanent, and that a reduction in that respect was one of the resources upon which I relied in the event of any temporary diminution of imports, to make both ends adjust themselves.

I think, Sir, the House will see in looking at the estimates that we have succeeded in carrying out our policy with a very reasonable degree of accuracy. We did not deem it wise to suspend or interrupt any of those public works to which we found the Government committed, for two reasons. In the first place we found that, owing to the low price of labour and material, it was, on the whole, advisable to proceed with the completion of those undertakings as early as possible; and neither my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie) nor myself thought it expedient in a time of great depression to delay the progress of any of them, or to restrict ourselves to those which were absolutely necessary. In the next place, we knew these works had to be completed, that they had to be paid for; and our policy was to avail ourselves of the cheapness of the times, and also to a certain extent to relieve the distress which we,

as well as everyone else in this country, must desire to alleviate if we can.

Now, if the House will do me the favour to turn to the estimates, they will find that we propose in the present year to ask for certain additional sums. The first and most important of these is the amount of \$513,000 additional interest on the public debt, rendered necessary by the loan which I contracted in London in the autumn of last year. The next item is a statutory one, rendered necessary by the creation of the Supreme Court. This sum embraces the salaries of the Judges and certain other incidental expenses. The third item is a very considerable augmentation of the expenditure for Mounted Police. While on that subject, I may say that it has been found that that force, although a very efficient and valuable one, is necessarily a very expensive one. It is very difficult to procure food and forage at the outposts at which it is placed, and therefore we have found it requisite to take an additional vote on this occasion in order to be able to supply them with the articles they need. I may further state that the Minister of Justice informs me that he hopes within a year or two to be able to reduce that outlay by establishing farms in the neighbourhood of the posts; and if the e should prove unsuccessful it is tolerably certain that from settlers who may be expected to go into that country in considerable numbers, and who by preference will locate in the neighbourhood of fortified points, we will be able to secure food and forage for the horses at much less cost than hitherto. There is also a very considerable item of increase in the shape of an amount of \$63,271 for treaties with Indians. It is probably unnecessary to point out to the House that it is absolutely necessary we should conciliate these tribes and obtain a legal title to the land which they at present occupy. No doubt the sum total demanded for the Indian vote will appear considerable; but the House will find in the future that it is far less expensive to settle with those people in this way than to employ several hundred additional mounted troops to keep the peace in those territories.

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These, I think, Sir, comprehend the chief services on which we shall ask for additional votes, with the exception of some small increase in the vote for the printing in connection with the Legislature, and some addition for the Post Office Department, which my hon. friend (Mr. Huntington) will explain when the estimate is arrived at. Coming now to the other side of the account, the House will perceive that in Civil Government we have effected a decrease on the estimate for last year of \$27,253; on that for Dominion Police of \$10,000; on Penitentiaries \$25,959; on Arts, Agriculture and Statistics, \$156,680 (this, I think, being chiefly composed either of the Mennonite loan, or some charge in connection with the Philadelphia Centennial;) on Immigration and Quarantine \$192,760, partly in consequence of not requiring any further loan for the Mennonites and partly in consequence of some other reduced expenditures which will be seen on referring to the details. In the important item of Militia, we have effected a reduction of \$395,648, leaving \$949,151 as against \$1,345,000 for the preceding year. I am not about to enlarge upon that at this moment, as I am quite aware that I shall have plenty of other opportunities.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I am glad my hon. friend has adopted the suggestion I made last year.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I am glad to hear from the leader of the Left Centre. The suggestions of the Left Centre will always receive due consideration. Coming to Public Works and Buildings chargeable to income, the House will see the expenditure under that head has been reduced to the lowest amount consistent with a due regard to our engagements. On that vote we propose a total reduction of \$1,701,200. On the item of Ocean and River Service, on which there were unusual charges last year, there is a decrease of \$171,847; on light-houses and coast service, \$146,750. The item of Boundary Surveys, \$100,000, we have dropped, as we think we can manage without it on this occasion. On the item of Dominion Lands, which have been a source of very great expense

for a considerable number of years, we have reduced our total expenditure by \$170,000. Then there are some other items of reduction; but I will not detain the House by referring to them at present. The result of all this is, that although we have been obliged by unavoidable circumstances, and by the necessity of carrying on the great public works in which we are engaged, to make a total addition to our expenditure of \$776,000, we have at the same time effected such reductions as amount in the whole to \$3,247,000, being a net decrease in the estimates submitted last year of no less than two and a-half million dollars. If my hon. friends desire to know whether any further reductions are possible, I may say that I do not believe that it would be in the interest of the public service to make any further reductions at present. It may be possible, however, for my honorable friend beside me (Mr. Mackenzie) to make some further reductions in the expenditure on maintenance of the Inter-colonial Railway, some very important sections on which we have been engaged almost ever since we have been in the Government in putting into better order. That expenditure is rapidly coming to an end, and I hope that in a short time my hon. friend will be able to show a further reduction on that item of some \$100,000 or \$200,000 more, especially, as I before remarked, that iron is being replaced by steel, contributing materially to the economy and better working of the road. I might, also, under this head, remark that, although we cannot be congratulated on having heretofore derived large revenue from the public works of the country—and although I have frequently found it an obstacle to our financial negotiations that our public works up to the present time, have only contributed indirectly to our general prosperity—still I think that when the Welland Canal is completed we will be able to show for once an exception to that general rule. I would not dare at this moment to form any estimate of the revenue immediately to be derived from that source; but looking at the fact, that even in its present imperfect condition it yields

a moderate revenue, I cannot be astray in supposing that the receipts which will be obtained from this source at any rate will give us some very considerable return for the large sum which it has cost us.

With regard to our other public works, I am sorry to say that my best hope is that the deficit on working expenses will be gradually reduced. As hon. gentlemen will see, we are obliged for their maintenance to make provision for a considerable outlay over and above the total receipts, but I may state that it appears at the present time to have reached a maximum, while there is reasonable ground for believing that the expenditure under this head will tend more nearly to equalize with the outlay in the future than in the past.

Now, Sir, if the House will refer to the Budget speech I addressed to this House in 1874, hon. members will see that I then took occasion to caution them that, even after the extraordinary charges to which I have alluded had been disposed of the total expenditures of the country, apart from interest, subsidy and the charges on maintenance of public works, could hardly be brought below the sum of seven millions; and I also told them that in the course of two or three years I would endeavour to do it; and hon. members looking over the various items in the estimate will see that I have redeemed my pledge, for the total vote asked for these purposes on the present occasion is well within that sum. I might also add that these estimates are in reality slightly less than they appear because there are certain expenditures which will probably be recouped by fees, although there will no doubt be a deficit on the general working—which were not taken into account in that statement to which I have referred.

Before I proceed further with my remarks, Sir, it may be as well to explain to the House the reasons which induced me to anticipate slightly the loan the House was aware would probably be made in the course of the current year. They are several in number. I intended, when I last addressed the House from this place not to appear in the London Market again until the

Spring of 1876, and I believe I then so stated; but, after full consideration I thought it would be more in the public interest to effect this loan last autumn. In the first place, Mr. Speaker, the time was eminently favourable. There was a large accumulation of money seeking investment in London, for which few eligible investments offered; and in the next place, I desired as much as possible to spare the resources of our people. We had exhausted all our means in London of necessity, because we were obliged to pay the sum of ten millions of our indebtedness, bearing a high rate of interest, and to expend seven or eight millions in public works, in connection with which also very large disbursements were being made during the current year; and in the peculiar condition of the country, it did not appear to me that it was desirable to deprive ourselves too completely of the reserve we held on this side of the Atlantic. Moreover, Sir, I considered that the House would be in a better position to discuss the proper policy to be adopted at this crisis, if it was known that we were in no immediate want of money, and I felt tolerably certain that I would be able to secure better terms last November, than in April of the present year.

Then, Sir, there was a very considerable advantage to which I will allude generally—we would be in a position to push on our works with all possible speed, by taking this course. Those who are intimately acquainted with the cost of carrying on public works, know that for a very long time past contractors had been unable to execute these so cheaply and expeditiously as at present, and that they are now pushing forward their various contracts to completion, with much greater rapidity than usual, and are making, moreover, more extensive demands on the public treasury than would occur during an ordinary year. I was also bound to take into consideration the possible risk of foreign complications, in connection with the English market. It is perfectly well known that the state of Europe at large has been considerably unsettled of late, and I received advices from London which led me to believe that I would incur an undue and a far

greater degree of risk than would be justifiable for the sake of saving a trifling amount of interest, if I did not avail myself of the then favourable condition of the English money market; and accordingly after deep consideration and consultation with Sir John Rose, the financial agent of the Government, to whose zealous and hearty co-operation on this and previous occasions I am very much indebted, I decided to issue a loan somewhat in imitation of the loan effected by that gentleman in 1868-9, though on different proportions.

The latter consisted of one-quarter of Canadian five per cent. bonds, and three-quarters of four per cent. guaranteed stock, and my loan of two-fifths or nearly one-half of Canadian four per cent. bonds, and the remainder, to the amount of £1,500,000, was secured by Imperial guarantee. We obtained a total average of £99 1s. and 6d., as reported by our London agents; and the result, I think I am justified in saying to the House, has been exceedingly favourable and satisfactory. With respect to the disposition that is to be made of this money, I may briefly state that a certain considerable proportion will be employed to pay off debts and obligations of the country which bear a much higher rate of interest than that paid by us; another considerable portion will be invested in such works as the improvements which are being made on the St. Lawrence, and the payment of sums due to the Province of Prince Edward Island, and in connection with one or two matters of this kind, while the remainder will be applied either to public works in progress, or in taking up some other loans I expect shortly to mature.

I may add, Sir, that there is one important point to which I desire to call the attention of the House, and which affects, to a great extent, our present position. I think that comparatively few members are aware to what an enormous degree the minor obligations which this Government found itself compelled to discharge within the last two or three years extended. When we entered office we found a very heavy outlay going on, with reference to the Intercolonial Railroad proper

and the Prince Edward Island Railway; also that large expenditures were requisite in order to put the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick lines in good running condition, and to push forward public works to which I have alluded. Extensive sums were due on account of the St. Lawrence River improvements, under statutory enactment; a large sum was due by treaty to Prince Edward Island for the redemption of its lands; and a very heavy outlay was being made on the canals, the Pacific Railway survey, and for similar purposes.

Now, Sir, the greater portion of these sums we have already paid, and the remaining obligations we had ample funds to meet in full. In order to give the House a better idea of the sum total, I have prepared a short analysis which I will read:—On account of the Prince Edward Island Railway we have spent since we came into office two millions of dollars; for redemption of lands we have to pay, or have paid, about \$800,000 more; our minor works, as closely as I can estimate, have involved an outlay of about four millions of dollars; the St. Lawrence improvements, including the Quebec Graving Dock, probably some two millions.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Allow me to ask how much has been paid to Prince Edward Island?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The total expenditure has been about two millions, in which, however, I include some two or three hundred thousand dollars he will find in the current estimates. I am speaking of the sum total in this respect that has been paid since this Government came into office.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—On capital account.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Yes. These minor public works are not, as the hon. gentleman knows, strictly a charge to capital, but I am now giving the amount of former obligations of all kinds over and above our ordinary expenditure, which we have had to discharge. To resume my statement on repairs, the change of gauge, the substitution of steel rails, and other matters in connection with the Nova Scotian and New Brunswick Railroads,

we compute that we have spent or will spend the sum of three millions of dollars, the debts we have taken up amount to no less than ten millions of dollars, while our expenditure on the Pacific Railway, canals and the Intercolonial Railway, will reach very nearly eleven millions of dollars in round numbers; making the sum total, almost all of which we have discharged, no less than \$32,800,000 since we took office, to which I will add about two millions falling due within the next six months. Now, the House will see that it is no light matter to provide the ways and means for the payment of about \$35,000,000; and in addition we have a very respectable sum of cash in hand, mostly applicable to expenditure in progress on that important work, the Welland Canal. I have been more particular in drawing attention to this, because it is very desirable that hon. members should know how much has been done, as well as what still remains to be accomplished.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will my hon. friend have the kindness to state the amount of available means on hand?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Well, I can hardly give it off-hand; but as I see the hon. gentleman has a motion on the paper in this connection, I will furnish the details in one or two days. We will have in hand in all likelihood about ten or eleven millions of dollars available, taking into account our reserves on both sides of the Atlantic. That is rather under than over the mark. Now, Sir, as I remarked before—and to this point I direct the special attention of the House—it has been a serious aggravation of the difficulties with which the Government have had to contend that we have been obliged to keep usually strong—and to make provision far in advance, chiefly for debts maturing. We could have managed our affairs much more easily and more profitably to this country if a little more foresight had been exercised before we engaged to construct enormous public works in all parts of the Dominion in the precise years in which a large portion of our debt matured. I may explain to the House—if it re-

quires explanation—why it is I have been anxious to preserve large amounts in hand, and rather to anticipate than to delay the contraction of public loans. I will give a list of the various debts which mature in the next four or five years, during which time many of those public works will approach completion, so that the House may judge of the correctness of the statement I have made. I find in the current year that we have to provide for \$1,879,000 of debts maturing; in 1877-8, we have to provide for \$5,731,000; in 1878-9, for \$7,624,000; in 1879-80, for \$3,060,000; and for smaller sums in the years immediately succeeding. It is needless to state that that fact adds, and always adds, very considerably, to the embarrassment of my position; and I regret very much that those hon. gentlemen who had previously charge of the finances of the country did not chose to begin those public works either a little earlier or a little later. There is no doubt the circumstance that those works must be paid for at the very same moment that we have likewise to discharge a very heavy indebtedness places us under considerable disadvantage in the contraction of our loans.

It is probably desirable that I should now state to the House what amount of ordinary revenue we expect to receive during the ensuing year. I submit the estimates, after my experience of 1875, with very great caution. All I can say with respect to them is, that I think, as far as myself and my hon. friend the Minister of Customs can venture to form an idea in anticipation of the actual fact there is a reasonable probability of their being realized. I expect to receive from Customs during the ensuing year \$13,500,000; from excise, \$5,500,000; stamps, \$250,000; post office, \$1,100,000; public works, \$1,700,000—that increase over last year being estimated in consequence of the additional receipts expected to be derived from Prince Edward Island and the Intercolonial Railways. From miscellaneous sources and interest we expect \$1,200,000, which makes the total receipts \$23,250,000, as against an estimated expenditure of somewhat

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less than that amount. These figures comprise the main facts to which I think it necessary to call the attention of the House. I think it will be quite obvious to the House and the country that the Government are reasonably justified as holding the present position to be one of a purely exceptional character. Anyone who considers the very remarkable expansion which took place in 1871-2-3-4, and continued very nearly to the close of 1875, can see that that expansion, or inflation if you will, was of a purely exceptional nature, and I believe the present depression will prove equally so. I think the country will recover ere long from that depression, although I admit it is only too likely that the recovery will be a gradual, and in many respects, a painful one.

It becomes us to consider the various remedies proposed for this unfortunate state of affairs. In the first place, I desire to expend a few words on the general impression which prevails even in quarters where we would hardly expect to find it, that it is in the power of this Government, or any other Government, this Legislature or any other Legislature, to make a country prosperous by the mere stroke of a pen or the enactment of Acts of Parliament. I would like hon. gentlemen in this House and out of it who entertain that illusion—as I consider it—to think to what such a course would lead, and I ask them if they are prepared to pay the price. You cannot have at one and the same time a free Government and a protective Government. If the Finance Minister, whoever he may be, is able to be held responsible for the success of the commercial community, he must have power over that community. If he is to be responsible for the prosperity of our manufacturers, he must decide what persons shall carry on manufacturing, what manufactures they shall carry on, and how much they shall produce. Perhaps, under such circumstances and conditions, an intelligent despot might create prosperity. We find a fine illustration of this in the territory of Brigham Young; but can those hon. gentlemen point to any constituency in Canada, or to any gentlemen representing any constituency, who would adopt such

principles as are successfully carried out in that country? I give the Territory of Utah as an illustration, because it is a remarkable proof of what a resolute, determined, intelligent man can do in the way of creating a very considerable amount of industrial prosperity under very disadvantageous conditions, and I also mentioned it for the benefit of those persons who think a Finance Minister can restore prosperity by the mere wave of his hand. There is no use in concealing that the Government have been importuned from many quarters to declare themselves in favour of a high tariff. Some of the gentlemen who have addressed us have done so as the advocates of protection, pure and simple; others, and I think I may say the abler reasoners have contended, and not without force, that circumstanced as we are, in connection with the people of the United States, it becomes the duty of the Administration to meet the peculiar policy of that people with a reciprocal policy in the same direction. I am adverse to indulging in purely abstract discussions on the questions of free-trade and protection; but as a matter of fact, it is necessary for me to review at some length the various arguments advanced on this subject. I don't entirely agree with those gentlemen who maintain that there is no ground for the champions of the Protectionist party. I have always myself been of opinion that in a new country like this there is considerable force in the argument that it is not well to allow ourselves to depend exclusively upon foreign manufactures, and if we do there is some chance that we may be supplied with the mere refuse of exportations. Probably in that way we derive some considerable indirect advantage from the establishment of manufactories amongst us. I am inclined to believe that under certain circumstances a revenue tariff may be advantageously imposed and may afford considerable benefit in overcoming certain temporary obstacles which are invariably in the way of infant manufactures, but I don't believe any tariff can overcome natural obstacles except at a very undue cost. As to the vexed question of the surplus population or labor which is employed

by native manufactures, I can only say this: That I think there may be some foundation for it; but still I think the amount of the employment afforded is vastly less than has been alleged. I may also add that the result of the investigations I have made at this and various other occasions, have served to convince me that although it is possible to manufacture a very considerable proportion of articles now imported, yet the number of hands which would thereby derive employment is very much less than supposed.

As to the curious allegation made by the Protectionists that if our manufacturing friends are sufficiently protected it will not increase the cost to the consumer, as sufficient competition will arise to cut down prices so low that we will be just as well off as under the present tariff. I have simply this to say, that I think in time that result would be produced, but I also think it would take time, and during that period a few gentlemen would make large fortunes, while the rest of the community would have to pay an enormous price for that benefit. But I may add, Sir, if that is to be the result, if the desire of the Protectionists is by internal competition to cut down the standard of prices, I would strongly recommend the gentlemen to begin now, and by these means defy foreign competition.

An Hon. Member—There is not much protection in that.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The Government would be exceedingly glad, and the Finance Minister would be glad to know that they could, with advantage to the whole community, lay on more taxation and obtain more revenue; but, Sir, none know better than some of these gentlemen opposite that the power of any Government to impose taxation is subject to stringent restrictions, and in no place more stringent than in Canada. We have to consider three important limitations—the financial, the political and the geographical circumstances of the Dominion. This Government must have revenue, because they are committed, through no fault of their own, to a very formidable obligations, and

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gentlemen can see if we put on a high tariff it reduces our revenue just in proportion as it affords protection. Moreover, it is part of the A, B, C of financial economy that high tariff diminishes consumption by raising the prices of goods, and that they also encourage smuggling, and demoralize the people who are subject thereto. They diminish imports by the artificial stimulus which they apply to home productions. In addition to this, there are political difficulties the Government have to consider. Canada, as now constituted, is composed of different provinces, having different and sometimes conflicting interests. That which may be desirable for one Province, may effect others injuriously and unfairly; and that the Government in bringing down a policy must not legislate for any one section, but for the general welfare of the whole Dominion.

And lastly, we are bound to consider our geographical position, placed as we are alongside the people of the United States. We have had their experience as to the effect which a considerable difference—amounting, perhaps, to 20 or 25 per cent.—between the cost of production in Canada, after paying our rate of duty, and the cost of laying down goods in Canada, has had in fostering smuggling from Canada to the United States, and when the cost of production becomes so low that corresponding advantages would be obtained by smuggling goods from the United States into Canada, we would have precisely a repetition of what we had on our own frontier in by-gone years. The American authorities put it at an extremely high figure—higher than I myself think warranted—but in any case I have no doubt that a very considerable proportion of the imports into Canada from other countries paid our tariff and were finally smuggled into the American Republic and paid for by American gold.

The fact is, Sir, it was infinitely easier in the interests of the manufacturers to impose a higher tariff before this Government came into office, when the cost of production was higher in the United States, than it is to-day. My hon. friend the Minister of Customs informs me that, even as it

is, he has great difficulty in protecting the revenue against the smuggling of certain articles on which our tariff is higher than the average rate.

Now, Sir, the example of the United States having been quoted very often as one we should imitate and follow with all possible speed, I may say that I too am disposed to quote the example of the United States; and I am disposed to quote it as the best possible warning to the people of Canada not to be led into the delusion of imposing a high tariff. Under the combined influences of their high protective tariff and their paper currency, I believe very grave and serious evils have resulted during the last ten years to the people of the United States. In the first place, it has led to an enormous waste of public resources. It is computed by American statisticians that for every dollar reverting to the American treasury by the operation of their high tariff the public loses three, or, in other words, the waste in the United States by their tariff has amounted nearly to \$600,000,000 a year for the last ten years, or a loss of \$600,000,000,000—nearly double the entire amount of the national debt of that country. I do not pledge myself to this statement, though it is made by men of considerable weight; but, I will crave permission to read to the House the observations of the Hon. David Wells, made on July 12th, 1875, on this subject. What he says is as follows:—

“For fifteen years now the experiment of Protection to Home Industry has been tried in the United States on the largest scale, and under the most favourable circumstances for success that the world has ever seen, and under its influence the domestic industry of the country, to use a slang expression, ‘has been getting no better very fast.’ Every prophecy so confidently made in the past as to the results of Protection in inducing natural prosperity has been falsified; and one has only to pick out the separate industries which have been especially protected to find out the ones which are more especially unprofitable and dependent. Thus in the manufacture of pig iron, excessive profits have given use to such excessive competition as to render the whole business ruinously unprofitable; a condition of affairs from which there can be no recovery, except through a continued suspension or curtailment of production, the utter abandonment of many furnaces and the utter loss of a vast amount of recklessly invested capital. In the

manufacture of silk, the manufacturers although enjoying for many years the protection of a sixty per cent. duty on all manufactured imports, and a free admission of all raw material, are desirous of a still higher duty, and unanimously of the opinion that an abatement of the existing duties to even the slightest degree would be to them altogether ruinous. In the manufacture of wool—an industry in which the representatives of protection were allowed to dictate without interference the exact measure of protection which seemed then desirable, and caused the enactment of duties ranging from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent—it is sufficient to say that the existing depression and stagnation is without parallel, eight of the principal mills of the country having been sold, on compulsion, within a comparatively recent period for much less than fifty per cent. of their cost of construction; the Glendham mills in particular—one of the largest and best equipped woollen establishments in the United States, advantageously located on the Hudson, about fifty miles above New York, and representing over one million of dollars paid in, having changed hands since the first of April last for a consideration of less than two hundred thousand dollars.”

Sir, these are pregnant remarks, and, without committing myself at all to the details which Wells has given—although he is a gentleman who would not put his name to a statement on these points which he did not know to be well ascertained—I repeat that these remarks are pregnant with warning to the people of this country and the members of this House. My next objection to the system of the United States is this: that, under the combined effect of a high tariff and inflated paper currency, they have imparted an exceedingly strong gambling element into all commercial transactions, to the great detriment of the large business class in that community, and further I say that any man who carefully examines the working of their system will find that their high tariff has tended most materially to enrich a very few and seriously impoverish the great masses of the people. I regard that consequence as of great importance. There is no problem harder to solve than how to distribute wealth in a highly civilized country like ours. You may trust the instinct of the people to acquire wealth, but the difficulty is to distribute it. My belief is that the introduction of a high protective tariff would tend to enrich a few, but it would diminish in the

long run the wealth and comfort of the many. This is one among many reasons why I do not believe that we should be asked to imitate the United States in the imposition of a high tariff.

I believe the creation of colossal fortunes such as has taken place there, and perhaps in other countries, does threaten serious mischief. I have no objection to the accumulation of reasonable independences, nor do I indulge any hope of enacting sumptuary laws to limit the amount which any man should accumulate in a lifetime, but I do say that anything which over-rides the ordinary natural laws and operates in the direction of large accumulations in a few hands, is dangerous and ought to be discouraged. I doubt whether it is in the interest of any country that there should be a few colossal fortunes and the bulk of the people should be taxed to contribute to these fortunes, and I venture to say, if I may without infringing the rules of debate, that we have had a noble illustration in this country of how the possession of an unusually large fortune by one man may imperil the best interests of the community. Then, lastly, I have an objection which I think ought to weigh formidably with the Legislature. I believe a high tariff necessarily encourages the formation of rings, and those rings will involve bribery. Every protected interest will invariably form a ring. We have seen enough in past times of the mischief which can be done by large corporations, or rather by wealthy unscrupulous men. I don't want to see a permanent lobby formed for the purpose of watching the re-adjustment of the tariff. I think without its aid those who are charged with that duty are amply able to take care of themselves.

I know it is commonly asserted that the manufactures which would spring up under a light tariff would, at any rate, add considerably to the population of the country. Now, I have carefully considered this point, and my opinion, formed from studying the working of this in Canada and from such information as I have been able to collect from gentlemen who are familiar with the question in the United States, is that

the effect of a high tariff is not to add to any extent to the population of the country, but to promote an artificial transference from the rural districts to the towns and cities at the expense of the agricultural interests. If you discriminate against the agricultural interests, if you enact that they shall receive less from the results of their labour than they would without your interference, then you undoubtedly promote an artificial transference from the country to the town. I have no objection whatever to see our towns and villages increase to any size that may be desired by a natural and healthy growth, but I do not approve of this artificial transference. I do not think we should stimulate a movement that already exists too largely. I have seen hundreds of men who would have made successful farmers, forsaking the rural districts to enter into commercial pursuits for which they were very indifferently suited. There is not the slightest doubt that this has been one—although I will not say a very great—cause of the commercial depression in this country. Many persons having quitted their associations in the country and become small shopkeepers and tradesmen of various kinds, and by their competition with each other have added to the depression which prevails. If hon. gentlemen will look at the last census returns for the several Provinces, and Ontario and Quebec especially, they will see that my apprehensions on that score are not altogether unfounded. Although it is quite true the population of Ontario increased considerably from 1861 to 1871, it is nevertheless the case that at least fifty out of our eighty-eight electoral districts, the rural constituencies hardly increased at all, and an analysis of the census will show a very large proportion of the increase, where it did take place, was not in the townships, but in the towns and villages. In Lower Canada, it is well known there was hardly any increase at all outside of the cities of Quebec and Montreal. If any hon. gentlemen are disposed to assert that the reason our people have forsaken our rural districts was because there was no more room for them there, because the fertile country was entirely

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occupied and well cultivated, I must respectfully dissent from that proposition. I say there is ample room in our rural districts, and it would be a most profitable diversion of our capital and labour, to send them to the country to cultivate it better than it is tilled at present, and I earnestly recommend that course not only to some of my hon. friends, but to the people they severally represent. I do not deny the policy of the United States may have fostered, and perhaps considerably fostered, certain special industries. I think this exceedingly likely.

It would be a great wonder if, after the enormous tax they have inflicted on themselves, they had not done so, but I doubt very much whether those industries are worth what they cost to the people of the United States, and I doubt still more whether, if they had adopted a more rational policy and let their manufactures severely alone, they would not have been in quite as prosperous a condition as we now find them.

I believe the people of the United States have harmed themselves a great deal by the peculiar policy they have adopted. I do not at all mean to deny that they have, at the same time, harmed us considerably. I have pointed out several reasons which lead me to believe that if a great depression prevails in the United States because of over-protection there, it must react very disadvantageously on the people who are engaged in the same occupation here. I regret that this is so; I desire if I could to remedy it, but when we are asked to deal with a peculiar exigency affecting any industry or class in this country, we must consider what effect it would have upon the bulk of our population. Neither do I wish to lose sight of the fair play which is due to our manufacturers. It is undoubtedly a hardship they should be excluded from the markets of the United States, while our tariff enables American manufacturers to compete with them in ours, or, as it is called, slaughter their goods here. But I doubt if the fact that the Americans have done themselves and our people a great deal of harm, is sufficient ground for asking the Govern-

ment of this country to inflict a lasting injury on the people.

Now, Sir, I am afraid I am tiring the patience of the House. (No, no; go on.) Although I don't make much use of scrap-books, I would claim indulgence while I read a few remarks from an eminent American paper. It is always well to see ourselves as others see us; and there are some things in the article I hold before me which I think we may without any harm consider a little. The article is headed "Protection in Canada," and is as follows:—

"A recent discussion in the Canadian Parliament shows that there is a very formidable movement in the Dominion to so revise their revenue tariff laws as to apply the theory of 'protection' to Canadian manufactures. Regarding this movement from a purely selfish American point of view, one is inclined to wish that the Protectionists of Canada will carry their scheme through. It will be largely in the interest of the United States Government to have such a system of high tariff duties adopted in Canada as will place the two countries on an equal footing in this respect. As it is now, Canada has the decided advantage. The Canadian products of the farm and forest have the same foreign market as the product of the United States. The Canadian farmers and producers get as good prices abroad as the farmers of New York, New England, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and better prices than the farmers of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, because the latter are further removed from the European markets, and have to sacrifice more in the way of transportation. At the same time, the Canadians are able to purchase all their manufactured goods at from 25 to 40 per cent. less than the people of the United States, owing to the absence of the protective element from their tariff. This circumstance has developed a gigantic system of smuggling all along the border from Maine to Oregon, which amounts, in the aggregate to perhaps not less than \$25,000,000 annually. If the manufactured goods in Canada are placed on the same plane in the way of tax as the manufactured goods in the United States, this amount of money will be saved to American shopkeepers and manufacturers, and the vicious and demoralizing custom of smuggling will be checked to that extent. As long, therefore, as the United States are cursed with a species of robbery known as protection it is to our interest Canada shall be similarly cursed, in order that the Canadian farmers and people generally shall be compelled to compete on equal handicapped terms with their neighbours on this side of the line, and that the enormous smuggling business shall be stopped. Government loses several millions a year of revenue from the evasion of the Custom House duties, and our shopkeepers, and tailors, and manufacturers are deprived of many millions of dollars of demand for their goods. When the Canadian tariff is advanced to the beastly high level of our protective crushing machine, the natural advantages of the United States will

enable our dealers and manufacturers not only to secure the trade they now lose, but to sell more goods in Canada than at present, as everything will become dear and high priced over there, except agricultural products, lumber and fish.

"At the same time while fighting to rid this country of the incubus of protection, it would be unfair not to expose the folly and stupidity which have prompted some of the Canadians to seek a repetition of our own disastrous experience. This new movement on their part is prompted by the recent financial depression in Canada, which has been falsely attributed to the difference in the tariff laws of the two countries. The fact that this is not true may be readily demonstrated by a comparison between the foreign trade of the two countries."

Here follows a *resumé* of the imports and exports of Canada and the United States, copied from the official returns of the respective countries:—

"The foregoing figures show that Canada, with only a million more people than the State of Illinois, and not so many as the State of New York, has a foreign business about one-fifth as large as all the United States, with eleven times as many people, and natural resources infinitely superior. The Dominion is almost destitute of those great and essential elements of strength and development, coal and iron; neither has she in quantities which pay for working such minerals as gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, or mercury; her petroleum wells are little better than delusions."

I do not quite agree with this, I may remark.

"And she is wholly lacking in those rich, agricultural staples of cotton, corn, tobacco, sugar and rice. Yet the extent of her shipping and commerce, and the value of her surplus products, are truly remarkable for a country of so scanty population and restricted natural resources.

"The reason for this large commerce and the prosperity of her farmers, in spite of all the natural disadvantages, is simply because Canada has had a tariff averaging only about 12 per cent., while the United States has had a tariff averaging 48 per cent., or four times as much. The Canada tariff has been a tariff for revenue only; the United States tariff has been a tariff for protection—against consumers.

"It is absurd in the face of this shewing to claim that a protective tariff will be of any benefit to Canada, especially to her farmers, and lumbermen and fishermen. It is true that there has been a decline in the value of the commerce of the Dominion during the last year, but there was a marked increase every year up to 1874. The falling off of the last year has amounted to about 10 per cent., but it can all be accounted for by the decline in prices; there has been no decrease in the bulk of the trade. But this failure to maintain the ratio of increase in the past has been owing simply to the commercial depression

that has prevailed throughout the entire world and with special hardship in the United States, Canada's nearest neighbor and chief customer. The general depression in this country was brought about directly by the two evils of over-protection and an inflated irredeemable currency. Canada has suffered infinitely less than the United States. As to any other difference in favour of the United States, it must be looked for in the enormous natural advantages possessed by this country. If Canada possessed the rich and vast deposits of coal and the great mountains of iron which the United States have, and if she were blessed with a climate that would grow corn, cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, peaches, grapes, and oranges, the difference in her tariff laws would enable her to completely outrun the United States in commerce and manufactures; but these natural disadvantages cannot be offset but will only be increased, by the adoption of the protection fallacy. If, however, Canada desires an experience of her own in this respect, and is not satisfied with ours, let her try the experiment and see how it works."

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Who wrote it, and what paper is it?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It is the *Chicago Tribune*, 21st Feb., 1876. Does my hon. friend mean to insinuate that I was a party to write that article? I have no such influence over that influential paper, the *Chicago Tribune*. We have had proof enough in the various debates of the great diversity of opinion which prevails with reference to this most important subject. It is natural enough that there should be diversity of opinion; and all I will say on that point is this: the Government have felt it their duty to give the most anxious attention to all manner of evidence, and to weigh every kind of information which has been laid before them. We do not desire to conceal that the responsibility that rests upon us is most grave. We don't desire to conceal that the result we have arrived at has been attained by an anxious protracted deliberation, as to whether we could at once relieve our manufacturers and yet do justice to the other portions of the people. But when we are asked, as now, for radical changes—changes which will affect our whole system and policy, financially, politically, socially and morally—I say we may well pause and hesitate before we reverse what has been after all the uniform policy of all Governments for twenty-five years. Whatever arguments may have been used, it still re-

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mains the fact that the Canadian tariff is substantially a revenue tariff; and if we are asked to create a high protective tariff, all I can say is that even if I have been mistaken, in any case the time chosen for these proposed changes is most inopportune. There have been, as we know, violent disturbances in trade and in values, rendering it almost impossible for any man, no matter how experienced or how skilful in commercial matters, to estimate with anything like accuracy the consequences that would flow from any radical changes in the tariff. We are not at all in a normal condition of affairs here. We have got enormous engagements that will tax our resources to enable us to fulfil them, and some of which it will be out of our power to fulfil in any shape; and if ever the *onus* was thrown on gentlemen asking for radical changes, of establishing a perfectly clear case in their own favor. I say the *onus* is now thrown upon those who advocate a high protective tariff. Let them consider for one moment what they ask this Government to do. They ask us to tax nineteen-twentieths of the population for the sake of one-twentieth. I am quite aware there is considerable misunderstanding and misapprehension on this point. I am quite aware that many gentlemen, looking simply at the ordinary statistics furnished by the census returns, believe the manufacturing interests represent three or four times as large a percentage as I have stated. But if these hon. gentlemen will take the trouble to examine these returns minutely, they will find that of the 200,000, or thereabouts, set down as engaged in industrial pursuits, probably 75 per cent. must be taken as not interested in protective movements, and precisely the number I have named are really to be considered as in any way interested in that direction. Of our industrial population, at least 40,000 are engaged in the lumber trade, and to those a high tariff would be no sort of an advantage, but rather a serious impediment, as necessarily to alarmingly increase the cost of lumber. The industrial population also comprises 10,000 or 12,000 blacksmiths,

&c., engaged in serving the agricultural population; and a very large number of carpenters, and innumerable other trades of similar character. Far be it for me, however, to deny justice to a minority. But, on the other hand, there must be the most imperative necessity for sacrificing the prosperity of nineteen-twentieths of the population for such a small minority, and when these gentlemen allege that this is a slaughter market, and that American manufacturers make sacrifices here, I do not at all desire to deny that this aggravates the case of our manufacturers, but I may say that the evidence laid before us does not bear out the assertions that have been made, at any rate, to anything like the extent to which these assertions have been made. There is no doubt that immediately the cost of production in America became cheapened, there was an increase in the number of articles brought into this country, and that although advantageous to the bulk of our people, it did press with severity on a certain portion of our manufacturers. But there is also no doubt that a very considerable number of our manufacturers, embracing three or four of the most important trades, and employing a very large proportion of the number I have mentioned, do not dread American competition at all; but are afraid of British manufacturers. And this is a point which the House would do well to bear in mind—that a good deal of the American competition is not competition of American with Canadian industries, but American with British manufactures, the Canadian consumer being benefitted by the operation. Moreover, Sir, we must recollect that when, as has been the case recently, there has been a very large reduction in the demand for articles of foreign production, there will naturally be a large reduction in the demand for home manufactures also. When the state of things is such that we find that the importation of articles in the 17½ per cent. list, which contains the articles with which our home manufactures come into competition, reduced in six months to the amount shown by the trade and navigation returns, we must con-

clude that it is only natural and inevitable that there should be a considerable reduction in the total demand for the latter also. It must further be borne in mind that were we to impose a high tariff we would have to impose a high tariff all round; and that if we impose a high tariff all round, it will assuredly affect and affect largely the general cost of production of these manufactures which are thus protected. This effect has been produced time and again, and is actually the case at this moment in the United States, where many of the ablest manufacturers are convinced, from the extent to which the cost of production has increased from this cause, that they would be able to manufacture more cheaply and make more money if they had the tariff reduced to something like an equality with ours. There is no interest in this country which more deserves the favourable consideration of the Government than the lumber interest; and I have not yet received one demand for protection from the able and intelligent representatives of that industry in this House. Whether they are to come or not I do not know; but this much I may observe, that the imposition of a high tariff would affect them, and affect them very seriously, and that those who are engaged in that great industry have an interest in this matter quite apart from that of these persons who are now demanding an increase in the tariff. It may be well to remind some of my hon. friends that if we were to undertake a general and thorough revision of the tariff, we might find it necessary to do a little levelling down as well as a little levelling up. They must bear in mind that there are several very important articles on which the tariff is at present prohibitory; and I must caution them that it might be exceedingly difficult to get the Legislature to avoid the conclusion that there was no reason for an exceptional favour being shown to the producers of those articles in this country. Up to the present time our tariff has been exceptionally liberal; but it is noteworthy that as the country grows older the tariff even if unaltered tends to become more prohibitory, and the tariff which a few years ago might have admitted

foreign articles freely may with the growth of the country become prohibitory in a short time. Then we have to consider a little the rate of the taxation which the people of this country at present labour under, as compared with that which prevails in other countries. The rate in Canada is low enough; but taken *per se*—considering the fact that a population of scarcely four millions are obliged to raise every year \$23,000,000 or \$24,000,000 to defray the expenses of the Dominion Government alone, irrespective of what they must contribute for municipal purposes—we must be very cautious how we increase the burden further. Every family in Canada has to pay from \$25 to \$30 towards meeting the expense incurred on their behalf by this Legislature. That represents something not very far from the value of a month's labour; and that, though it can be borne, is a serious drawback on the productive power of this country. I am cautious enough—Conservative enough, if my honorable friend likes—to regard every increase in taxation as a positive evil in itself. If we must impose additional taxation it must be for the benefit of the whole country, for the purpose of maintaining the public credit or carrying on the public works in which we are engaged. This is practically a question of cost and it is also to a certain extent a question of convenience. Theory apart, there are very few of us who would object to a moderately low rate of duty, or would care much to be found opposing a tariff, though in defiance of free-trade theories, which would bring a large addition to the population of the country at a very moderate cost to the remainder of the population.

On the other hand, there are very few I think so enthusiastic that they would be willing to submit to a high rate of duty if it were demonstrated to them that it would make but a small addition to the number of the people. What the country needs at present is more time. It is undoubtedly in a depressed condition, but a condition which I believe, unless some further disaster overtake us, will be only temporary. I have pointed out that there were numerous causes for that state of

depression, and that they were causes over which the Government had no sort of control. I have pointed out that those causes have largely contributed to bring about the present distress, and I may add that had we been more cautious in the past, had we refrained from anticipating all our resources and throwing valuable reserves away, we might have been in a position to try more experiments in legislation than we can now. I say this is no time for experiments. This country requires all the revenue its people can contribute, and it would be a dangerous thing for us to enter upon a policy, the issue of which no man can at the present perceive. I will not detain the House long now. I think I can conclude my remarks by six o'clock, and I believe that will be most acceptable to my honorable friends. Reviewing, therefore, as briefly as I can, the general position of this country, I take it to be somewhat this: I do not believe (although the comparison has been often made) that we are at all in so disastrous a condition as that in which we were in the year 1858 and the years which immediately succeeded. In my opinion our position is very much less serious. The causes which have brought about the present state of things are clear and well defined; and they are far less likely to be permanent than the causes which led to the depression of 1858—a depression which is no doubt exercising a powerful influence on the minds of the people of this country at this moment. Let us consider what was the state of things at that period. We had in 1858 just concluded a period of heavy expenditure on railroads, chiefly supplies out of foreign capital which, compared with our present resources, would have amounted to two or three millions expended during the past four or five years. There had also been an increase in the price of staple articles of produce owing to the Crimean war, so great that in some cases for the amount received for two or three crops men were able to pay for their farms. This led to widespread inflation. We do not see these causes at work now. I think we will have, on the whole, but a temporary depression; and it is for that, and that

only, that we will have to provide. Let us consider the favourable points. We have at present a condition of things in which we find our exports scarcely diminished, except in one article. We have a full Treasury; we are not obliged to be immediately to the English market; ample funds are provided for carrying on our public works and meeting the public debt as it matures. A large part of our expenses during the past two or three years, as I have pointed out, were of an exceptional character, not likely to occur again. I admit, and always have admitted, that there was a considerable inflation from 1871 to 1875; but it is very important that the House should bear in mind that along with and underlying that inflation there was a great and general advance throughout this country. There is no doubt that Canada has made very remarkable real progress during the last ten years. No man can look at our great cities, no man can acquaint himself with the condition of the agricultural population without seeing that what I am saying in that respect is literally true. I depend on the gain of six years of growth to bring us back to the position we occupied in 1871, which, I think, may be regarded as a fair normal year. I have deliberately rejected all abnormal and extraordinary growth, and depend on the natural growth which, even in the worst times and under the worst circumstances, we have found fail in Canada. In dealing with this matter the Government had have to consider very carefully, not what was to the interest of any one Province, in any one class, but what was to the interest of the whole Dominion.

In concluding, I may say, Sir, I am extremely sorry that I have been obliged to differ in opinion with some friends whom I value highly. I admit that there was considerable force in the arguments they employed. Undoubtedly a great deal of distress exists among certain classes and in certain parts of this country; and I regret exceedingly that the Government have not been able to see their way to relieve this distress, except at the risk of inflicting

ultimately very great and permanent injury on the whole population of Canada. Although the hard times affect the poor people, they also are seriously detrimental to the Government, and every Administration, no matter what its opinions may be, must be most sincerely anxious—if it knows how—to remove such a state of things, and create general peace, plenty, and prosperity.

Sir, we have been called upon for a national policy. Our policy as a policy of justice to the whole Dominion, and of prudence and economy, until this present trial be passed; but I do not propose, for the adoption of the people of this country, a policy of which it can only be said that it is a servile plagiarism of the blunders which the United States have committed, blunders of which, I verily believe, the American people are now repenting, and from which I trust they are very steadily succeeding in extricating themselves. The policy which I have the honour, on behalf of the Administration, to propound for the acceptance of this House and this country, I desire to repeat, has not been arranged hastily or inconsiderately; and, if we are wrong in this matter, we have at least neglected no effort, we have spared no pains, and we have taken all possible trouble to convince ourselves that we were right in the course we have decided on.

Sir, I have the honour to move that you leave the Chair; and that the House do resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

The motion was seconded by the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER rose to reply, but the hour being Six, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—In rising to offer comments upon the Address which has just been delivered by the Hon. Minister of Finance, I must first congratulate that hon. gentleman upon the very able manner in which he addressed the House. When the hon. gentleman rose to speak I confess that he had my sympathies. I felt, Sir,

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that a gentleman standing in the position of being compelled to admit that all his predictions in reference to the financial condition of the country had proved erroneous—that in fact he was mistaken with reference to revenue, with reference to expenditure, and with reference to the condition of the Dominion—that he had been unable in the slightest degree to forecast the condition of public affairs—demanded the sympathy of those who knew and felt that a suffering and intensely interested country were looking to the hon. gentleman for some means of relief. But, as he proceeded, my sympathy changed to admiration—admiration for the tact and ability with which the hon. gentlemen was enabled to encounter a position the most trying and difficult perhaps that ever any gentleman in this country, holding the high position he holds, had to encounter. Although I was unable to concur in many of the opinions the hon. gentleman advanced, no person could listen to the manner in which he endeavoured to extricate himself from his difficulties without feeling that he had brought a large amount of ability and a great deal of tact to his assistance.

I must join issue, Sir, with the hon. gentleman in his premises, that it is not in the power of the Government of the country to promote its good or mitigate the evils likely from time to time to arise. The position that the Hon. Prime Minister has elsewhere adopted, the position that the Hon. Minister of Finance has taken to-night, that matters of trade and commerce are beyond the control of Government—that they must look on, as idle spectators, that the country may prosper or sink into decay, and the Government are helpless to promote the one or avert the other—is a principle to which I cannot give my concurrence. The honourable gentleman has admitted that under a system of despotism something might be achieved—that if the merchants and the manufacturers would give him despotic power over their fortunes and over the conduct of their business he might accomplish something for them. I don't think that the past history of the honourable gentleman, the experience the House and the country have had of him as a

Minister of Finance, are likely to induce either the mercantile or manufacturing interests of this country to entrust him with those arbitrary powers which he says are necessary to accomplish anything for their good. I believe that the prosperity which Canada enjoyed uninterruptedly from the date of union—that marked, that striking and unexampled prosperity—down to the accession to power of the honourable gentlemen opposite, was largely due to the wise political measures of the great Liberal-Conservative party. Gentlemen who look, as my honorable friend from Toronto Centre does, with amazement and are almost startled at the wonderful advance of the trade of the country, and are unable to account for it, must not forget that that great political change which was then brought about gave an impetus to the trade and commerce of the country that has been attended with most beneficial results; and I believe the wise policy pursued by the late Administration in carrying on vigorously the public works stimulated that prosperity and continued it from hour to hour and day to day.

But the hon. gentleman must be congratulated on the fact that he shines in adversity. When he came into the heritage he now enjoys, the country was flourishing from end to end. We could look in no direction without meeting the gratified faces of men who felt their fortunes were being improved. But when the hon. gentleman stood in the position of Finance Minister, we were pained to listen to his dismal, doleful utterances as to the deplorable condition in which he found the country. I must congratulate him again that he has exhibited one of the greatest traits that man can exhibit in showing that it is not in prosperity, but in adversity that he shines to the greatest advantage. Now, when surrounded by what he is compelled to admit is a country suffering from the severe depression which we all deplore, when we find a revenue unequal to the expenditure of the country, when a deficit of over a million, within the last nine months, is shown in returns submitted yesterday, instead of giving us the same dismal, painful picture of the country, he meets it with a triumphant smile, and intimates that what-

ever is our condition, the Minister of Finance is supremely happy.

I must say, Sir, that I differ from the hon. gentleman on another point, that is the cause of the present condition of the country. There is no question that can be submitted to this House or engage the minds of an intelligent people more importance than the cause of the present depression. In order to discover what remedies are necessary to be used, we should satisfy ourselves as to the nature of the disease and what has produced it. And here again I must differ widely from the hon. gentleman as to his estimate of the cause of the present financial depression. I never said, and I do not say now, that this condition of a country in which trade rises to a certain height of prosperity, and then meets with a check and depression, has not affected this Dominion, but I say it is the business of the Government to meet such a condition of things and by wise and statesmanlike measures to mitigate it. But the Government has no such policy. I have said elsewhere and I repeat it here, that if all the talent of the Administration had been concentrated on the means of increasing the present commercial depression there is no single measure that they have left unattempted in order to bring about the condition of things that now exists. I hold that it is by the mal-administration of affairs, the bad policy, or the want of a policy of the Administration of the day to a large extent the commercial depression of the country has been intensified and the sufferings of the people increased.

In making a charge so grave against the Administration of the day I am bound to give some reasons for the conclusions at which I have arrived. One of the strongest reasons I conceive that can be adduced is the course the hon. gentlemen opposite pursued in order to destroy the measure propounded by the late Government for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Hon. Minister of Finance a year ago stated to the House that he relied largely for the revenue upon which he was calculating, upon the expenditure upon public works. The hon. gentleman pointed to the condition of Ontario,

and attributed its prosperity to the enormous amount expended upon public works. I say it was consistent with that policy that measures should be devised by which foreign capital could be brought into the country for investment. Nothing was more calculated to carry on the country in a prosperous condition and inspire hope in the breasts of the people of the Dominion than the construction of the railway that would give us communication with the rich prairies of the Great West and the country on the Pacific slope. But the measures our opponents adopted, and the combinations they formed for the purpose of destroying that scheme, I look upon as one of the main causes which have resulted in the present depressed condition of affairs.

The first step that the Hon. Minister of Finance took after attaining office was to shake the confidence of the people of this country in the sound condition of the country by the proclamation to the world of a deficit that did not exist. I am glad to-night we have reached that stage when the question may be settled conclusively and forever set at rest. On the first occasion when the hon. gentleman made the announcement I proved from his own figures that no deficit could occur in connection with the current expenditure of the year. The hon. gentleman in the first instance placed in the Speech from the Throne the statement that a deficit had occurred in the current expenditure of the year that would require an application to Parliament to meet it. Another year rolled round and I was able to show the hon. gentleman by figures and data furnished by himself that instead of that year having closed with a deficit, it had closed with a considerable surplus. I showed that charging the year 1873-4 with all that the Government had received under the new tariff—charging the year with all the Government had collected under the increased taxation, that charging the year with the increased amount paid in from the Excise Department there was still a handsome surplus at the end of the year. But how was I met? I was met by the hon. gentleman with the statement

that two millions of dollars had been discounted from the revenue of 1874-5 for the year 1873-4. I had credited him with all that was paid in from the Excise Department, but in addition to that the hon. gentleman claimed a million and a half as paid in by Customs. I met the hon. gentleman by saying that with a large decrease in the imports of 1874-5 it had shown during the first six months of that year a large increase beyond the portion to be derived from the increased taxes, and thus proved that the hon. gentleman's statement made a year ago—and which he ventured to reproduce to-night—was utterly unfounded.

Now, I will show him that unless he can put a million and a half dollars in two places at once, the year 1874 closed with a surplus instead of a deficit. I will show that the hon. gentleman claimed that although there would be a pause in the commerce of the country we had no reason to anticipate a retrogression. I will show that the hon. gentleman relied for his calculation upon the statement that the imports for 1873-4 would only give \$22,000,000; he put on \$3,000,000 additional taxation, that would give \$25,000,000 for the year 1874-5. His estimate was \$25,250,000. As this is a matter of some little importance, and the first serious blunder the Finance Minister made in the discharge of the duties of his office, I will draw the attention of the House to the hon. gentleman's own statements to show that there was a surplus instead of a deficit. We were told that the taxation was increased to meet the deficit of 1873-4; but in his speech a year ago the hon. gentleman said "the taxation was imposed, not so much to meet a deficit in the year then closed, as to meet future engagements." In January, 1874, the Hon. Minister of Justice, in his speech at Walkerton, confirmed the statement that, instead of that taxation being imposed (as the House was led to believe) to meet a deficit in the current expenditure, it was imposed for the purpose of constructing the Canada Pacific Railway. I will read the hon. gentleman's statement:—"In January, 1874 it had been found necessary to increase the tariff " to meet the obligations contracted in

"the time of their predecessors, and enable us to place the credit of the country in such a position that the necessary funds should be provided for the construction of the Pacific railway."

Now, Sir, I might rest my case on the fact thus admitted, that the increase of taxation which they brought forward immediately on entering office, was not intended to meet any existing deficiency in the current revenue but for the purpose of providing for remote contingencies in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. If you look, Sir, in the Public Accounts of 1874, on page 12, you will find \$1,705,256 entered by the hon. gentleman himself, as paid during the years 1873-4, out of the current revenue to the capital expenditure of this country; and if you glance at the Public Accounts for the present year you will observe three-quarters of a million more set down as having been paid during the past year to capital expenditure out of current revenues. I will now complete the argument to which I have drawn the attention of the House, to show that from the hon. gentleman's own calculations there was not only no discount from Customs in 1874-5, but that he has all the money under his tariff and estimates he could secure that year, without one dollar having been abstracted for 1873-4. In the Budget Speech of 1875, page 4, the hon. gentleman said, "One and one-half millions, if not more, were anticipated in consequence of the expectation that new duties would be imposed, and were in fact borrowed from the revenue of 1875." That is the statement I am now controverting. He also stated—on the same page—"Of that increase, no less than two millions is due to the present tariff;" and also—in the same speech—"On the whole, I do not think that we can receive a larger sum from the present source than twenty-two millions." This was on the imports of one hundred and twenty-seven millions for the year 1873-4; and in order to obtain the means of covering the expenditure of twenty-five millions, three millions of additional taxation must be imposed. He said, "As far as it is possible to form a calculation, I may say, in passing,

"that if a sufficient amount of taxation is now laid on to meet the present gross annual expenditure, that in view of the gradual growth of the country." The hon. gentleman did not then claim that there would be any retrogression in our imports, and he thought that the worst that could be anticipated was a pause—"that in view of the gradual growth of the country, although I do not believe it will be to the same extent as we have hitherto seen, we may be able not only to meet the requirements of the current year, with a small margin over, but to dispense with the necessity of additional taxation for a considerable period, if not altogether."

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Hear, Hear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—So, Sir, the three millions of additional taxation the hon. gentleman imposed was to be sufficient to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway without any application to this House for anything further, according to the hon. gentleman's own statement. He also said, as will be seen in the Budget Speech of 1875, on the 16th of last February:—"That, to the best of my judgment, the House must make up its mind to a temporary pause in the imports; but I have no doubt that if the House were willing to give the Government the supplies they demanded, these supplies would be ample to enable us to meet present expenditures and make provision for our future liabilities." I have called attention to the hon. gentleman's own words to prove that he expected no diminution in the imports; and that the three millions of additional taxation were necessary, if there was no check in the imports, to give him \$25,250,000. Now, what did he get? The imports for 1873-4 amounted in value to \$127,514,549; and for 1874-5, to only \$119,618,657, showing a decrease of \$7,895,892; and yet, Sir, the hon. gentleman who told the House one year ago that one million and one-half had been discounted from the Customs revenue for 1873-4, obtained with this reduction of nearly eight millions, \$24,648,715. If with the new taxes he had secured the revenue he estimated, had the imports not increased, he would

have received during the year 1874-5 no less than \$26,225,990, so that unless the hon. gentleman can show the House that he can take out of the revenue of 1873-4, \$1,500,000, and yet have that sum for the next year, I have established by his own figures, that he has obtained from the Customs the entire amount he estimated he would have; I will give the House another evidence in a manner I take to be entirely incontrovertible, of the fact that he occupies a false position.

The receipts in the revenue for 1875 were \$8,443,532 for the first six months, and \$6,605,125 for the last half year; if anything was discounted my hon. friend will admit that it must appear in the accounts for the first half of the year.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Oh, no.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Oh, yes; and whether he does or not, I have proved that, unless the hon. gentleman can have one and one-half millions in two places at once, the ground I maintained a year ago—that he had mis-stated the financial condition of this country when he asserted that there was a deficit—is conclusively established. I say that this was the second cause of depression, and the hon. gentleman knows that there is no way of checking commercial prosperity and deepening financial depression more quickly or more thoroughly undermining the confidence of the great mass of the people in the soundness of the existing condition of public affairs, than by taking the course he has pursued.

Now I come to another point of very great importance—which I believe has produced a more disastrous effect throughout this country than even those to which I have already adverted—the attack made in London by Mr. Potter on Canadian enterprises. There is no country in the world whose present and future prosperity depends more thoroughly and completely than Canada upon the preservation of confidence abroad among capitalists with reference to her great industries and undertakings; and I feel that the Prime Minister only did his duty when in answer to the onslaught made upon our character

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and credit and every great work on which our progress and advancement depends—he obtained a complete and exhaustive reply. I do not hold the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House guiltless for these damaging and disastrous statements, for I believe that Mr. Potter, the President of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, would have never made them as he did if he had not been concerned with the hon. gentlemen opposite in the attempt to prevent the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and, going further, I will show that they stand before this House and country as endorsers of every false statement Mr. Potter has made in the London press in order to deprive Canada of her credit and position. The Prime Minister called upon Mr. Brydges to answer, and he only characterized Mr. Potter's statements accurately when he declared that they were "reckless and false averments." I will read the words of the gentleman: "They were charges which were absolutely false; the charges were wild and reckless statements, and violent attacks upon Canada," and were "unfair, unjust, and false statements, and sneers and insinuations against allies." This language was appropriately used, and what followed? Mr. Potter published a letter, which I hold in my hand, and which he has circulated throughout the length and breadth of England, and beyond its shores; and in it he shows that if these were "false, reckless, unfounded, and unjust statements," and "false averments," by means of which it was endeavoured to undermine the credit and character of Canada and prevent our people obtaining a single dollar of British capital to carry our enterprises forward, Mr. Brydges was the author of them all, and I say that while he remains an officer of this Government after the publication of this letter—Mr. Potter having quoted Mr. Brydges's own words, and given day and date for every one of these statements, while he holds the high and responsible and almost irresponsible position he does in this country—the Administration stand as endorsers of Mr. Potter's libel upon Canadian enterprises. Does the hon. gentleman suppose that it would not benefit the

Dominion if the capital could have been secured for the construction of the Northern Colonization Railway from Montreal to this city? Is there a man in this country, who knows anything of this undertaking who doubts that it was a sound commercial enterprise? And yet for the allegations made by Mr. Potter producing such a state of paralysis in all our enterprises, Mr. Brydges is shown to be responsible, and consequently while the latter holds his present high office the Government is also responsible. I will not detain the House by reading his averments, though I could prove, step by step, that our public enterprises, both in Upper and Lower Canada, have been prostrated in the market of England by the false statements made by that gentleman, to Mr. Potter.

Well, Sir, the next step taken by the the Hon. Minister of Finance to the great injury of Canada, was made in the Budget Speech he delivered in 1874, when he not only charged that a deficit existed, but he also portrayed our financial position in terms that could have no other effect than to cause dismay in the minds of all persons who placed the slightest reliance on his opinion. He told the House that if we proceeded with the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, we would impose upon the Dominion a debt relatively larger than the debt of England or the United States; and having taken that ground the Administration committed themselves unreservedly to the policy of carrying on this railroad to completion as a Government work. Every person in or out of the Dominion, relying upon the accuracy of the hon. gentleman's statements, could only then come to the conclusion that our financial position was more deplorable than that of any other country, and expect at an early day that we would be ruined by a most oppressive taxation. The hon. gentleman not only provided for the construction of this railway as a Government undertaking, but he generously added the building of 360 miles of road outside of the Pacific Railway proper, involving seventeen or eighteen millions of dollars of additional expenditure. The hon. gentleman at the time undertook to give us

a remedy, and that was the tariff upon which, by the way, the Hon. Minister of Justice passed a high encomium in his speech to the electors of Walkerton?

I believe he did me the great honour to quote me as an authority for having borne my humble tribute to the wonderful skill of the Minister of Finance in the construction of that tariff. He must imagine that the people at Walkerton whom he was addressing on that occasion had very little acquaintance with the press or public matters. Did he suppose there was any person there so ignorant as not to know that the tariff which he was eulogizing and to which I had the honor to pay an indirect tribute, was not the hon. gentlemen's tariff at all?

My hon. friend the Premier, at Saranac, on the eve of an important election in Montreal West, claimed credit for the Government having given 2½ per cent. additional protection. Had my hon. friend and the Minister of Justice forgotten that the tariff which was brought down to this House was laughed out of it? Had the hon. gentleman forgotten that the Finance Minister, after producing his tariff with a 16½ duty, came back, after his tariff had been ventilated in the House and outside of it, with some thirty changes to meet the views of the people and their representatives? I think under these circumstances it was scarcely competent for the Minister of Justice to pass a very brilliant eulogium on the wonderful genius of the Minister of Finance. Why, at this moment the tariff is complained of as possessing anomalies of a very serious kind. The hon. gentleman knows a very serious blunder was made in the imposition of the tariff on wines. He knows that the policy he propounded, instead of being calculated to give aid to the industries of this country which wanted protection, was diametrically opposed to them. The hon. gentleman knows this was the analysis given to the tariff as introduced by the Finance Minister—wines were to give \$200,000; brandies and spirits, \$200,000; silks, satins, velvets, jewellery, &c., \$400,000; unenumerated list, all that could promote protection, \$500,000; tea and coffee, \$400,000; metals, iron, &c.,

\$100,000; machinery, implements, ship materials, &c., \$350,000. I do not think there was much protection in taxing machinery that for the purpose of fostering our industries we had allowed to come into our country free. So, out of the whole \$3,000,000 it was proposed to raise \$500,000 out of the 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ duty and if that tariff was remodelled in all respects, it was done in deference to the gentlemen on this side of the House and public opinion outside of it. But it was sufficient to convulse and disturb the trade of the country. Everything up to that time had been going on in the most prosperous and satisfactory manner, and until the hon. gentleman, without the slightest excuse or necessity as far as the current expenditure of that year was involved, startled the whole country by the cry that for the purpose of meeting current expenditures he must have \$3,000,000 more revenue, and in addition to all that, the Pacific Railway was to be constructed as a Government work. I don't think that was calculated to promote the prosperity of the country, but to bring about just such a condition of affairs as we have to-day.

Another step of the Ministry was entering into an engagement to build the Pacific Railroad in fifteen years, without the qualification—if the resources of the country would permit that to be done without increasing taxation. There are fourteen years left for carrying out the contract binding us to construct that road without any regard to the resources of Canada, or how severe the taxation may be which it may involve. That was the next step—a step calculated to shake the confidence of the people of Canada as to the ability of those who occupied the Treasury Benches to manage the affairs of the Dominion. In his speech at Halifax the Hon. Premier stated the British Empire, with all its resources, could not construct the Canadian Pacific Railway in ten years, and yet, inspired by the same sort of Dutch courage which seems to animate the Finance Minister to-night, he was ready to pledge the faith of Canada to construct in fifteen years a work which the whole resources of the British Empire

could not accomplish in ten. I am not surprised that a policy like that had the effect of shaking the confidence of commercial men in the ability of the Government, and producing alarm as to our future.

Then we had Mr. Brown's Reciprocity Treaty. Is there an intelligent man in this country who supposes you can send an ambassador to Washington and publish to the world his propositions—propositions that struck terror and dismay into the mind of every man engaged in manufacturing in this country—without inflicting the most disastrous consequences? Is there any one who supposes that the announcement of such radical changes could be made without producing an effect more injurious than anything else—that is, making every man who has a dollar to invest afraid to make any use of it for fear these startling changes would cause him to sustain loss instead of reaping benefit? It would be impossible to over-estimate the disastrous consequences of the policy propounded by Mr. Brown or the effect of that draft treaty, abortive as it was, in producing the commercial depression by the uncertainty it created as to what changes were to be made.

Then we have the loan of 1874. I say I believe the Finance Minister made a great mistake in the interest of Canada when he went to England in 1874 and mortgaged the revenues of our country imposing \$20,000,000 additional debt upon us. I say he took a course most injurious to the interests of Canada because he did that which no Finance Minister is warranted in doing. There is nothing more unjustifiable than to negotiate such a loan without having a necessity for the money. Now, the hon. gentleman did not require it. When we were discussing the matter a year ago the hon. gentleman was asked, "Why did you want so much money?" He answered, "It is inadvisable to go to the money markets of the world too frequently, and in order to avoid that we put a larger loan on the market than we required." On the 15th of June last the hon. gentlemen had remaining unused \$15,000,000 of the \$17,500,000 realized from the \$20,000,000 loan. It is known he loaned to

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the banks a very large amount of money, and when he was challenged with having suddenly called, by a circular issued from his department for the return of this money, a defence was entered into by the hon. gentleman's paper in Kingston, the *British Whig*.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I must decline the honour of having an organ of my own.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I say no man living could have written the article except the Finance Minister or somebody in his confidence, because it undertook to state every dollar at the disposal of the Government and where it was. It said: "it is true he is calling "in \$5,500,000 or \$6,000,000, but there "is still eight or nine millions left in the "hands of the banks." Therefore by the evidence of the *Canada Gazette* and the statement of the amount of money the hon. gentleman would have when this was called for, he had \$15,000,000 of this loan in the banks of Canada and with their agents in England, on the 15th June last.

I believe the time has come when it is necessary to deal with this question. I believe the hon. gentleman is responsible to this House and to the people of Canada for borrowing money that he did not require, and has done much to cause this financial depression by the way in which he has used it. He was correct to-night when he said that one of the causes of the depression in trade was inflation. He was correct when he said that the banks were largely to blame for it, because they had put their money out, and at such times they would lend it to men of straw.

Now, Sir, I ask the hon. gentleman if there was not a condition of things that required contraction in the trade of this country, as undoubtedly there was, for there is no question that the inflated condition of commercial affairs had assumed a very decided aspect and was doing a very large amount of injury? But in that crisis of the country, when inflation was deplored, what did the hon. gentleman do? He borrowed fifteen millions on the credit of Canada and increased that inflation by loaning it to the banks. In the

first place this was fraught with disaster. The financial depression increased and the hon. gentleman became alarmed, and he then having rushed into one difficulty in order to escape it, rushed into a worse one; and that was sending to the banks a vaguely worded circular that caused alarm, by suddenly calling upon them to repay the whole of it. The very first thing that looked like a financial crisis was when the hon. gentleman issued that circular. The banks instantly shut down on their customers; men who, in consequence of this fifteen million being placed in the hands of the Government had been obtaining money, suddenly had their discounts shut down upon, and the whole country was in a state of alarm of financial panic; and it was only after the press of the party to which I have the honour to belong, and notably the press of Ottawa—the *Citizen*—attacked the hon. gentleman and brought a pressure to bear upon him that he withdrew his circular, and thereby showed that he had made a mistake in issuing it, when he had other resources to fall back upon. I give that as one cause, and one of the principal causes for the commercial depression and financial crisis that has existed during the past season. But I have another objection, and a very grave one to this course. I say it is a corrupt policy. These gentlemen professed to be upholders of purity in public life, and that their great mission was the elevation of the standard of public morality. I want to know if this is not corrupt, and calculated to produce corruption? Why, Sir, what have we had? I will venture to draw the attention of the House to one or two facts in this connection, which I think will convince the House that no measure which the power of the Government can exercise is so fraught with corruption as their power to allow public money to be distributed amongst banks in the manner practiced by the present Government. It is unfair in the first instance, for one banker can get his capital without paying for it, because I must tell you that millions of this money has not only been scattered amongst the banks, but given here and there in half millions at a time,

without any interest whatever. And so while the people of Canada are paying interest upon the debt created two years ago in England, the hon. gentleman has been giving half millions of it at a time for months and months, and I may say a year together, to those to whom he was disposed, without their paying one single dollar of interest. Is it corrupt or is it not corrupt to put any Government in the position or any Finance Minister in the position of placing \$500,000 of the public money without any interest in the bank of a supporter? And when one of these bankers is a Senator and was a gentleman to whom the Government were looking for support, it assumes a character which makes it impossible to prevent the intelligent and independent men of this country from believing that their money has been sacrificed in the very worst way which it is possible to conceive. It will be in the recollection of the House that a very remarkable letter was written by one of the great purists of this country, a gentleman who has been loudest in all the country in demanding that we should have purity of elections. I will detain the House for a single moment as this is a matter which merits a good deal of attention. I refer to the Hon. George Brown, the editor of the *Toronto Globe*, the great organ of the party, and the great outside means of upholding the standard of public morality. The letter was as follows:—

TORONTO, 15th August, 1872.

"MY DEAR SIR:—The fight goes bravely on, but it is hard to work up against the enormous sums the Government candidates have in their hands. We have expended our strength in aiding the out-counties and helping our city candidates, but a big push has to be made on Saturday and Monday for the East and West Divisions if we are not to succumb to the cash of the Government. We could carry all three divisions easily but for the cash against us, and if we carry the first on Saturday, the other two will go with us in spite of all the cash they can muster. We therefore make our grand stand on Saturday. There are but half a dozen people that can come down handsomely, and we have done all that we possibly can do, and we have to ask a few outsiders to aid us. Will you be one? I have been urged to write and comply accordingly.

Things look well over the Province; with
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all their money, we shall beat them hollow in Ontario, and things look bright in Quebec.

"Faithfully Yours,

GEO. BROWN,

"Hon. John Simpson,
&c., &c."

Well, Sir, I have the sequence of that letter, and that is the letter written by the Hon. John Simpson, to whom the letter I have just read was sent, and the President of the Bank of Ontario. The Hon. John Simpson says he never has expended any money corruptly. I am not going to challenge the accuracy of his statement, especially as he is not here to answer me. But as this letter is public property, he cannot prevent people where there is a very strong sequence from forming their own conclusions. And we find that this worthy President of the Bank of Ontario, thus invited to come down handsomely whatever he did in the way of money used his influence in the most potent manner by issuing a circular to the parties dealing with the bank of which he was President, calling upon them in virtue of the benefit it would be to the Bank of Ontario to sustain the present Government. He says, "If they are sustained, our bank and the other Ontario banks, and through them the country, will have the use of the Government surplus until required. May I ask you to give my old friend Mr. Cameron your candid hearty support."

I say that this was followed up by the fact that the Hon. the Minister of Finance did lend large sums to this Bank, for I have just taken up a couple of returns from the *Canada Gazette*, to show that whether or not this hon. Senator made a "big push," he was duly remembered by his friends upon the Treasury Benches. I find that on the 30th June last this worthy gentleman who is asked to "come down handsomely" has in his possession \$669,194 of the public money of Canada without paying one dollar interest. Now, I ask if I am not right in drawing the attention of the House to this statement as a proof of mal-appropriation of public money, and, as calculated to create the impression that that money was issued for purposes of corruption. I have in my hand a return up to the 30th Septem-

ber, and I find that while he had been generous enough to the Government to return a small sum of it, still he has \$598,084 of the public money without a particle of interest being paid. There is a large amount outside of that. I may be told that the other banks could have obtained it and on the same terms. I say that this is an entire fallacy. Mr. Simpson would not venture to accept the money unless he dare use it. He having "come down handsomely" and being a good friend of the Government could use the money, but another person not having the same claims and influence dare not use the money, because it would place him in the power of the Government to destroy him. I give that to the hon. gentleman as one of the modes in which he has used the money which he secured by a loan and obtained without necessity -- a use which was neither creditable to the Government, safe for the country nor calculated to promote confidence in the gentleman administering public affairs.

But, Sir, there is another objection. What do these gentlemen think of the independence of Parliament Act? Is it a farce? No members of this House are allowed to accept one dollar for their services, no matter how valuable to the Government, thus preventing the possibility of the Government by the use of public money influencing the action of any member of this House. But where is the force of this independence of Parliament Act, with Mr. Wilkes sitting alongside of me, he being the Vice-President of a bank that has Government money without paying interest, and with Mr. Simpson and Mr. McMaster, of the Senate, with nearly a million in their hands? Men in the position of Mr. Wilkes would be told: "If you are not careful of the line you adopt, we will take away our deposits." All he has to do is to utter one independent sentiment in this House and he will receive a polite note from the Minister of Finance to say: "We will require that money." And yet these gentlemen are going to uphold public morality and are sticklers for the independence of Parliament. Who does not remember that a gentleman of the highest character and standing,

was hounded almost to death because, in respect of public services, he accepted a comparatively small stipend. I refer to Mr. Grey, a presiding Judge of British Columbia. And yet the gentlemen who protested so loudly about that can give half a million of the public money for a year without interest to one of their supporters. Yet these gentlemen want to know why all public confidence has been shaken in the administration of public affairs, and why there is a pause in the prosperity of the country. I tell them that measures like this are admirably calculated to do this. We now come down to the loan of 1875. I have shown that on the 20th day of June the hon. gentleman had fifteen million of money distributed among the banks, and before the close of the year the same gentleman who had told us that we had borrowed a good deal more money than we wanted—because it was very disastrous to enter the money market too often, at the time of a great commercial crisis, hied across the Atlantic for the purpose of negotiating another loan. People could not understand it when they looked at the *Hansard* and saw what he had said, to see him now, although with a surplus in his hands, wanting still more. The hon. member for Montreal West has kindly given us a solution of that. I will read it from the *Herald*, the organ in Montreal of the hon. gentleman opposite and the property of the hon. gentleman upon the Treasury Benches.

The hon. member for Montreal West, in fact shows us that the Finance Minister, instead of withdrawing the ample deposits held by the Government in Canadian banks, negotiated a fresh loan in England to enable Senator Simpson to obtain the use of one-half million of the people's money placed in his bank, the Finance Minister therefore went to London, not in his Ministerial capacity, but as the agent of the banks for whom he borrowed money. I have no doubt that my hon. friend from Montreal West is correct in what he has stated, and that what he gave to the people of Canada through the Montreal *Herald*, are the real and valid reasons why

this new loan was made in accordance with principles contrary to those the hon. gentleman has always propounded.

Mr. WORKMAN—Will the hon. gentleman permit me to explain? I had no communication whatever with the Government. I occupied, unfortunately, the position of a Vice-President of a Bank, and the withdrawal of the deposits at a time when such stringency was prevailing, was producing a great deal of distress.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am extremely gratified to hear this, for my hon. friend has furnished me with the best evidence of the entire soundness of my argument.

Mr. WORKMAN—And I think he was quite right in doing so.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—So they are really corroborated and sustained by the hon. gentleman, who is perhaps as well qualified to give us the facts of the case as any one in this House.

I now approach another subject that I believe has also a good deal to do with shaking the confidence of the people in the present Government. You cannot destroy the confidence of the public in the Administration of the day without producing commercial and financial mischief. Why, any person who listened to the eloquent, animated and impassioned appeal addressed to the House by the Finance Minister to-day would suppose they were placing the people of Canada under the deepest obligation for their economy when he was adding to the public debt of the Dominion. The statement was received with an enthusiastic cheer as if he was paying it out of his own pocket. Generous in the last degree, he borrowed money on the public debt, and I trust that he duly appreciated the enthusiasm with which the announcement was received. But the people of Canada had been led to suppose by the declarations of hon. gentlemen opposite when they were on this side of the House, that when they received control of public affairs a new régime would be inaugurated, that all would be economy such as never before had been practiced. There was no charge hurled against us with such persistency as that we were extravagant. Well, we were liberal with the public money but it was be-

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cause we had to be liberal with it. Under the low tariff of 15 per cent. we were able to take off \$2,000,000 per annum from the public taxes, making tea and coffee free, although we carried on the affairs of the country on that generous scale which we believe contributed to the best interests of the country and to its prosperity. Yet when these gentlemen came into office they proclaimed that there was a deficit. They saddled the country with three millions of additional taxation, and they imposed a duty on tea and coffee, which was by us admitted free, yet from the time they attained power their expenditures have been extravagant as compared with our own. Previous to proceeding with my remarks on this subject, I must complain of the manner in which the Finance Minister keeps the public accounts. A year ago the subject was very fully discussed in this House, the hon. gentleman having occasion to make an explanation in this regard; and I had hoped that it would be unnecessary to allude to it again. Although these hon. gentlemen have always declared that everything should be above-board, and that we should have the fullest information concerning all public business, the people have never been treated in such a way as by this Administration which is bound to publish the state of the revenue and expenditure monthly. Yet down to this hour such statements for the month of March have been suppressed, and despite the efforts of the press this information could not be obtained. I scan these matters with the closest attention, because every public man must on them form his opinions with reference to the financial position of the Dominion. The Opposition has the right to complain strongly in this connection, for such information was always furnished the hon. gentlemen opposite when they occupied seats on this side of the House. It is the same with the Railway Accounts. The *Canada Gazette* published monthly the returns of all Canadian railways, and this was done down to March. Everybody is aware that a great controversy had arisen between myself and hon. gentlemen in this House regarding the tariff introduced by Mr. Brydges on the Intercolonial Rail-

way, and which we claimed was bad. It appears that loss was experienced in the receipts of this road confirming my view, but the returns were published until March, when a large decrease took place, and from that hour to this, we have been unable to secure precise information in this relation. But that is not my only charge against the hon gentleman in relation to the public accounts. The House knows the controversy I had with the hon. gentleman opposite because for the purpose of swelling the expenditure of 1873-4 in order to extricate himself from the false position which he was in by having proclaimed that there would be a deficit for that year; he took from the capital expenditure half a million and charged it to current expenditure; and what was his answer. I have it here in the *Hansard*.

Well, Sir, we had to submit. The hon. gentleman took the half million voted by this House for capital expenditure, such as the construction of snow sheds half a mile in extent and similiar work on the Intercolonial Railway—money that ought to be legitimately charged to the Intercolonial Railway construction account, as much capital expenditure as it is possible to conceive anything to be, and it was charged against us in the accounts for 1873-4 because the hon. gentleman declared that the capital account of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Railway had remained open long enough. But he has done a great deal worse. He asked the House, consistent with the principle he had propounded here, to vote \$800,000 for change of guage on the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Railways, chargeable to current expenditure; and he has in the Public Accounts, for the purpose of extricating himself, gone back on himself and taken nearly half a million of money that, in the Statute Book, is appropriated for current revenue, and charged it to capital. When his necessities require it he charges as current revenue what belongs to capital, and when it suits him he takes half a million of current expenditure and charges it to the capital account. I think that is a course which will not receive the approval of any gentleman on either side of the House who have any re-

gard for the way in which public accounts should be kept on any honest principle, by which one year can be contrasted with another. The difficulty was this: that with all their vaunted professions of economy we find their expenditure on those roads larger than ours. If you are allowed to keep accounts like that you may make a surplus or a deficit just where you like.

Having given that explanation with regard to the mode of keeping the accounts, I come to this retrenchment question. And what do we find? I will take the expenditure of last year. I find that in 1874-5 the expenditure over 1873-4 for civil government was \$25,582. The gentlemen who denounced us, when they stood where we now stand, as having the public offices filled from garret to cellar with useless, unnecessary people for the purpose of providing salaries and places for our friends, have found places where they could crowd a few more; and instead of showing retrenchment to the extent of \$50,000, on that service they spent \$25,825 more than we did in our most extravagant year. That year, 1873-4, does not afford a fair contrast for ourselves, because those gentlemen came in and governed during the last half of that year, and were anxious to swell the expenditure and create a deficit. But as we were in office that year, I take it, although 1872-3 would be more favourable for my purpose.

An Hon. Gentleman—Why?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—For a great many reasons. Does the hon. member not know that in 1873-4 came the readjustment of the debt, the operation by which we had settled the difficulty between Ontario and Quebec, and had given a large sum of money to other Provinces to carry out their system of public works, and that there were expenditures largely increased over the previous year? If the hon. gentleman does not know that, he ought.

I come next to the Administration of Justice, and I find that in 1874-5 they have spent \$38,386 more than we did. They may tell me that is statutory, but while the hon. gentlemen sit upon the Treasury Benches they are responsible for their increase of statu-

tory expenditure as well as any other. We then come to superannuation; and I find notwithstanding the large amount expended by us, and we dealt with every necessary case, in their first year they exceeded us by \$12,856 more than we ever expended. And I am not surprised at this. When they want a place for a supporter, when any hungry office-hunter desires employment, some officer is superannuated to make room for him. I met a gentleman yesterday as hale and hearty as ever he was in his life, and I asked him why he was not at his work. "Oh" he replied, "I am superannuated and am receiving \$1,200 a year, while another man is filling my place at a larger salary." That man was being paid a large sum for doing nothing, who was as able to do the duty as at any other period of his life. This is only one instance, and there are many more of them. That, however, accounts for the increase of \$12,856 on the public expenditure for superannuation.

On militia they have spent \$35,567 more than our expenditure for 1873-4.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—More than the largest?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Yes; more than the expenditure of 1873-4.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It was more than \$800,000 within.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I say that your expenditure for 1874-5 is \$35,567 more than our expenditure for 1873-4. I undertake to make that statement, and shall be obliged if the hon. gentleman can make any corrections. In Ocean and River service they spent \$45,742 more than we did in the previous year. In Miscellaneous, which covers a great many things as all know who have been in the Government, and which prevents going into unpleasant details, their expenditure was \$29,448 more than ours. With regard to Customs, I dare say the House remembers that I was charged with a large increase in that department. That increased expenditure, however, was because Parliament placed a sum of money at my disposal for the purpose of readjusting salaries. I thought we attended to that matter on a tolerably liberal scale; the present Administration, however, were of a

different opinion and evidently considered we had not been extravagant enough, and they went over our expenditure by \$24,374. In the Post Office Department their expenditure was \$133,984 more than ours.

I was very much amused in reading the speech of my hon. friend the Minister of Justice, at Walkerton, the other day. He said that not only the Postal Treaty was an admirable one, but that financially it was beneficial. But the hon. gentleman did not take the trouble to look at the Public Accounts, or even read the speech of the Minister of Finance, in which that gentleman told the House that, although the advantage of a person wishing to send a letter to the United States had been increased by the reduction of the postage, we must prepare for a considerable increase in the expenditure and decrease in the income. I don't think it is a financial success to make the expenditure \$133,948 more than we ever paid.

For the collection of minor revenues, which is a matter which costs a comparatively small sum, there is an increase of \$11,496. For the Mounted Police we have an increase of \$133,984, and for the North-West organization \$14,440.

Just in a few of these items, which I have run over to make a comparison as my eye rested upon them, the increase of this economical Government is \$505,829 above the largest expenditure we ever made in that of 1873-74. I will now give a slight *resume* of the sort of retrenchment and economy they propose to inaugurate, and show how much money they ask the House to vote in this time of deep distress which demands the most rigid economy. I shall contrast their estimates for 1876-7 with our expenditure of 1873-4, in which our largest expenditure occurred. For Civil Government they only ask \$10,718 more; for administration of justice \$148,349. The latter we are told is statutory, but it is a statute placed on the book by themselves. They claim great credit on account of that measure. They say the late Government year after year brought in a bill for the establishment of the Supreme Court and were unsuccessful. But they do not consider that there was no

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great hurry for the consumation of that object. We had no Minister of Justice anxious to take his seat on the bench of that Court, and therefore no one had a personal interest in pushing the measure. We failed to establish this Supreme Tribunal, but it was our opinion that it would be time enough to pass a Bill of that character after a full and ample discussion when the members of this House should have come to some agreement as to what powers the Court should exercise. But the present Ministry put an Act on the Statute Book and organized the Court before some of the hon. gentlemen behind them were agreed as to its powers. I may say, however, that it is a tribunal which should be organized at some period, but there was no hurry and the country would not have suffered, in my judgment, if the additional \$100,000 imposed on the country had been saved for some time longer.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman is entirely over-stating the estimate of the Court.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I find that the administration of justice last year cost \$38,000 more than the previous year. This year it is \$148,344 more. If that addition is not in the Supreme Court, it is somewhere else.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Certainly.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I may take the opportunity here to refer to another matter which is somewhat connected with this subject. During a very interesting tour with the Prime Minister in North Renfrew this matter came under discussion, and I read with great pain and regret some remarks in the *Times* newspaper of this city charging me with having attacked the late Minister of Justice, now a Judge of that Court. I take this opportunity of saying that I made no attack upon that gentleman, and also that I believe no greater mistake could be made by any public man than to attack any one charged with the administration of justice without the very gravest reasons—reasons that would warrant him in asking this House to impeach the gentleman. That article was an entire misapprehension. My attack was upon the Prime Minister. I was referring to

the speech he made at St. Andrew's Dinner, one which I read with pride and pleasure, when the Hon. First Minister stated the time had arrived when no man holding any position in the country was anxious to promote a severance of Canada from the 'rown. I reminded my hon. friend that the Hon. Postmaster General stood committed to those opinions, and I also said that a gentleman has been recently placed on the Bench of the Supreme Court who had been an advocate of the independence of Canada. I made no charge against the hon. gentleman. I should be sorry if I had done so; and having this opportunity I may state that while the late Minister of Justice sat in this House he enjoyed the respect of both sides and filled the high office he held with credit to himself and the country.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I believe my hon. friend has given a correct version of what he said at that meeting.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am much obliged to my hon. friend for having corroborated my own recollection, because sometimes in the heat of political discussion one does not say exactly what he intends to say.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear, hear—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—But I can assure the House that is not the case on the present occasion. I have said exactly what I felt in regard to the Hon. late Minister of Justice. I come again to the question of superannuation, and find this retrenchment Government, those gentlemen who have declared that the remedy for the evils we are now suffering from was to pare down the expenditures of the country, only ask the modest sum of \$30,557 more than we expended on that service. On the collection of Customs, although they expended last year \$24,374 more than we did this year with all their retrenchment and economy they ask the House for \$39,392 more than we expended. In the Inland Revenue service—I am not including weights and measures—a large additional charge that goes into action for the first time, and I would be sorry to object to the expenditure.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — Whose Statute was it?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER — I am very proud to be able to claim the paternity of it—for the Inland Revenue service outside the weights and measures they ask for \$24,982 an increase on last year and more than we ever expended on the same service. In the Post-Office Department I showed that last year they expended \$133,984 more than we did. They propose this year to spend \$345,230 more than our expenditure during 1873-4. On Indians they propose to spend \$155,287 more than we did.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Is there anything wrong in that?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The late Government kept the Indians pacified with less. In these few items these gentlemen have increased the largest expenditure of the late "extravagant" Government by \$769,918.

My hon. friend the Minister of Finance a little while ago told us in making up his statement of the expenditures that we must take out certain items—the boundary survey for instance. I quite admit that in the explanation he gave he was justified in making that objection, but he will allow me perhaps, as he has taken the liberty of adjusting the figures, a little to say that he can hardly charge the \$69,000 of Customs refunds to the expenditure of 1873-4. He must admit that wherever it goes it must come out of the account for 1873-4. I add that to his balance of \$396,655, and then I come to the error in the railway accounts. My hon. friend must either take out of the expenditure of 1873-4 \$545,605 of capital expenditure charged to the revenue of that year, or he must charge the expenditure of the last year with the amount that he has charged to capital expenditure which was voted for revenue. He cannot put both on one side, so I add the \$69,000 of Customs refunds, which never ought to have been expended by anybody, and I add \$545,605 taken out of capital expenditure and put to the charge of 1873-4, and it gives a total of \$1,000,580 of money expended in 1874-5—more than the largest expenditure of the late

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Government. Now, I come to a part of my remarks in which I have the pleasing duty of complimenting the hon. Minister of Finance; and you can scarcely imagine how agreeable it is to me, after the painful duty I have had of subjecting the actions of the hon. gentleman to fair and legitimate criticism. Mistaken as the hon. gentleman's policy has been, he has shown there is a redeeming feature in his political character. He has shown he is not unsusceptible to improvement; he has shown that instead of obstinately refusing to be taught he is willing to be instructed. It was my duty a year ago to criticise the loan negotiated by him. I am prepared here to sustain the criticism I then made as to the comparative value of the loan. I said the hon. gentleman had not done justice to the country in that negotiation. We contended, the late Government having obtained the boon of an Imperial guarantee, that when the hon. gentleman wanted money he was not doing justice to the people of Canada by keeping that guarantee in his pocket, and floating unguaranteed Canadian debentures on the London market. The hon. gentleman accepted that criticism, and when he went back to London to borrow money again he used the Imperial guarantee, the result being that, instead of Canadian debentures selling at a discount of 12 per cent. he has placed them on the market at a little below par. He was not above drawing a little wisdom from the gentlemen on this side of the House, and when he went to England last time he gave to the people of that country a fair and candid exhibit of the position of Canada. I shall point to that evidence from the hand of the Hon. Minister of Finance himself when I want to shew to the people of this Dominion that out of the mouths of these gentlemen, when they want to get money, they are obliged to confess that the administration of public affairs in Canada under their predecessors presented such a record as few countries in the world could exhibit. What was the result when he used the Imperial guarantee and did justice to his predecessors, showing how they had carried the financial position from

point to point until they stood in the proudest position in which any country could stand? He could then put his loan on the markets of the world on terms favourable to our people. I challenged the policy of the hon. gentleman in making his loan in 1874, fixing the price, the rate of interest, the discount and the period at which they had to run, and then saying, "Who will take the bonds?" By this means he prevented capitalists from competing so that we could obtain the largest possible amount for the debentures. I say when the hon. gentleman fixed the rate of interest, fixed the discount and said to the capitalists, "How much will you take?" he made it impossible for Canada to obtain all that it could obtain if he had followed the precedent of former Finance Ministers. It formed a precedent under which any Finance Minister could place half a million of the peoples' money in his pocket without ever being detected. He said, "Those who do not hear from me will know that nothing has been allotted to them." It meant that the hon. gentleman could arrange with whom he pleased before hand as to who should have the loan. And there is a very remarkable circumstance in connection with this. When I said more money was tendered than was asked for, the hon. gentleman said he only got the loan by getting the financial agents to take a million pounds themselves.

The papers laid before the house two days ago proved that £5,148,000 sterling was offered for the four million loan. I said it was a suspicious circumstance that the financial agent should get a million of that loan.

In negotiating the last loan the hon. gentleman went to England and put the guarantee on the market, adopting to the letter the principles we propounded from this side of the House as the principles that should prevail in placing a loan. In his application for tenders he asked the capitalists to state in their offer how much they wanted, the price they would give, and he also took care to inform the English public that the financial agents would not take any of it. Because he felt that to give a million to the very people to whom he was bound to go and ask what terms he should put this

loan on the market, was calculated to surround the whole transaction with suspicion.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I beg to state that the financial advisers were reluctant to take that million, and I had to use great pressure to induce them to take it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—There was no necessity for them to take it as there was more than enough offered without, but as I said before, it is with pleasure I find that the hon. gentleman, bad as he is, is not unsusceptible of improvement, and the advice that has been offered from the Opposition side of the House has been received in that spirit of meekness that such advice should be received, and the country to-day stands in a better position, financially, than it would have done if that advice had not been accepted.

The hon. gentleman gave us some reasons why he wanted at this particular moment, contrary to everything he had stated in the House, to negotiate this loan. I hope there was not a motive kept back when he was making a full confession. I hope the impression that has gone abroad is not true, that the hon. gentleman knew that he could not get the Imperial Guarantee if the Order in Council in reference to British Columbia was in the Colonial Secretary's hands.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I beg to state that Lord Carnarvon was fully apprized of the policy and intentions of this Government by the Government before any prospectus appeared in the London papers at all; that Lord Carnarvon had the fullest information of our policy before the loan appeared on the London market.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am gratified that I afforded the hon. gentleman the opportunity of making the statement. I am glad that the hon. gentlemen are in a position to state that they acted in good faith with the Imperial Government on that transaction, as we feel a paternal interest in that loan.

I do not intend to occupy the time of the House any further on the remarks that have fallen from the hon. gentleman, but before sitting down, as my hon. friend the Prime Minister

yesterday stated his anxiety to discuss his policy on free-trade and protection and explain definitely and fully what is his policy, I cannot take my seat without making a remark as to the position that the hon. gentleman occupies in relation to his statement on that question.

We have gathered from the Hon. Minister of Finance what his policy is. A most disastrous condition of things has been brought about in the position of the people of this country by one of the most trying crises that has taken place perhaps for a great many years; and the hon. member for West Montreal—a high commercial authority in this House—declares that for forty years no depression, no financial stringency, and no commercial distress to compare with that which exists in Canada to-day has occurred.

I have explained to the House the reasons why I think it behoved the Hon. Minister of Finance to present some scheme to Parliament and the country by means of which the Government might aid in giving relief, and the hon. gentleman's attitude reminds me of a caricature made, I believe, on the Duke of Wellington at the time that he refused to pass the Corn Law Bill, he being represented as General Distress, giving the word "Starve"—so the hon. gentleman looks complacent from the Treasury Benches, and he also as General Distress gives to the expectant public of Canada the word "Starve!" He says it will be painful to emerge from the difficulties into which you are brought, but we intend to let you work through. If you look to the Government for any relief in your troubles you will look in vain; our's is a policy of *laissez faire*. We are going to enjoy the sweets of office, and govern the country from our own standpoint, regarding with complacency its unhappy condition without raising a finger, or making the slightest effort to ameliorate or alter it in any respect—this is the policy propounded, and whether it is satisfactory to this House or to the supporters of the Government in this country remains to be seen.

But, Sir, I now come to a question of great importance to this House and the Canadian people. I shall give the

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Hon. the Prime Minister the opportunity of explaining some matters that certainly require explanation at his hands, with relation to what his views are concerning the trade policy which ought to be pursued in this country; and I will offer extracts from a very interesting volume containing speeches delivered by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. I find that the hon. gentleman, while in Dundee, in the course of a very able speech which he made on that occasion, propounded some very remarkable views in reference to the balance of trade. We have heard a number of gentlemen on both sides of this House exhibit great anxiety in this regard, they seem startled when they discover that our exports are not nearly equal to our imports, concluding that this is rather a serious matter, but they will be relieved and delighted to learn that instead of this being a misfortune, when the exports are insignificant compared with the imports, the larger the difference between exports and imports, the more the latter exceed the former, the richer and more prosperous the country. I wonder the hon. gentleman did not repeat these sentiments here when he found his own friends on his side of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE I repeated them here in the first place.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—When his friends exhibited such alarming anxiety on account of the disparity between our imports and exports, he certainly ought to have given them the benefit of this most gratifying information.

He stated on that occasion—"A Parliamentary friend of mine was privately discussing this subject with me; He said, the country is going to ruin. the balance of trade is against us. Our exports last year were so many millions, and our imports so many millions more, and we are poorer by the difference between the imports and exports. I said we cannot be poorer, because the difference between the exports and imports represents the profits we have had, you send a cargo of 10,000 barrels of flour to Spain, which costs \$50,000, and sell it for \$90,000; with this \$90,000 you buy other products and bring

"them back to Canada, the balance of trade would be against you in this case to the extent of forty thousand dollars, which would also be the exact amount of profit on the transaction. In this way you account for the difference of import and export." All I should say after this is we should regret that the margin is not a great deal more than it is; if this be true, instead of being anxious when we find the exports of Canada falling so far behind the imports, our only anxiety ought to be to have them ten times as great in order that we might in consequence be ten times richer; but, Sir, I would like my hon. friend the Minister of Finance and the First Minister to get together and settle the question. This very night the the Hon. Minister of Finance was deploring the excess of the imports over the exports as a calamity.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—No, Sir.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—My hon. friend deplored it as a great calamity and expressed great regret in this relation; but my hon. friend the First Minister ought to have explained to the Hon. Minister of Finance his error; and informed him that instead of having cause for regret or anxiety, he should be proud to know that this was the state of things, because we were thereby much richer than we would otherwise have been.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I made no such statement.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It is not pleasant, I know, for these hon. gentlemen to have their heads knocked together. Now, I will give the view the First Minister expressed on the question of free-trade; and what did he say?

"You were pleased to refer to my political opinions upon one subject, and while I quite concur with you, that in such a meeting it is, perhaps, not proper to speak of local politics; still I think in the higher branches of political life we may refer to political principles. I take the true meaning of the term 'free-trade' to be the complete removal of all restrictions upon trade so far as that can possibly be done. I believe myself that the principles of Richard Cobden and the principles of free-trade over the world are the real principles of civilisation---[applause.] That, I think, is the view generally taken by the people of Canada. We have amongst us, no doubt, as you have amongst you, people who

have the idea that the free-trade principle is to build up a high stone and lime wall to prevent people coming in or going out, who say: 'Let us keep the trade to ourselves, and the money in our country.'"

Now, Sir, these are the views which my hon. friend expressed in Dundee, and I would not complain particularly of them if he did not propound any other views in other parts of the world. When asked in our various spheres and constituencies, the important question, "What are the principles of the Prime Minister of Canada on the question of Trade policy?" it is very important that we should be able to give a plain, straightforward and satisfactory answer; but I cannot answer such a question unless you give me the latitude and longitude of the hon. gentleman at the time he makes a speech. In the latitude and longitude of Dundee, the hon. gentleman is an out-and-out free-trader; but when he came back he learned that the seat for Montreal West was vacant, that it was important one of his supporters should be elected, and that to this end he must modify his views on free trade. Accordingly, in the latitude and longitude of Sarnia, he stated, not that the principles of universal free trade were held by the people of this country, but that to him the manufacturers owed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more protection and increase to this extent over the tariff of the late Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Read the speech.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Well, Sir, I must complain that this speech is not to be found in this volume; they have not given in it, I think, the Sarnia speech.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think they have.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I beg my hon. friend's pardon; the Halifax and Prescott speeches have been left out instead, notwithstanding the great deal of trouble the collaborateur has taken.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman will find no difference of opinion in my speeches on that subject.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He said this—"I stated in my speech of 1874 that when we found the revenue of the country would not be

“met by the imposition of this duty,
 “it would become necessary to impose
 “more, and that it was impossible, if
 “my view of the public obligations had
 “to be met was correct, that the 15
 “per cent. duty should continue to
 “suffice. The result of our exper-
 “ience was that within a year
 “we found it necessary to increase the
 “duty on imports to 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.,
 “and that is the duty at present in
 “existence. We have, therefore,
 “given an incidental protection to the
 “extent of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ more than had been im-
 “posed by the previous Administra-
 “tion. This might be a sufficient
 “answer to those who have been ac-
 “cusing me of having in view to
 “inaugurate a free-trade policy.”

I want to know if this satisfies my hon. friend. And now I repeat I cannot tell what his views are on the trade policy unless I find out the latitude and longitude of the place where he speaks. I am not yet done with my hon. friend the Prime Minister.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am glad of it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I must go a little further before I close respecting his views on free-trade and protection. I hold, in my hand, Sir, a letter written by Sir Alexander Galt on this question, and what does he say?

“Though a free-trader theoretically
 “myself, I have always recognized the
 “necessity and advantage of adapting
 “the application of principles, in them-
 “selves sound, to the circumstances of
 “our country, the habits of our people,
 “the conditions of our climate, and our
 “political relations to Great Britain
 “and other countries. My views on
 “this subject have ripened, but have
 “been in no respect changed since, in
 “1859 I then arranged the tariff, and
 “subsequently modified it in 1866. The
 “policy adopted then, and which to a
 “large extent remains in force still,
 “was popularly known as incidental
 “protection. And Sir, further on:—
 “We cannot and ought not to ignore
 “the interest which our fellow subjects
 “elsewhere have in our revenue policy,
 “but as regards the United States I
 “frankly declare that they ought to be
 “dealt with in the same purely selfish
 “spirit with which they treat us,

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“for my part, I am heartily tired of
 “efforts at conciliating the United
 “States commercially—they meet with
 “no response, and even existing treaties
 “and laws are administered by them in
 “a spirit of petty but vexatious exac-
 “tion, I trust that henceforward the sole
 “consideration will be how our trade
 “legislation is to affect ourselves,
 “possibly this course may produce a
 “wiser policy on their part, more
 “worthy of a great commercial nation.
 * * * * *

“It is certainly the duty of the
 “Government to examine the allega-
 “tions of the sufferers most carefully
 “with a view to their relief, if
 “practicable, and should such relief
 “take the form of differential duties
 “against the United States, I
 “unhesitatingly adopt the position,
 “that we have a distinct and inalien-
 “able, right to impose such duties, if
 “we choose.”

I ask the Prime Minister if he endorses this letter, regarding which the *Globe* declares—“The practical result of Sir A. T. Galt’s meditations would be—first, the discontinuation of the work of building the Pacific Railway, and secondly, the re-adjustment of the tariff on the principle of avowed hostility to the United States.”

Now, Sir, having given you Sir A. T. Galt’s letter and the *Globe’s* commentary, I must say that this conclusion is the very one which every person will understand as perfectly correct. I will also give you a statement of the hon. Prime Minister, which he made in his speech recently delivered at Halifax and the absence of which I may add, from this volume, I deeply regret. He says:

“I have referred to Sir Alexander Galt’s utterances upon this subject because I believe that he represents, perhaps, a good many people upon that question, and I refer also to his utterances upon other subjects for a moment because I believe he is mistaken in reference to some of these matters. He says he would adopt such a policy with the United States as would be independent of any action of theirs in relation to the introduction of their goods into the Dominion, and that the tariff must be regulated to suit Canadian interests only. That has been my policy all my life, and I refused to go into a Government of which he was a prominent member—the Chancellor of the Exchequer—because I conceived that his policy of 1866 would lay us at the feet of the United States commercially.

I refused for that reason, so that I am glad to know that if we differed ten years ago, we are in entire harmony at the present moment as to the policy to be adopted by this country."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I say that now.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Here is Sir Alexander Galt declaring that the time has come when he is disposed to readjust the tariff in, as the *Globe* declares and as his language expressly says, a hostile manner to the United States. And the hon. gentleman who at Dundee was a Cobdenite and a Free-Trader, and an incidental Protectionist at Sarnia, down at Halifax goes the entire length of Sir Alexander Galt, and says the time has come when this country must have a defensive policy against the United States who have shut us out of their markets. Does the hon. gentleman adhere to that statement?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I never said that.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Sir Alexander Galt says:—"As regards the United States, I frankly declare that they ought to be dealt with in the same purely selfish spirit with which they treat us." And the Premier says:—"We are in entire harmony now."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I said nothing of the sort; I am amazed at the hon. gentleman making such a statement.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentleman said "hear, hear," when I read this "I am glad to know that if we differed ten years ago, we are in entire harmony at the present moment as to the policy to be adopted by this country."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman had come over to my view.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Is that the view which I have just read, or is this his view? "It is certainly the duty of the Government to examine the allegations of the sufferers most carefully with a view to their relief if practicable. And should such relief take the form of differential duties against the United States, I unhesitatingly adopt the position that we have a distinct and inalienable right to impose such duties if we choose." But I have something a little stronger than

that to give you. This hon. gentleman knows that when a Government supports a Candidate for Parliament, it is compelled to sustain the policy that he propounds to the electors. The hon. gentleman knows that when this vacancy occurred in Montreal West, he went down there himself and brought out the present member for the constituency by his personal influence after that gentleman had refused to become a candidate. What was the policy propounded by the hon. gentleman from Montreal West, which he came to this House to carry out? Here it is:—

"We must look to it that we protect our own interests, especially the manufacturing interest. That great nation (the United States) has gone on and prospered, but the tide of adversity has now overcome it, and their manufactures are flooded; their surplus stock is being brought into competition with our own manufactures. They bring their stock to our market, sell it for ready money, which goes into the pockets of their merchants whilst our own people are compelled to subsist on small salaries. If I am returned I shall advocate measures that will tend to prevent that system. I think it would only be an act of common justice to our country that we should impose the same amount of duty upon articles of their manufacture that they impose upon our manufactures of a similar class. I have said that I will advocate by every possible means a system of duty and tariff which will make all their articles of import and export equal; but I will go further and say, if Mr. Macdonald or anybody else will introduce such a measure, I will vote for it and support it to the utmost of my power."

The candidate put before the electors of Montreal West by the Government pledged himself, as a follower of the First Minister, to a protective policy. The hon. gentleman having given utterance to these sentiments, he stands in this position—either he had to change his principles or he presented the unworthy spectacle of a Prime Minister ready to support by every means in his power, in a great commercial constituency, a gentleman to whose opinions on a most vital question he was opposed. If the hon. gentleman wanted to give to the people of Canada the strongest evidence he possibly could that he distrusts his own sentiments and principles of free-trade, he could not have accomplished it better than he did on that occasion. The same thing occurred in reference to Centre Toronto. Everybody knows that the hon. gentleman who repre-

sents that constituency was most independent, able and outspoken in his denunciation of Mr. Brown's Reciprocity Treaty, and yet the Government sustained him as a candidate and claimed him as a supporter. The Government have shown the people of this country that they have no faith in their policy, or that for the sake of a temporary party triumph in a single constituency they are prepared to sustain candidates who are pledged to destroy it.

I have read with a great deal of interest the letter of Sir Alexander Galt, and the declaration of the Prime Minister that he endorsed those sentiments; and why? Because when six years ago I maintained, almost alone, the view that Sir Alex. Galt expresses in that letter, that it was the interest of Canada to protect herself against our neighbours across the line in relation to tariff regulations, I read with pride the declarations of Sir Alex. Galt and the Premier, who were my opponents then, that after six years they had become converts to my views which they before denounced. The attitude they then assumed was that Canada occupied the humiliating position that she dare not protect herself, that we were at the mercy of our neighbors across the borders. After six years of sober thought Sir Alex. Galt comes to the conclusion that what I proposed and what he opposed is the true commercial policy for Canada; and, better than that, the Premier goes to the great commercial city of Halifax and openly endorses his views.

The Finance Minister has closed his speech with the declaration there will be no change in the tariff. I take it no change can be made unless it is announced in bringing down the Budget. I take it there is no attempt to deceive the House. I cannot but feel that the Government have failed in what they owe to this country. I feel that since they have contributed so largely to the financial distress which exists in this country they are bound not to sit complacently and fiddle while Rome is burning, but to bring forward such measures as in their judgment would be calculated to restore prosperity again to the people of Canada.

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Every one knows that after the House rose in 1874, although the Finance Minister propounded no change in the sugar duties, he used the doubtful power of making a change by Order in Council. He knows the sugar refining industry has not only been prostrated but annihilated in this country. How is it possible for us to create a West India trade? The magnificent mercantile fleet of this country carries away our fish and brings back to the shores of a foreign country the raw products that should give employment to our own people in home industries.

Canadian capital is at this moment sent down to New York to be used in building sugar refineries. I believe we could reduce the duty on the raw product in such a way as to enable Canada to have an important industry in refining that article, and at the same time build up a valuable West Indian trade, thus employing a considerable number of people and shipping. I am confident that this could be done and the revenue be increased at the same time. Every person who has looked into this matter knows that the reduction of ten pounds a ton on sugar by Sir Robert Peel in 1845, increased the consumption to a large degree and largely increased the revenue.

It is not, however, the duty of an Opposition to propound a policy for the Government. But we have a right to demand that when they admit the country is in deep distress they should not sit idle; but should address themselves to some means by which they could to some extent extend relief. I say, Sir, that the country will learn with deep disappointment and deep dissatisfaction the determination of the Government to leave matters to take their course and to put forth no helping hand, nor to make any effort in any direction by which the prosperity of Canada may be restored to the condition which it occupied when these gentlemen obtained their seats on the Treasury Benches. I do not intend to go into the question of free-trade or protection. The Hon. First Minister says I don't tell them whether I am a Protectionist or a Free-Trader, just for the best of all reasons—because I am

neither a Free-Trader nor Protectionist. I say to discuss free-trade or protection as abstract principles in a country of four millions, lying alongside of forty millions of people, with a boundary line, as the Hon. Finance Minister has said, three thousand miles in length, is simply nonsense. I say what Canada wants is a national policy—a policy that shall be in the interest of Canada, apart from the principles of free-trade, apart from the principles of protection. The hon. gentleman in his eloquent advocacy of free-trade to-day, in his eloquent denunciation of anything like protection in this country, took it for granted that the whole farming population were bound up in this policy of free-trade. Look abroad on the face of Canada and you will find that there is no part of the community more alive to the necessity of due and proper protection for their own industries and interests than the farming population. There is no class of the people of Canada more anxious than the farming population that some measure shall be taken by which they will be protected from unfair and unjust competition with the people across the borders. There is no intelligent farmer in this country that does not know that instead of the protection of the manufacturing interests being hostile to his interests, it is eminently beneficial to them. Look at the newspapers. You will find farmers throughout Ontario, and all over the country giving bonuses—putting their hands into their own pockets and subsidizing manufacturers, and why? Because they know, common experience has taught them, that the most valuable market the farmer has is the market at his own door, the whole profit of his industry otherwise being swallowed up in getting it to a market. In conclusion I believe there will be a common sentiment felt throughout the domain of Canada—a feeling of disappointment at the enunciation on the part of the Government that they would make no effort to relieve the people of this country from the deplorable condition of commercial and financial depression into which it has been brought under their administration of public affairs.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to continue at any length the discussion upon which the hon. gentleman has entered since the dinner recess. But I desire for a moment to call the attention of the House to what I consider a very unfair quotation which the hon. gentleman has been pleased to make from my speeches. He knows—and I appeal to other gentlemen who are now here, who were there present, to corroborate my statement—he knows I am stating what is correct when I say that in my speech at Halifax I simply approved of what Sir Alexander Galt said in taking the ground that we should legislate in the interest of Canada alone in these matters.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I hope my hon. friend does not accuse me of misrepresenting him, because I may refer him to the reports of his speech by his friends in his Halifax organ.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I do accuse the hon. gentleman of misrepresenting me in not giving the whole statement but isolated sentences. The hon. gentleman knows that what I state is literally correct; I simply endorsed Sir A. T. Galt's action so far as it favoured legislation for the interest of Canada alone. And if I had it in my power to make the people of a foreign country contribute to our commercial success, I would be bound by every motive of patriotism to do so. I would do so by every motive that could guide a public man to do what was best for his country. The hon. gentleman made a quotation from the very middle of my speech at Sarnia, in October last. Let him read the concluding remarks (these the hon. gentleman has entirely omitted). I will now quote the whole of the passage relating to trade:—

“There are two principles of action in relation to trade which are to be considered and discussed. The one is absolute free-trade, the other absolute protection. You are aware from former political speeches that I have always assumed that in this country neither of these principles is possibly applicable to our circumstances, and as I stated in my speech in 1874, the question is practically removed from the sphere of political discussion, because no party that I am aware of, not even the most extreme Protectionist, has adopted the idea that we are to lose all revenue for the purpose of preventing any one coming in here to sell his wares, as that would result in a system of direct taxation. Every man, woman and child

of you pay from four to five dollars a year by indirect taxation. If that system is abolished, you must pay that sum into the Treasury to ensure the existence of a revenue for the public service. I have assumed, as a matter of public policy—and not one public man in Parliament has attacked that policy—what Sir Francis Hincks characterized as ‘incidental protection’—a stupid phrase at best—meaning a revenue raised from the imposition of duties on articles imported into the country, but also manufactured in the country. We found that we derived a revenue sufficient for the purposes of the country for some years from an import duty on certain goods of fifteen per cent. Every dollar’s worth of those goods coming into the country paid fifteen cents to the Government as revenue; so every manufacturer who made the goods in the country had the advantage of fifteen per cent. in his favour. I stated in my speech in 1874 that when we found the revenue of the country would not be met by the imposition of this duty, it would become necessary to impose more, and that it was impossible, if my view of the public obligations which had to be met was correct, that the 15 per cent. duty should continue to suffice. The result of our experience was that within a year we found it necessary to increase the duty on imports to 18½ per cent. and that is the duty at present in existence. We have therefore given an incidental protection to the extent of 2½ per cent. more than that imposed by the previous Administration. This might be a sufficient answer to those who have been accusing me of having it in view to inaugurate a free-trade policy.”

I now call the attention of the House particularly to the omission by the hon. gentleman of the concluding words of the passage:—

“A policy which I say frankly I would inaugurate at once if the circumstances of the country would admit, and if the position of our manufacturers would admit of it, because I believe that a free interchange of thought, information and commodities is the true means of enriching a country or making a people great, while the system of protection as it exists in the United States is altogether evil.”

I made a speech also at Hamilton in 1874 on this subject and I appeal to my hon. friends from that city who were present, whether I did not state precisely the same principles as my political creed. I made another speech at Montreal, and I appeal to my hon. friends from Chateauguay and Montreal if I did not there announce exactly the same principles. I defy the hon. gentleman to make a fair quotation from any one of these speeches to bear out his accusation; and I appeal to the House if I have not shown that he has made a most unfair quotation. I have never sought to conceal my views. I have stated that as we have a boundary co-terminous with the United States for thousands of miles, it

is utterly impossible to adopt a fiscal policy for this country without reference to what is passing in that country. All that we have to do as Canadian statesmen is simply to endeavour to legislate in the interest of the the majority of our own people, as I stated at Halifax, irrespective of any foreign views or influences. I don’t propose to refer to much that the hon. gentleman has said. There is no necessity to do so. I have heard most of the speech many times myself, and I am sure you have all heard it before also, it has been answered about as often as it has been delivered. There is not much new in it; and what is new in it is not very correct. My hon. friend has again referred—I don’t recollect the words—to some supposed conspiracy between the Grand Trunk Directors, the Grand Trunk Company and myself in opposition to the hon. gentlemen and the Canada Pacific Railway. I can only say that ever since I have been in public life the Grand Trunk Railway Company has been one of the bitterest opponents of the political party with which I am allied. I did suppose that for some years that Company had withdrawn from political life and political strife. I hoped it was so; and I had given them no cause to do otherwise. Since we have acceded to power I have had no kind of communication, nor has any of my friends, good, bad or indifferent, with either Mr. Potter or any one of his associates concerning the Pacific Railway or any other public or private work whatever. Now, I invite the hon. gentleman to produce his proof, and not to repeat what can only be considered a gross slander upon myself personally and upon the political party which I have the honour of leading.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will the hon. gentleman allow me to produce it now?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Certainly.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I will do it. I hold in my hand a letter written by Mr. Potter to the Hon. the Prime Minister himself. In that letter, which is published in the *Railway Times*, November 27th, 1875, Mr. Potter gives this quotation:—

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" Mr. Brydges, in one of his official communications to me, had given the following description of the district through which the Montreal Northern Colonization Railway passed :—

" The country through which the line will run from Montreal to Ottawa after the first twenty-five miles will be almost a complete wilderness, and with a character of soil which can never make it a fit country for settlement. For the first twenty-five miles the population is purely French, and cannot produce as good a traffic as that which we have upon the Rivière du Loup line. As a railway between Montreal and Ottawa it will be impossible to maintain it from the working of the line as it is built, and as it is running almost due north it will be getting into a worse climate every mile and render it more difficult to work in winter."

" In another official communication Mr. Brydges has addressed me as follows :—

" The contract for the construction of the Northern Colonization Railway has been let and signed by Sir Hugh Allan to Duncan Macdonald and Mr. Henry Abbott, brother of the lawyer. It is a bogus contract, but the amount covers something like \$400,000, which, by a private understanding, is to be disbursed by the contractors amongst certain parties directors of the company. The whole thing will be unquestionably smashed by the publications which will be made, even were it not a game of bluff to let the contract under present circumstances. It is important with reference to crushing this Northern Colonization that you do what I now ask with reference to the full publication in England of the disclosures about the Pacific."

Now, Sir, there is a letter written by Mr. Brydges while an officer of the late Government, while he was actively engaged in endeavouring to break down that Government and to bring the present Government into power. While he was in that position—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Does my hon. friend want to make a speech ?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.—I was only explaining. My hon. friend has challenged me to produce any connection between himself and his party and Mr. Potter previous to the latter gentleman's attacks upon Canadian character and credit, and previous to his endeavours to prevent Sir Hugh Allan from getting money for the Canada Pacific Railway.

Now, Sir, Mr. Potter had been furnished with a letter enclosing the correspondence which defeated the Canadian Pacific Railway scheme by Mr. Brydges at the time he was in close alliance with the hon. gentleman opposite, and taking himself active and energetic means to break down the late Government and to bring the pre-

sent Government into power. I give that as evidence of the connection. Hon. gentlemen may laugh, but there is the fact that their agent was an active and energetic party throughout in endeavouring to break down the Government here, and was engaged in sending Mr. Potter letters, and furnishing him with all those means of defeating the Canadian Pacific Railway scheme.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.—The hon. gentleman is always easily satisfied with proof; but if anyone ever heard a more childish exposition of the reasons which a public man has to offer for arriving at such grave conclusions and making such grave charges as the hon. member has made to night, I would be satisfied to hear him state it. Why, the hon. gentleman said a little while ago that because Mr. Brydges was in the employment of the present Government, therefore, the present Government were responsible for anything he might hold as an opinion. Here is a transaction which occurred when he was the servant of the hon. gentlemen opposite, and if I adopt the hon. gentleman's own doctrine they were responsible for the intrigue which was carried on then. But the hon. gentleman says this occurred at a time when he (Mr. Brydges) was in active communication with me. I tell the hon. gentleman, the House and the country that I never had a syllable of communication with Mr. Brydges about the Pacific Railway Scandal; and the first communication I had with him was when he sent me the resignation of his office of Railway Commissioner. But I requested him to remain in the public service, because I believed him the only efficient man the late Government then had managing that railway, and not because I had any political connection with him. Indeed, I had none. That, I presume, disposes of this particular slander—until it is repeated, of course. But if the hon. member should see fit to repeat it, he will find that it will take something more than such absurd, ridiculous fabrications as this to convince the public of the accuracy of his statements.

But the hon. gentleman spent a little while—and I refer to that only for a moment—pointing out what an extravagant thing this Government did when

they made a compromise, through the intervention of Lord Carnarvon, to obtain for the building of the Pacific Railway west of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean an extension of time of nine years. He was a member of the Administration that bound this country hand and foot to finish it in 1881. Yet he attacks us because we made an arrangement to build a part of it—subject, of course, to the conditions mentioned in the Orders in Council—nine years after the time to which the hon. gentleman had committed the country to finish the road from end to end.

I call the attention of members from British Columbia to these extraordinary circumstances. We always supposed that the hon. gentlemen opposite thought themselves bound by their compact to finish the Pacific Railway in ten years. Therefore, when I heard the hon. member for Cumberland in one of his speeches at Renfrew—and the speech to-night would be a very good stump speech if it was delivered there—state that he never intended to build it in ten years; when I heard him declare that they never meant to do it, and had no conception that they would be ever expected or asked to do it, I started in amazement. That was the first time I ever heard a man say that what he put deliberately on the Statute Book by his own act was a sham. "A sham," the hon. gentleman interrupted, "I did not say it was a sham." I replied, "No doubt; but it is a sham; the child is yours, I merely christened it." The engagement we entered into was one which we believed possible, by using the utmost diligence in our power, to accomplish. They enticed the people of British Columbia into the Union by saying that they were prepared to do what they could not and never meant to do. Very many things were said by the hon. gentleman to-night to which I shall call attention at a future time, with perhaps more propriety than now. He attempted to discuss the speech of my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, and occupied considerable time in doing so, by taking up almost every available topic that came under consideration at and since the general election. Some of the things were most

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extraordinary—especially some things he alluded to in the latter part of his speech respecting the sugar duties. He stated the policy of the Government was such that the produce of the West Indies could not be brought to our own ports, and had to be taken to the ports of the United States. He believed, I suppose, he was making the impression that we had so arranged the duties as to put an embargo on trade between Halifax, Montreal, Quebec and the West Indies; while all the time he knows that the sugar duties as they now exist, except in so far as the Order in Council of last year altered them by reducing the duty on raw material, are the sugar duties as arranged by the hon. gentleman and his own colleagues. The duty is now, therefore, more favourable for the trade than it was as he left it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will the hon. gentleman say whether the duties in the United States are the same now as they were then? A change is required to meet the alteration of the American policy.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Does the hon. gentleman mean to tell us that this policy would be to meet the change of policy in the United States? The hon. gentleman is speaking of a matter which he has never studied, because he is incapable of dealing with it, I mean, of course, in a political sense. He very well knows that the system which is at present in operation in the United States was in existence when he went out of office. If he is not acquainted with it he should not discuss the subject.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The bounty was increased.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The bounty was decreased. The hon. gentleman knows that the bounty is less now than it was then, comparatively speaking, but he does not confine himself to the principles on which taxation should be levied, which was the subject.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does my hon. friend mean to say that the bounty given by the United States was as large when we went out of power, when we had the means of dealing with the question, as it is at present.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am not able to speak with absolute accuracy, of course.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—But I am.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yet my impression is as I have stated.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—I can say that the bounty was as large at that time as now, taking into consideration the fact that the duties have been increased in the United States twenty-five per cent., while the bounties have not been advanced in the same proportion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I know that I am very nearly accurate in my recollection of the matter. The hon. gentleman, when a member of the Administration, never took a step in order to right the wrong which he pretends we allow to be continued improperly. The hon. gentleman also in connection with some other matters misrepresented very seriously the position of the Government. He endeavoured to show, or rather to state—for he does not show anything, it is a mere statement—the hon. gentlemen endeavoured to show that there has never been such a serious depression in this country as at present. Let me read a portion of a speech of the right hon. gentleman who sits beside him (Sir John A. Macdonald). He said, speaking of the commercial depression in 1857:—

“In 1857 came a great commercial and financial crisis, which ruined so many of our best men, depreciated property all over the country and destroyed the public revenue. The Province has survived all this, and never, I am happy to say, has the revenue been more flourishing, the country more prosperous, or the public credit higher.”

I wonder who ruled the country then? And as the hon. gentleman blames the rulers for commercial distress, he must be impartial in distributing blame.

Well, Sir, I do not think matters have come to that pass at the present time. The hon. gentleman knows very well that it is impossible in any community to avoid commercial crises occurring at comparatively short-intervals; and these intervals are more or less frequent in proportion to the magnitude of the trade done. It is utterly impossible to do as the hon. gentleman proposes (if he proposes

anything), that is, to have a system of reciprocal retaliation—I think that was the phrase he used. I don't believe in a policy that would only hurt ourselves and shew a foolish petulance abroad. I believe in maintaining our independence, political, commercial and legislative, in maintaining the interests of our whole people and not of any class. Every species of class legislation is unjust in itself, and must necessarily produce much distress amongst the people, as the promotion of the interests of any one class must be at the expense of the general public. I know that the system some few people propose is one of absolute protection, or what would lead to that end. I have stated my views on that subject, and I have only further to say that I believe a system of absolute protection in this country would end in making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The remarks of the hon. gentleman with reference to the Intercolonial Railway I shall answer when we come to discuss the item in the estimates. I will only state now that what he said about a certain sum which was chargeable to income, and afterwards charged to capital, is incorrect.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—My hon. friend will find in the Appropriation Act, which is the law, an amount of \$800,000 chargeable to revenue.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The sum of \$800,000 voted for change of gauge was kept in a suspense account until the Government could decide what amount was fairly chargeable to income, in consequence of too much new stock being obtained to replace the old.

The hon. gentleman says that snow sheds were charged to income when they ought to have been charged to capital. They were charged to capital. The hon. gentleman must remember that there were certain roads finished, and what is spent in maintenance of any works completed must necessarily be charged to revenue. This is the principle on which the Government has acted, and I contend that it is the sound principle. I would like to satisfy my hon. friend, if he can be satisfied. The only part of his speech to-night that was at all pertinent to the remarks of

my hon. friend in introducing his Budget, referred to the deficit, which he said formerly did not exist. He denies, I suppose, that there is a deficit now, or that there is any necessity for coming to the conclusion that there is any need to meet it by economy. I can quite understand, however, the confusion and irregularity of my hon. friend's speech. No doubt he prepared an address to deliver on the other side, and all his materials were lost. I have no doubt he had made a careful selection of pamphlets and speeches to prove that it was not wise for this Government to again increase taxation. But the Ministry did not propose any additional burdens, and it is clear that this was a surprise to the hon. gentleman. He then took the position that we had considered the necessity of doing something or other. But he did not say what ought to be done. He remarked that it was not his duty to initiate a policy. That is quite true, and at the same time most fortunate for the country. I hope the country will not be troubled for many long years with any policy of his initiation, because it is much safer for him to be where he can fairly criticise than where he could display his legislative capacity. His present position suits him better, and it suits us infinitely well to have the hon. gentleman where he is.

But there is one thing I wish to say before sitting down. We have endeavored honestly and faithfully to carry out the views we have always enunciated with regard to economy, and when the revenue of the country fails to supply the amount of money that might be advantageously spent for public works and promoting the development of the country, we have simply to avoid the expenditures that can most wisely be avoided in order that, like prudent men, we can keep our expenditure on a par with our income. And I am quite sure, notwithstanding the hon. gentleman's opinion, the people will approve of the decision of the Government to reduce the expenditure by \$2,500,000, while we have to extend the postal system, and to open up the vast territory we have and people it. There is an expenditure which will necessarily go on and increase, for the purpose is to settle

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the country and follow up the settlement with greater facilities. Still, it is always in the power of the Government, if honestly disposed, to make a certain reduction when the state of the public revenue demands it. The true cause of Canada's prosperity for many years arose from the fact that it was a cheaper country to live in than any other on the Continent. Our prosperity lies chiefly in the hands of the great farming population, and when we make it a dear country to live in, when we follow any commercial or financial policy which will leave us in the position of having a deficit, of making Canada a place that no immigrants will care to come to, that would be standing still or retrograding; but so long as the Government act upon the economical principles which my hon. friend (Mr. Cartwright) has developed in his speech to-day, so long will we maintain supremacy as a favourable country for the immigrant, and so long will my hon. friend and those associated with him possess the confidence of the people over whom we rule.

Mr. IRVING—I move the adjournment of the debate, as there are several members who desire to address the House, and it is rather late to continue it this evening.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I shall make no opposition to the motion. It is quite right that my hon. friend and other members should have a full opportunity to express their views. I shall also avail myself of the opportunity to refer to the obscurity in which the hon. member for Cumberland has left some of the questions he has adverted to.

The motion was carried.

The House adjourned at Fifty-Five minutes past Ten.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, Feb. 28th, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

TRANSLATION OF DEBATES.

Mr. MASSON called attention to the fact that no copy of *Hansard* in

the French language had yet been distributed, although the President of the Council had, on Thursday last, brought in a report recommending that the work of translation be done by contract. That was the unanimous decision of the Committee, yet no steps had been taken to ratify it. The House would agree with him that the French members had given the Government, who were the guardians of the privileges of the House, all the time that was necessary to give their concurrence in or disapproval of that report. A very important speech had been made by the President of the Council, in the French language, which the Quebec members could not have to send to their constituents. It was time that the House should be asked to consider the report of the Committee, and he would therefore, acting on the advice given by the Premier when it was submitted, move that it be concurred in.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it would be noticed the second report of the Committee proposed to set aside their first report, which recommended that the reports be translated by the officers of the House. He had concurred in that first report personally, as being the best course that could be pursued, and the House had adopted it unanimously. The second report recommended that the work should be done in another way, and they were asked without notice to set aside the decision at which they had arrived on the previous occasion. He could not consent that it should be treated in this way. Members who were now absent and who might be desirous of sustaining their first decision were entitled to notice before any action was taken.

Mr. SPEAKER—My impression while the hon. member was speaking was, that this cannot strictly be regarded as a motion of privilege. There are many cases in May, and some of the decisions conflict, but the principle upon which they are based is where it is possible to give notice of a motion, and where no injury can result from the delay consequent upon giving notice. It cannot be considered as a question of privilege without, of course, the unanimous consent of the House.

Mr. MASSON said if his motion took the House by surprise he would be the first to withdraw it, but when the Hon. President of the Committee had stated that he would bring the matter up in due time, and had not done so; and when it was considered that it was a question in connection with which the French members of the House were suffering an injustice, he did not consider that notice of motion was necessary.

Mr. SPEAKER said in order to entitle it to be treated as a question of privilege and precedence, it must be a matter in which somebody or some member suffers from the non-interference of this House.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the report of the Committee in the first instance recommended a mode of translation of the Reports; the House approved of that mode, and it rested with Mr. Speaker and the Clerk of the House to carry out that order. He presumed that the order was naturally carried out, and if it was not it was their duty to see it executed. If the House decided on a different mode of translation it would be quite right for them to do so. It was somebody's neglect that the requirements of the French-speaking members of the House were not complied with. They had not the information that the rest of the members had to send to their constituents; at all events his hon. friend was quite right in bringing it up as a question of privilege. He contended that according to the practice of this House notice had been given by the submission of the Report of the Chairman of the Committee and its lying two days on the Table. They had all a cause of complaint, and it was that hon. gentleman who occupied the position of Chairman of the Committee, if he did not approve of the report, had a right to say so, and then some other member of the Committee could move it. It looked like as if there was an attempt on the part of the President of the Committee to throw this report over for some object of his own; that he had some other reason, and that he was not honest or straightforward to this House in not giving the two days' notice.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON thought the hon. gentlemen was getting excited without a cause. He (Mr. Cauchon) obeyed the order of the Committee by bringing the matter before the House. It was in the hands of the House, and he did not know that it required a notice.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN was surprised at the President of the Council, who was one of the oldest members of the House, not knowing that it was his duty to give notice and move to have the Report adopted; it was the more his duty when he knew that the report was to give to his compatriots the advantage of the report of the debates of House in their own language; but he need not be surprised as it was in accordance with other acts of that hon. gentleman during this present Session. Nearly three weeks had elapsed and not a single line of the French copy of the debates had yet been in possession of the members, and it was owing to the President of the Committee not having done his duty.

Mr. SPEAKER said he was bound by the strict ruling of Parliament to require notice of motion to be laid on the Table for two days.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it had been the constant practice of this House to allow the laying of the report on the Table for two days to constitute sufficient notice.

Mr. MILLS said the House had already acted upon another report, and he did not see how the Committee could make another report in regard to a subject which the House had already decided on. He thought before that motion could be put it would be necessary that a motion should be made to waive the action of the House on the previous report.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE quite agreed with the right hon. gentleman opposite, in what he stated had been their general practice; but on the other hand the practice had been invariably subject to the application of the rules. It had been followed for the convenience of the House; but when it was an inconvenience for any member, the rule was enforced. He had stated the other day, when this matter was

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brought up by the hon. member for Terrebonne, that nothing was going wrong in the meantime, for the work was proceeding. He took it for granted that it was, and Mr. Patrick informed him that the work would proceed.

Mr. MASSON—But it has not proceeded.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Mr. Patrick informs me that it will be proceeded with immediately.

Mr. BOWELL—Do I understand that you have ruled it not to be a question of privilege, and that the motion is out of order?

Mr. SPEAKER—It is not a question of privilege which requires to be disposed of in this manner; two days' notice should be given.

Mr. BOWELL—I have no desire to take objection even to your ruling, although the hon. member for Terrebonne acted upon the suggestion made by the Premier three days ago, last Friday, when the question was before the House. If I am not permitted to discuss the question, I will at least take the opportunity of saying, that the President of the Council, the Chairman of the Committee, did not act in accordance with its instructions. I make that declaration because I desire that this explanation should not go to the public without a flat contradiction. If I am allowed to tell wherein the hon. gentleman did not act in accordance with the instructions of the Committee I will do so at once.

He had that report in his pocket for two days here.

I did not wish the hon. gentleman's interpretation to go to the public unchallenged.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think that the hon. gentleman had better make his remarks out of doors.

Mr. BOWELL—No! I make them here where those of the President of the Council were made.

Hon. Gentlemen—Order! Order!

Mr. BOWELL—I shall not permit the hon. gentleman to misrepresent the Committee.

The matter dropped.

“MAIL” PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY.

Mr. BOWELL—In the absence of Mr. Kirkpatrick, moved, seconded by Mr. Stephenson, for leave to introduce a Bill to amend Act Vic. 36, cap. 3, entitled “Act to incorporate the *Mail* Printing and Publishing Company.”

The Bill was read a first time.

SUPREME COURT AND COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I move for leave to introduce a Bill to make further provision with regard to the Supreme and Exchequer Court; to provide for the taking of testimony either by commission, or by order, or by examination or otherwise, in various parts, either in or out of Canada. The original Bill did not contain details on the subject, and almost all of these clauses are directed towards a simplification of the machinery in this relation. I have made provision—and this is not the only novelty in that particular—for empowering the Court in its discretion to obtain the testimony of persons although they are resident within its jurisdiction, when owing to very great distance and the expense of travelling, it may be expedient to secure evidence elsewhere than in Court, as must at present be done under such circumstances. As the jurisdiction of this Court reaches from shore to shore of the two oceans, the absence of such a clause might amount in certain cases, to a positive denial of justice. The first fifteen clauses have all reference to this matter, and with a single exception are based upon existing penal legislation. The 16th clause provides for cases of controverted election appeals. It was deemed doubtful whether—although the Court is given the express power of ordering the payments of costs in appeal—in case the judgment of the Court below was reversed, this privilege existed; and this clause is introduced merely to remove that doubt and give the Court the authority intended in the first instance.

The 17th clause contains a slight amendment with regard to the Exchequer Court. It was found that its jurisdiction has been rather ill-defined

and that some powers supposed to have been conferred were not granted, and didn't exist in connection with this tribunal on the revenue side in England. The amendment touches the striking out of the words “revenue side,” and leaves its jurisdiction as it was intended to have been designated. I consider the 18th clause important; it makes provision for submitting matters coming before the Exchequer Court to referees, a principle which I think is most useful. I know how tender the Province of Quebec is with relation to suggestions concerning procedure, and I do hope that many of our Provinces—I will not say all—will adopt this system. The next three clauses provide for jurors in Exchequer cases. The first states the qualification, and provides that the mode of summoning jurors shall be according to the laws regarding the Superior Courts in the several Provinces; the next makes somewhat more elastic the present provision, which regulates the numbers—not less than thirty-four, nor more than thirty-six. In some provinces a very small number is required—seven in New Brunswick, if I remember aright; and in this case it is not necessary to summon so many as when twelve is the rule. I propose, therefore, to adopt the principle of the old clause, requiring that the number to be called shall never be less than double nor more than treble that requisite in connection with civil cases in the Province that may be in question.

The three and four following clauses have respect to writs of execution, some doubt having been expressed as to whether the general clause relating to procedure, which was framed by the House last Session, was satisfactory. I think that power was given to the Court. In England the Exchequer Court is empowered to obtain in similar cases such writs against the body in connection with debts to the Crown. I consider that we should go as far as any Province has gone, or may go, with regard to imprisonment for debt, and I shall propose for the consideration of the House that no person shall be effected by an execution for debt out of the Exchequer Court, except in

cases in which, under the law of the Province in question, he may be liable to be taken in a similar case, and that such a person shall be entitled to his discharge, in accordance with the practice observed in his Province in such relation.

The other sections provide that writs of execution shall be governed by the laws obtaining in each Province.

In answer to Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. Mr. Blake continued:—There is no express provision to empower the Court to appoint officers; but I expect that this will be done under the present Act. I have been desirous of interfering as little as possible with the Court, with reference to procedure and general orders, but I felt bound to pay considerable attention to representations made to me by judges concerning points in doubt. The orders alone might suffice for this, and with that view I propose to the House to give express power, with respect to writs of execution affecting woods and lands, to the officers to deal with these matters under the general orders.

Then, as I have said, no attachment will issue for payment of money; I think the modern spirit is entirely opposed to imprisonment for debt, and I want to go as far in that direction as the House will allow. There is another clause which provides that the power of the judges shall be the same as at present proposed. The clause places the officers of the court on the same footing.

The Bill was read the first time.

ENGAGEMENT OF SHORT-HAND WRITER.

Mr. MILLS moved that leave of the House be granted to the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the commercial depression to engage a short-hand writer.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I would call the attention of my hon. friend the First Minister that he objected to the appointment of the Agricultural Committee the other day on account of expense. Is it necessary, in this instance, to go to the expense of a short-hand reporter?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—All I can say about that is, that I think the hon. gentleman who moved for the short-

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

hand reporter should have the sense of the House upon the subject. I am very anxious to keep down the expenses of these Committees. Perhaps the hon. gentleman from Bothwell (Mr. Mills) can tell us what the expense will be?

Mr. DEVLIN—I do not see the necessity for employing a short-hand writer or even continuing the Committee. There is no occasion to inquire into the commercial depression after the speech of the Finance Minister on Friday night. In the city of Montreal we know all about it.

Mr. MASSON—The Hon. Minister of Justice gratuitously took upon himself the duty of reporting the evidence of a Committee last year.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—That is perfectly true. I took upon myself to discharge a portion of the duty, because we thought too much was being charged for the service. The subject, however, was before the House last Session and a maximum charge was adopted. I presume the House thinks that rate should be charged in cases where the House deems it necessary to authorize the employment of a short-hand-writer.

The motion was carried.

HARBOUR OF CASCUMPIQUE.

Mr. PERRY asked whether it is the intention of the Government to take any steps for the improvement, during the coming season, of the navigation of the Harbour of Cascumpique in Prince Edward Island, in accordance with the report of Henry F. Perley, Esq., in 1874?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am sorry to say that we cannot venture to ask an appropriation for that Harbour this year. If my hon. friend has read Mr. Perley's report he will remember that anything that can be done there will require a large outlay both to block up one entrance and open out another, and we are necessitated by what presses upon every work of the kind this year not to ask an expenditure of money for the purpose. Of course we will keep it in view for the future.

QUEBEC RAILWAYS.

Mr. CIMON enquired whether, inasmuch as the Government last year

remitted to the Northern Railway Company of Canada a sum of more than two million dollars owing by that Company to the Government of Canada, and also granted a considerable subsidy to the Canada Central Railway in view of its extension from Douglas to the Eastern terminus of the Canada Pacific Railway, it is their intention to ask this House to consent to a grant in aid of the railways of the Province of Quebec?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I must object to the form in which the question is put, which is entirely contrary to the rules. I cannot answer an argument in replying to a question. If a question simply is put on the paper, I have no objection to answering; but as it now stands I must decline.

DUTIES OF POSTMASTERS.

Mr. McISAAC asked whether in changing way-offices in Nova Scotia into post-offices unnecessary duties have been imposed on postmasters; if so, have steps been taken to relieve them or increase their salaries in proportion to the additional labour?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I may say that there has been no intention of imposing improper or unnecessary duties upon postmasters in changing way-offices into post-offices. On the contrary, inspectors have been instructed to very carefully guard against such changes being brought about more rapidly than proper. With reference to the way postmasters in the Lower Provinces who are willing to effect the change, the Department will be willing to see it done.

THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE.

Mr. FRÉCHETTE enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to furnish a copy of the *Official Gazette* to the different municipalities of the country?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to furnish the *Gazette* to Municipal Councils.

PAYMENT OF PENSIONS.

Mr. ROULEAU asked whether it is the intention of the Government to

continue the payment of the pension to the families of Veterans of 1812 who have died since a grant was voted for that purpose?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—It is not the intention of the Government to continue this grant.

PALMER'S POINT.

Mr. DOMVILLE enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to erect a light-house at Palmer's Point, on the St. John River, in the vicinity of the wharf?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I may say to my hon. friend that it is not the intention of the Government to do so. Our attention has not been called to the necessity for a light at that point.

MILITIA-MEN OF 1812.

Mr. FRÉCHETTE asked whether there still remain any militia-men of 1812 who have not received their share of the \$50,000 voted last year; and if so, whether it is the intention of the Government to ask for a supplementary vote in their behalf?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—There are quite a number—perhaps thirty or forty—who have perfected their claims since the vote of last year was exhausted. These claims will be considered and probably paid after the 1st of July next.

COMPENSATION TO ST. JOHN.

Mr. PALMER enquired whether the Government have decided to abandon the branch of the Intercolonial Railway around Courtney Bay to the Ballast Wharf at St. John, New Brunswick; and if so, whether they intend to make any compensation to the said city for the injury to its property by building of the said road over the city property?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government have the matter under consideration as to the place where the road will terminate. They are not aware of any injury to any party that requires compensation at their hands.

STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH THE WEST INDIES.

Mr. YOUNG moved that an humble Address be presented to His Excellen-

cy the Governor General, praying that there may be laid before the House of Commons a statement shewing what steps have been taken by the Government touching the opening up of regular steam communication between Canada and the British, Spanish and French West Indies, with a copy of the tariff of any of these Islands which may be in possession of the Government, with such other information, if any there be, calculated to increase the interest in, and promote our valuable commerce with these prosperous Islands. He said: I may state briefly that my object in moving this resolution is not simply to get any papers there may be on the subject, but to keep before Parliament the importance of our trade with the West Indies, Spanish, French and British, as well as the desirability of encouraging and by every possible means extending that trade. Last Session I asked a question as to whether any efforts had been made to establish steam communication between Canada and these Islands, and was informed by the Postmaster General, who is now Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, that the subject was under the consideration of Government. If there be any papers—and I suppose there are—I trust they will be submitted to Parliament, that they will show the Government are alive to the importance of this trade, and that they have taken all the steps in their power to carry out the views of the House of Commons, and of commercial men generally, on the subject.

Shortly before Confederation we had a grand Commission appointed, of whom the Hon. William Macdougall was one, associated with other gentlemen—some from the Maritime Provinces—who went to tropical countries to see what could be done to encourage this portion of our commerce. At that time visions of a large trade with the West Indies and South America were called up before the minds of the people of Canada; but nothing has resulted up to now from that Commission, and I am sorry to say, from the consideration I have given to our statistics of trade, I find there has been very little, if any, improvement in our commerce with those tropical

countries, although our trade in other directions has expanded with very great rapidity. The largest volume of trade in any one year was in 1872, when the imports and exports to the Spanish, French and British West Indies reached \$6,773,967. The following year (1873) the trade declined to \$5,963,475; 1874, showed a very slight improvement, \$6,057,129; in 1875 it was \$6,139,910, making altogether in the four years total transactions to the extent of \$24,934,431. I am sorry to say these figures indicate that this portion of our trade has remained almost stationary, and I think the fact is very deeply to be regretted indeed. The causes are not difficult to discover. One, possibly, is that we are not able to bring cargoes in our vessels from the West Indies. In other words, they take more largely of our articles than we take of theirs in return. It is possible that some legislation might take place that would have the effect of increasing this valuable trade. Another cause, no doubt, is want of information with regard to the duties on articles we export there. I know I had occasion last year to send to one department to ascertain if I could get the tariffs of those Islands, and found there was information regarding that of but one single Island in the possession of our Government. I think steps might be taken, at least, to have the tariffs of all those Islands ascertained.

The great drawback is want of steam communication between the two countries. I have only to say, as a representative of an Ontario constituency, we desire to see such communication opened up with these Islands, assured that while it will benefit more directly the Maritime Provinces, indirectly it will prove beneficial to every part of the Dominion.

The trade with the West Indies is the most profitable we have. Of the whole trade of the four years, amounting to \$25,000,000 in round numbers, \$16,000,000 were exports and \$9,000,000 imports, showing a balance of trade in our favour of over \$7,000,000. It must be recollected in addition to this that we had the carrying trade for our ships—a very important consideration indeed. There

is no interest in this country that deserves more to be promoted than the commerce of our merchant marine. I believe it to be one of the most valuable industries we have, and there is nothing reflects more credit on Canada to-day than the fact we have the third or fourth largest merchant marine in the whole world.

I may add a very few words with regard to the position of the various Provinces in this matter. No doubt the Maritime Provinces, who have such a splendid position on the seaboard for carrying on a trade of this kind, are more directly interested than other parts of the Dominion. I saw a statement some time ago in a newspaper of the Lower Provinces that there was a feeling there that the people of the West were not so much interested in this trade as the people of the East. I desire for one, and I think I can say I speak the sentiments of the commercial men of Ontario generally on that question, from what I have seen of their views expressed in the press and otherwise, that they take a great interest in this trade, and their hope is that before long the ships of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia will be more frequently seen, not only in the ports of the West Indies, but in the waters of Mexico, of Brazil and of South American ports generally. I do not intend to speak at any length on this matter, and I therefore place this resolution in your hands without further comment.

Mr. FORBES—This is a subject that has engaged the attention of the House on several occasions. I have endeavoured to bring it under their notice myself. I most heartily thank the hon. member for South Waterloo for the manner in which he brought this matter up. There is undoubtedly a feeling in the Maritime Provinces that people of Ontario care very little for the interests of the people by the sea, but the motion of the hon. member must convince them that they are mistaken.

There is but one steamer to perform the service between Canada the West Indies, and it is very inefficiently done. I would beg leave to read from the report of the Commissioners from British North America appointed to

enquire into the trade of the West Indies and Brazil, the reasons that were urged for a subsidy being given. They say: "The communication between British North America and the West Indies was now very unsatisfactory, the only regular service being performed by a steamer leaving Halifax once a month, the day of her sailing depending on the arrival of the European steamer there, and that of her arrival at St. Thomas being consequently uncertain and not so timed as to meet with regularity Intercolonial steamers which distribute the mails among the Islands. In consequence of this letters from North America frequently lie for several days in the post office at St. Thomas, and the time occupied before replies could be received was such as to deter merchants in the British Provinces from sending orders to Demerara or the Windward Islands." That was ten years ago, and it is no better now—no wonder the trade has not increased. At Confederation we looked forward to the fostering hand of the Dominion to furnish us better communication. The Government of the West India Islands offered to supplement any subsidy that might be given by the Provinces. It was estimated that \$100,000 would furnish two or three large steamers for the service. If this offer had been accepted there is no doubt the business would have grown to a very large extent; but I believe the subsidy is no longer within our reach, the United States Government having secured it.

It cannot be expected that our trade with the West Indies will improve while we send them large cargoes and can get none in return, the vessels carrying the return freights to United States' ports. I believe the duties could be so arranged as to give us that trade. Five years ago a memorial was sent to the Government signed by a number of representatives, but it resulted in a little talk. Four years ago more petitions were sent; three years ago a memorial was sent signed by 85 members of this Legislature, and we expected that would have some effect, but nothing has been done and matters still remain as they were.

Last year something was done in the matter. We all supposed it was a final

conclusion, and upon reference to the Parliamentary Companion for 1875 I find the statement that among the administrative reforms established by Hon. Mr. Macdonald, late Postmaster General, after his accession to office, was the establishment of direct postal communication with the West Indies. I supposed when I read that notice that it was a positive fact, but it seems to me that it is only a delusion and a snare, as nothing of the kind had been done. There is no difficulty in arranging such communication; all it wants is an adjustment of the sugar duties and a very small subsidy to place a line on a good footing. We now do a good business between the town which I represent and the West Indies. It is a market for nearly all our fish and lumber, and if something were done to increase and foster trade between the Dominion and the West Indies it would benefit the finances of the country and aid the Dominion in carrying out its obligations. I trust this matter will receive the consideration it deserves at the hands of the Government.

Mr. **DOMVILLE**—Much as I admire the action of the member for Waterloo and the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, I fear that nothing will successfully establish a line of trade between the Dominion and the West Indies unless we have a better basis for sugar duties. We all know that sugar can be taken from the West Indies to Glasgow, where it undergoes the process of refining, and is brought from there to Canada at such prices that our refiners cannot compete with it. The duty now on sugar is between 50 and 60 per cent., and the trade with the West Indies in this article is consequently crushed out. The course of trade is to ship fish, lumber and various other products from the Maritime Provinces to the West Indies, but when the vessels go down there they are unable to bring back anything; if they load with sugar the market is against them, and if they load with molasses there is no refinery to take it, so they have to return to the ports of the United States and load with flour. This is the natural course of trade at present, and it is impossible to build up any direct return trade with the West Indies unless the duties

Mr. FORBES.

on sugars are reduced one-half; that would at once stimulate the trade with those Islands and increase the consumption of sugar in the Dominion. We know that in 1866 Commissioners were sent to the West Indies to report as to the means of increasing the trade with that country; their report is at present in the Library, and the state of matters it represents could not be greatly altered now except in the manner I suggest. As far as rapid communication is concerned we have the cable now, which does away with a good deal of the urgency for postal facilities by steam; still the Lower Provinces will not object to anything that will build up trade. As for Ontario backing us up in bringing trade from the West Indies, it is like a fly used by a friend of mine in salmon fishing, which he said was "a very good kind of fly, but it was too thin and wouldn't wash." So it is with the Province of Ontario and the West India trade—"They won't wash." How are we going to send up produce from the West Indies and bring down flour from Ontario without the Baie Verte Canal? It is a well-known fact that it costs as much to ship freight from St. John to Charlottetown as it does to ship from St. John to England and from England back, for want of this canal—about \$6 per ton for a distance of 150 miles. And how are we to do a trade between Ontario and the West Indies? It puts me very much in mind of the old saying, "Fools look to the end of the world for profit," to speak of the West Indies for trade while we are not able to ship goods from St. John to our outlying ports in New Brunswick with profits for want of the Baie Verte Canal.

Mr. **PALMER**—I must express my satisfaction at the motion of my hon. friend from South Waterloo. I regard it as a motion of very considerable importance. My hon. friend from South Waterloo is led into an error in supposing that the Government and the country have lost sight of this question, but if he looks into the report on the Baie Verte Canal he will find that instead of the Commissioners addressing themselves to ascertain the importance of that canal to the

trade with the Upper Provinces they looked entirely to its bearing on the West India trade. They presumed that the Baie Verte Canal had to be killed, and the first question asked in connection with its construction was what would be its influence on the West India Trade, as if the work were of no consequence unless it would benefit that trade. I think as the report has completely settled the question of the West India trade, as far as the Baie Verte Canal is concerned, there can be nothing now in the way of the Government putting the action that this motion indicates into effect, and communication will be opened up that will cultivate the trade between the two countries.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—I am very glad that the resolution of my hon. friend from South Waterloo has elicited such favourable opinions from the hon. members of this House. It is a question in which the people of the Maritime Provinces are not alone interested, but the people of the whole Dominion. I am satisfied, myself, that at the present moment there is no question which so much interests the manufacturers of the Dominion as the establishment of a large and continuous trade with the West Indies—British and foreign. I am persuaded that we have many articles in Canada for which the people of the West Indies would be good customers; such as beef, pork, flour, lumber and other such produce. If we desire to build up trade between the two countries, it must be by the exchange of such produce with such West Indian products as can be utilized here either for manufacture or direct consumption. There is nothing at the present time which so much tends to hinder a satisfactory or successful line of commerce between the tropics and the Dominion, as the unsatisfactory position of the sugar duties. Until they are adjusted or placed on a basis that will more fairly represent the value of the raw material, as compared with that of the refined article, it is out of the question that any line of trade can be successfully undertaken. The House must understand that it is only for a very short time that returns can be obtained from the West Indies, and it

is therefore of the greatest possible importance that during these six or seven months we should have such a demand in our own markets for the raw material from the West Indies as would furnish traffic between the two countries. We have plenty of produce to supply them and build up a satisfactory trade with them, if the sugar duties were adjusted on a proper basis so that we could bring back that article as return cargo.

With regard to our communication with the Islands at present, my hon. friend fell into a mistake when he said it was not well conducted. It is done by the Cunard Line, and everybody knows the Cunard Line is satisfactorily managed. Of course there are other channels of communication with the West Indies—besides cable communication—but I do not look upon this question so much from a mail point of view as from a trade standpoint. I believe at the present moment, when the manufacturers of the Dominion are looking for customers for the articles which they produce, nothing would so much tend to relieve them as foreign trade, and if we can successfully establish such a trade with a country like the West Indies, and bring back a return trade, it is our best policy.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I am very glad my friend from South Waterloo has brought this question before the House. I moved for correspondence and papers on the subject some days ago, but the Hon. Premier said it was not in a position to be brought down. I feel that any discussion of this kind must lead to good results. The trade existing between the Dominion and those Islands has not been very successful, and the reasons have been referred to by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, and my hon. friend from Kings, both of whom have had a great deal of experience in that trade. I believe we never can have successful traffic with any of the Islands to which we send our goods unless there is a reciprocity of commerce. At present the great volume of the West India trade is done with England, and all we can do could not materially divert it from that country. But as regards the exports from the West Indies which are consumed in the United States, much could be done

to divert them to the Dominion, instead of New York and Baltimore, if proper steps were taken with that object. I shall watch with much interest the action of the Government in this matter. I am satisfied that the circumstances related by the hon. gentlemen who have spoken are such as will show that Canada, with a reasonable amount of sacrifice, can secure a portion of this trade by a proper adjustment of the sugar duties. The sweets of the tropics are the principal articles of export from there to Canada, and without encouraging their import into this country we cannot expect to obtain the West India trade to any extent. I can only say as far as my aid will go on this side of the House, occupying as I do an independent position, I shall guarantee the influence of the Left Centre towards any reasonable measure for fostering this direct trade with the West Indies.

Mr. DAVIES—I cannot agree with the hon. member from Halifax that the mail service performed by the Cunard Line between Canada and the West Indies is satisfactory. It is only a monthly service, and as it is not always regular, there is no opportunity for merchants to receive replies promptly. We have to rely more on sailing vessels than we do on the steamer. The only objection to establishing a line of steamers between Montreal and St. Thomas is that the navigation of the St. Lawrence is open but six months in the year. No doubt a very large trade could be done in this time if there were a proper adjustment of the sugar duties, so that it could profitably keep our refiners in operation. I think it is very desirable we should have regular postal communication also, and in the winter time, when the Intercolonial Railway is open all the way to Halifax, the trade could be continued over that route.

Mr. WORKMAN—I am very glad this subject has been brought up to-day, as it will enable me to submit to the House the opinions of some of the leading merchants of Montreal on this important subject.

The communication to which I would direct attention is on this very question of trade with the

West Indies and the sugar duties therewith connected, and is dated the 24th of February. It is signed by Gillespie & Moffatt, Tiffin Brothers, W. R. Ross, P. & J. Ross, and several other large importing houses in sugars. They say—"We desire to bring under your notice, and through you under that of the Minister of Finance, the difficulty—we might say the impossibility—which we experience in carrying on direct trade between Canada and the West Indies. The difficulty to which we refer is the want of modification here for Muscovado sugar, which constitutes the main export of the West India Islands. This article, which must be regarded either as raw material for manufacture or as a necessary of life, is now subject to a combined specific and *ad valorem* duty equivalent to about 50 per cent. on its first cost, and we venture to say that no other article of the same character is subject to so heavy a tax. This tells against the consumption of raw sugar by bringing up its cost close to that of refined sugar; and, on the other hand, it can no longer be used here as raw material. The bonus of fully one-half cent a pound now paid by the United States on the export of refined sugar has virtually rendered refining an impossibility in Canada."

This, Mr. Speaker, is the opinion of men who are not refiners but who are engaged in this large and important trade. They go on further to state—"The total consumption of sugar of all kinds in the Dominion, we believe, is rarely in excess of one hundred millions of pounds, equivalent to one hundred cargoes of five hundred hogsheads each, and making reasonable allowance for the refined sugar which would still continue to be imported, and the further consumption of the Lower Provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia, it may fairly be estimated that were the tariff modified, as we suggest, not less than 75 additional vessels would annually arrive at Montreal and Quebec, and this would have a material influence in cheapening downward freight, a point of vital importance to our grain trade, and more over affording facilities for the export of manufactured articles of Canadian produce, and manufactures which

“would find a ready market in the West India Islands.”

That is an expression of opinion from gentlemen who are well qualified to give it, Sir.—It suggests certain changes in the present duty on sugar, on which it is unnecessary for me at present to dwell, because the policy announced here on Friday last renders it inadvisable. It will be useless to try, and stimulate trade with the West Indies until the present rate of duty on sugar is altered; if changed as suggested in this letter it can, no doubt, be stimulated to a very large extent, benefitting the whole Dominion and also importers.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — Permit me before the motion is carried to say a word or two. I previously stated, in answer to my hon. friend from Northumberland, that the Government had had this matter under consideration for a long time. Many difficulties present themselves which we do not at present feel ourselves in a position to surmount. The trade of the principal West India Islands—Danish, French, and British, British Guiana, the Dutch Islands, Jamaica, Cuba and Porto Rico—with the United States last year amounted in value to \$35,562,966, nearly one-half being transacted with Cuba; another large proportion (nearly ten millions) consisted chiefly of flour and meals of various kinds. Now, those who have dealt in this particular class of products and know the capacity of Canada as a wheat and corn-growing country, are aware that we act in this relation as brokers; and whether we could compete, in this regard, with Virginia and Southern millers, is a question, I think, which admits of very serious dispute. The importations into these countries from the United States last year of flour alone, were worth about seven millions of dollars; and of the two classes of Indian corn, about one and one-half millions. One of these articles we could not supply at all, and the other we could only furnish, as I have said, in the capacity of brokers. I believe that the wheat grown in the Northern States and Canada, in the Lake Region, would either require a peculiar process of manufacture, and be kiln-dried or treated in some such manner to make it acceptable, or we

could only sell it in small quantities that might be rapidly used. The sugar difficulty is one we feel—as every hon. gentleman has stated—to be very serious, on account of revenue requirements, while the normal state of some of the West India Islands, they being almost always in rebellion against the political powers that have authority, nominal, at least, makes it a matter of extreme difficulty to come to any reciprocal arrangement with them. I can only express my own very ardent desire to do everything the Government can in order to promote trade in the various articles which will enable us to compete with the United States, without holding out any delusive hopes of being able to do so in regard to such articles concerning which this is manifestly impossible, owing to the part of the country we occupy and other difficulties that stand in our way. The means the Government have taken to obtain very exact information as to the views and feelings of those with whom it is necessary to deal, and the exact condition of every branch of trade, will in a short time place us in the best possible position to take action. At the same time one serious obstacle stands in the way which we have to confront and meet in some way. We must promote the trade of the country without seriously injuring the revenue. It is of the last importance to us to do everything possible in order to encourage the shipping interests; this is a fact I at once recognize, and this it would be impossible for any one to deny who knows how much the political power and *prestige* of a country depends upon its foreign trade and maritime interest. I can only assure the hon. gentleman who makes this motion and those who have spoken on the subject, that every consideration will be given that is consistent at all with the state of the Dominion and existing interests, to the matter they have to-day brought before us.

The motion was carried.

WINTER COMMUNICATION WITH PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Mr. PERRY—I move that an Address be presented to His Excellency the

Governor General praying that there may be laid before this House a statement shewing what steps have been taken by the Government touching the opening up of regular steam communication in the winter season between Prince Edward Island and the mainland, in accordance with terms of Union between the Province of Prince Edward Island and the Dominion of Canada; also for all correspondence and copies of contracts proposed with various parties in this relation.

At the time of the entry of the Island into Confederation, the Dominion Government became bound to provide steam communication in winter as well as in summer for the conveyance of mails and passengers between it and the mainland, and it is well known that up to the present time this stipulation has not been honoured. I am very anxious, accordingly, to learn what correspondence has passed between the Government and various persons in this connection.

In the fall of 1873 Mr. King entered into such a contract, but on examination his boat was found to be unsuitable; only one trip was made late in the fall, or the commencement of winter. In the Spring of 1875 the Government entered into an agreement with Mr. Sewell, of Quebec; I saw him here at the time, and he had a model of a boat which, I believe, from my knowledge of the crossings to be made, would have answered the purpose very well. It appears that this contract fell through, and some time afterwards tenders were offered by two steamboat companies of the Island, one for \$15,000 and the other for \$20,000, I think. The Government accepted the latter, I understand, and the parties were bound to have a boat in readiness by the fall of 1876. It seems that it cannot be completed for winter service in 1877, throwing such communication back to the winter of 1878; consequently the Island will have been for almost five years in the Confederation without seeing the fulfilment of the stipulation mentioned. I consider that under the circumstances the Government should take the matter up and make the experiment. They should employ an engineer, who could prepare the plan and models.

Mr. PERRY.

I have no doubt that the service can be secured. This was one of the inducements held out to the Island to enter Confederation, and for many years this want has been deeply felt. One of the Island companies offered to do the work for \$20,000, and I believe that for this amount a boat would be provided next fall; the other could have a steamer ready by 1878. I trust that the Province, although the smallest in the Dominion, will not be overlooked so far as the observance of terms is concerned, so many parties having already failed, and the time passing when the people of Prince Edward Island should derive the benefit to which they are entitled. I contend, and I think the majority of this House hold a similar view, that the Government should undertake the work themselves. If there is a loss to be sustained the Government are better able to sustain it than private parties; and if there is money to be made the Government are just as much entitled and as competent to make it as private individuals. It is essential also to find out whether the persons getting the boat built are proceeding under a model plan and proper specifications. If the boat should be built for any other purpose than winter crossing, it will be a mistake, and the Government will be no nearer carrying out this part of the terms of Confederation than now.

Mr. YEO—I quite agree with the last speaker as to the pressing necessity for having this communication opened up. In 1873 there was an attempt to effect this, which, however, proved a failure. A contract was also entered into last year with no better result, and this winter some other party took the matter in hand and also abandoned it. At the time of Confederation this steam communication was held out as one of the greatest inducements to our Province, and it is not right that it should now be neglected. By not putting a boat on the Government have already saved from \$45,000 to \$60,000, which would cover all the expense of constructing a boat specially for the purpose. Should a private company take hold of the matter no advantage will accrue to the Province, but the Government's prosecution of

this necessary work will operate successfully for all parties. If in connection with this the Administration would open a branch road from Aulac to Cape Tormentine and from Cape Traverse to connect with the Grand Trunk, a great trade would be opened up. As a supporter of this Government, I trust this work will not be delayed much longer, but that they will endeavour speedily to carry it through. The Department of Marine and Fisheries are conversant with the question in its details, and we would gain by having it transferred to them instead of leaving it as at present. The people of the Province are desirous of having the matter settled, and the Government will do well in furthering this project.

Mr. DAVIES—A great deal of dissatisfaction exists in the Province owing to the non-fulfilment of the pledge given before Confederation with reference to this work. The representatives of the Government have been severely censured, but I think the First Minister will give me credit for being very importunate on this point.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—You all have.

Mr. DAVIES—Circumstances have arisen, I know, to prevent the project being carried on. Two difficulties present themselves: first, whether to construct the steamer or to give a private company the contract. The second plan is most generally adopted. The Government do not like to undertake works of this character. I do not think they can prosecute them efficiently, for the reason that private companies have a closer control over their employes and expect to make money, while Government employes do not expect to make the service remunerative, and therefore do not work with the same energy. I did not expect the boat to be completely under the direction of the Post Office Department. It is not expected that the Postmaster General knows much about shipping, and his Department is not the proper one to have this matter in charge. As I before remarked, the Government are desirous of completing this work, but difficulties have cropped up which no doubt will be satisfactorily explained.

A great time should be given to build

and equip a steamer of the class required. I happen to be a member of a company which tendered for the work, but we found that the boat could not be completed within the specified time. A vessel of this kind will ordinarily have to be built at Glasgow or Peterhead, but if sufficient time was granted we could build as good a boat in Prince Edward Island for this service as can be procured in the world. This winter a gentleman in the Island accepted the contract, but on sending his engineer to Scotland he found it impossible to get what was required in time, and was under the necessity of declining to perform the work.

Mr. SINCLAIR—I am very glad this question has been brought forward. My opinions with reference thereto have not changed since the first. As all acquainted with the Straits of Northumberland know, there will be six weeks during which it will be difficult for the steamer to cross. Boats will then have to be used, and it will be better to have the service all the winter round. As has been observed by the member for Kings' County, companies carry on such undertakings better than Governments; but this work is of a peculiar nature, and as a private enterprise would probably not be efficiently managed. A company would stay in harbour during bad weather, and would be more careful about their boat than the Government. Besides, the public have not the same control over them as over the Government, and would not consequently be so well served.

If the Ministry want to do justice to the Province they will undertake the work themselves. As far as the cost is concerned it would not be much, and any Government who think themselves competent to carry through the Pacific Railway need not shrink from crossing the Straits of Northumberland. The interest of this Province is evidently neglected because it is small as compared with the other Provinces. Many complaints have been uttered, and it is time an adequate attempt was made to carry through this work in a proper manner. The Government should take into consideration that Prince Edward Island looks for it to be completely carried out next winter,

and I trust they will make preparations accordingly. This is a question of great importance to Prince Edward Island and the mainland, and it is to be hoped that we shall not have to repeat this complaint.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD--Being a representative from Charlottetown, the leading city of the Province, I must have a peculiar interest in seeing this winter navigation successful, and I shall use my best efforts to make it so. I can, however, perceive very great difficulties in the way. Winter navigation across the Straits is yet an experiment, just as the navigation of the St. Lawrence is. But we see that question agitated every Session and the matter is in a very unsatisfactory state. The navigation of the Straits of Northumberland is, however, much more likely to be successfully accomplished than the St. Lawrence scheme. The distance is much shorter and the object to be attained is of much more importance, at least to the people on the Island. The whole Province is cut off from the mainland in winter. Small ice boats with runners are taken over the ice as far as it extends and then rowed until the next piece of ice is reached. This is a precarious method of communication, and although we get our mails in that way, still the accommodation is poor and inconvenient. As far as trade is concerned it is absolutely *nil*; we have no means of procuring any article that we require for use during winter.

Nothing but mere luggage of passengers and small parcels could be taken across. So much with respect to the carriage of mails.

At the time of the Union, when the terms of Confederation were negotiated, it was stipulated that this winter navigation should, if possible, be maintained by the Dominion. This was readily acceded to and confirmed by Parliament without a dissenting voice. The first winter it was impossible to do anything. No tenders were asked for until the present Government came into power. Sometime in December tenders were invited and the lowest, sent in by Mr. King of Halifax, was accepted. He was asked to send in specifications of his boat, which had

been built at St. John for the service. She seemed to be utterly unfit for the ten years' contract, but as the Government were desirous that the attempt should be made the next winter, an inspection was made by the engineers, who reported that the vessel was seaworthy and strong and the engine sufficiently powerful. On the understanding that this boat should be taken for one winter only, and that the contractor was to build a new boat adapted for the service in every way for the remaining nine years of the contract, he commenced to run his vessel; but last winter was very severe and she was found unfit for the work; she had not sufficient power and was not of the right build. Where the difficulty was, he failed to enter upon the construction of the new steamer, though called upon repeatedly by the Post Office Department to do so, and send in his specifications. In the month of April, when he had failed to comply with his agreement, we cancelled his contract; it was so late then that it was almost impossible to have a boat ready for the following winter. At this time Mr. Sewell, who is well known to be enthusiastic in the matter of winter navigation, was in Ottawa. He had a winter boat in course of construction, and offered to have it ready for this winter provided we would give him the contract to run between Cape Traverse and Cape Doremantine, but he afterwards stipulated that we were to put up break-waters at both points to protect his boat. We refused to sign his contract, having no report as to the cost of such break-waters. On examination it was found they would cost \$50,000 and it was doubtful whether they would stand the ice then; consequently the project had to be abandoned late in the season.

The plan of giving the contract to the lowest tender having proved a failure, some three or four persons were asked to make an offer. Steamboat owners in Prince Edward Island were asked to tender, and Mr. Sewell was also invited to make another offer to run between Georgetown and Pictou. Three offers came in and one was accepted; but it appears, their agent having gone to Scotland, he found he could not get the boat built in time for the

Mr. SINCLAIR.

first winter. I understand they are in correspondence for a boat that will be ready in time.

I can only say the Government have taken considerable pains to have this service performed, but the great difficulty seems to be that it is a new work, and no responsible man appears willing to undertake it unless he is pretty well remunerated. There is the same difficulty in getting a boat for the purpose, because it would have to be very strongly built, and would be of little use for any other service. Still I am of opinion that this work can be done much more efficiently by a company than by the Government. We all know how difficult it is to manage anything of the kind so far removed from the seat of Government. All the crew would have to be put in by Government patronage, from the captain down. It would be difficult, under such circumstances, to get the best men and to run the vessel economically. If you deal with one responsible party, who will no doubt be a ship-owner perfectly well acquainted with steamboats, sea captains, and men fit to form his crew, he will do the work well. There is another advantage in having a local company. It would be in a great measure amenable to public opinion in the Provinces interested and somewhat afraid of criticism from the people of the place. These circumstances combine to make a private party better suited to manage this service than the Government. Still, if we cannot get a company for the purpose, the Government, by the terms of Union, is bound to undertake the work.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I have listened with a good deal of attention to the explanations made by the Minister of the Interior, and I cannot but come to the conclusion that the people of Prince Edward Island have been very badly treated. The hon. gentleman says it was part of the terms of Union with the people of the Island that if it was possible to perform this service it should be done. The hon. gentleman says Prince Edward Island came into the Dominion on the 1st of July, and yet says we should have carried out the terms.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—Why did you not ask for tenders?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I had no authority, and the Government of which I was a member, had none to do so. The hon. gentleman knows that he himself took an active part in preventing the Government who had arranged the terms of Union with the Island, from obtaining a vote from Parliament to carry it into effect. He tells us that he, a representative of the Island holding a seat in the Cabinet, allowed a year to pass the estimates to be voted, and Parliament to close without having raised a finger or taken the slightest step to carry out the terms. I listened very carefully to the gentleman's statements and I find that no effort was made during the first winter. During that Session the hon. gentleman representing the Island in this House stood still, without making an effort to have the terms of Union adhered to. I have no sympathy with the hon. gentleman himself, or the others who have been so loud in their complaints to-day, because they have had meted out to them the same sort of good faith they meted out to others; but I have sympathy with the people of Prince Edward Island, who I consider have been badly treated, for they have good ground for complaint because the Government has not kept its compact with them. This Administration has not accomplished anything in that direction nor made an effort to do what the Dominion Government and Parliament pledged themselves to do for the Island. After a whole Session had passed, a contract was entered into with a gentleman from Nova Scotia, who undertook to perform the service required. Yet so incompetent were they to deal with even a matter of this kind that they made a contract with Mr. King and accepted a miserable boat entirely unfit to perform the service, which is regarded as one attended with the greatest difficulty by one of the members for the Island who knows something of shipping. I ask that hon. gentleman if the people of Prince Edward Island do not deserve more at the hands of the Government than they have received? It appears that

the specifications of the boat were to be sent, and the Government instructed their officers to inspect it. Having done so they accepted it. They made a contract, but until we get the papers it will, perhaps, be hardly worth while to go into the question. I am, however, instructed by the contractor that having made a bargain with him, and being satisfied of the fitness of his boat, he performed the work; but having encountered a winter of extreme and unparalleled severity, his contract was violated in the most extraordinary and unwarrantable manner, and he was not permitted to carry it out, as he was prepared to do, by building a boat which, in the judgment of the Government, would suit the service. I am not much surprised at the conclusion which the Hon. Minister of the Interior has arrived at, a conclusion which the hon. member for Bothwell has also reached, that the Government are inadequate to deal with questions of the simplest kind; and the sooner a company can be got to do the work the better will it be for Prince Edward Island and the Dominion. It is quite obvious, from the statement of the hon. gentleman himself, that if the people of Prince Edward Island never get that service performed until such measures as the Hon. Minister of the Interior is required to undertake are carried out, they will go without it for a long time. I do not say the service ever will or can be done by anybody, but I say that the Government of Canada are pledged to the people of Prince Edward Island to use all the means in their power to establish this service, and until every means is exhausted, whether it succeeds or not, the Government will not have fulfilled that pledge. The hon. gentleman has good reason to distrust himself. He says a company can perform the service better than the Government can; that a company can build a boat and run it. He leads the House to understand that if the Government had a boat perfectly competent for the service, the difficulty would be to man it—they could not trust the Government to man it, as the appointments would be made by patronage, so that they would have to take incompetent men. I am not in the

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

least surprised that the hon. gentleman mistrusts himself. It is perfectly obvious that if we were to trust the Government in the selection of men for this service, the interests of the people of Prince Edward Island would be neglected. A year ago, when the question in relation to the working of the Prince Edward Railway by Government came up, a gentleman of the highest standing came forward and offered a handsome sum of money to be allowed to run the railway. Was his offer accepted? Nothing of the kind. The hon. gentleman knows perfectly well the Government could not afford to give up the patronage which the control of the road gave them, to a private individual at a profit to the country, when they had such a number of friends to provide offices for.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have no objection in the world to the hon. gentleman going into an argument or political attack, but I think he should choose his time; and if he means to discuss the Prince Edward Island Railway management he should give due notice. I perfectly understand that the hon. gentleman cannot speak on any subject without making a political attack, but he should confine himself to the question at issue.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I confine myself to a review of the statement made by the Hon. Minister of the Interior, and I put it to the House if I have gone outside of that. Are hon. gentlemen going to invoke you, Mr. Speaker, to protect them against any censure of their policies—I hold it to be my duty to the people and to the country to censure them. Hon. gentlemen exhibit an amount of temerity and irritability that is not, in my judgment, becoming to the Treasury Benches.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. member for Cumberland should confine himself to the motion.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The Hon. Minister of the Interior has propounded a policy to the House of depriving the Government of the patronage connected with this steam communication with Prince Edward Island, and surely I may show the soundness of that policy as illustrated by the maladministration

of the Government in the management of works with which patronage is connected.

However, I do not wish to go beyond the strict line of the discussion that the remarks of the hon. gentleman called up, but it is a matter of very great importance. Here is a Province for six months in the year cut off from all communication with the mainland, except by the uncertain means of a little ice-boat. I do not say it is possible for the Government by any policy they can adopt, or by any efforts they can make, to bridge the Straits of Northumberland in the winter season, but I do say in the terms of Union, the Government and Parliament of Canada have bound themselves solemnly to accomplish that object.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There is no condition.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then the hon. gentleman will see it is still more necessary to prove it is impossible to do it before we can be relieved in the slightest degree of the obligation we have undertaken, and show that we have not been guilty of bad faith.

Mr. MILLS—What would then be said of those who made the compact?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They were not accustomed to keep faith.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—If it is impracticable, then it will be open for my hon. friend from Bothwell to say: "You have entered into an engagement that shows your anxiety to undertake an important work that it is impossible to do," and my hon. friend from Bothwell will see that the result will be to show the extreme anxiety of the late Government to do all in their power to bring the inhabitants of Prince Edward Island into as close communication with the mainland as it is possible to do. I believe that the Government had the support of my hon. friend touching that question, notwithstanding his habit of picking flaws in anything that they generally brought forward, as he considered that it was a policy which ought not to be adopted. My hon. friend does not mean to say that we hold the position of independent public men in this country and must leave it to the Administration to ascertain the manner in

which things can be done. I am quite sure that he would not be willing to accept such a position for a single moment; and as one of our public men who has always given the most careful consideration to all matters coming before Parliament, he will not be able to escape a certain amount of censure if he has not done all in his power to accomplish this work.

But, Sir, to return to the argument. I want to know from the Minister of the Interior whether, down to this hour, the Government of Canada have obtained the best talent that Canada affords to secure specifications for a boat, and the information necessary in order to proceed intelligently with such a work; or does my hon. friend say that this is to be left to a private company? Why, such a company has no business to warrant it taking up such a question; and I declare that if at this day this Government have not done so, they are not in a position to justify themselves, in my judgment, against the legitimate complaints the people of Prince Edward Island make, which complaints have become so strong as to force the hon. gentleman sitting behind the Minister of the Interior, to attack the Government as he has to-day done. The hon. gentleman remarks that it is near six o'clock, and although I have by no means exhausted the subject, which is very important, I will give the First Minister opportunity for announcing public business.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Perhaps the Hon. Minister of the Interior would be kind enough to inform me whether Mr. Sewell, who desired to secure the contract in question, gave security in the way of providing boats for the purpose?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—The papers will show when they come down.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Is the hon. gentleman aware of this fact or not?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I do not think that it is quite possible to answer this question.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—It is quite possible.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is unreasonable. An accurate survey of the

place and estimates must be prepared before a decision could be reached. We could not accept the terms required, Mr. Sewell wished the piers to be built.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET---The Hon. Premier may not understand me. I ask whether Mr. Sewell, who engaged to furnish boats fit for the service, gave security?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---I do not think that there is anything of the kind. There was no contract, and therefore no security given.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET---Yes; but the Hon. the Minister of the Interior just now told us that Mr. Sewell would be ready to sign a contract if the Government would furnish piers.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---We could not grant the terms demanded. I will have the pleasure of saying a few words in reply to my hon. friend from Cumberland when this matter comes up again. I am certain that he would be anything but pleased if I passed over his remarks without notice, and I shall endeavour to gratify him as far as possible. Of course we are very much afraid of him, but still we can manage to get along, I dare say. I move, seconded by Sir John A. Macdonald, the adjournment of the debate.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD---Before the House adjourns I would ask my hon. friend what will occupy the attention of the Government to-morrow.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---I think that we will proceed with the adjourned debate on the motion to go into Committee of Supply; then we will continue with such business as may be on the Government paper. We hope in a few days to have every measure which the Government intend to submit before the House in order that business may be pushed forward with rapidity.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD---After Ash Wednesday I suppose that there will not be so many interruptions as at present after six o'clock.

At Six o'clock the House adjourned.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, Feb. 29th, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three p.m.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. BROUSE---To amend the St. Lawrence and Ottawa R. R. Act.

Mr. IRVING---To enable the Welland Vale Manufacturing Co. to obtain an extension of patent for an improved ferule and socket.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he would not object to the introduction of the Bill, but he would call attention to the necessity of adhering to the Patent Law. It would be quite impossible to allow the passage of such Bills as this, when so liberal a Patent Law had been made and extended by recent legislation. He would warn the hon. member that this Bill was not likely to obtain the sanction of the House.

Mr. IRVING said he would not ask for the second reading until the Premier's views were communicated to the promoters of the measure.

The bill was read the first time.

The Budget.

Mr. IRVING resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Hon. Mr. Cartwright, on the motion that the House go into Committee of Supply. He said:—I need hardly remind you that the motion, and the debate springing out of it on Friday night, are of peculiar interest to a large section of the community, and more especially to those constituencies represented by my hon. colleague and myself, the gentlemen from Montreal and Toronto, and from other cities and towns where manufacturing establishments give employment to large numbers of persons. I would wish, firstly, to say that the position taken by the hon. member for Cumberland and his supporters gave rise to very great expectations on the part of such representatives as myself, and I grieve to say after hearing the hon. gentleman's speech, that he sat down leaving us greatly disappointed. He could hardly, after his remarks, have taken his seat without formulating his views in reference to

the attitude of the Government. If even one of his charges against them were true, they have no right to hold the seats they now occupy, but should give way for that hon. gentleman and those of his partisans that there was so much difficulty in getting rid of in 1873. He, the hon. member for Cumberland, charged the Government with having created the difficulties under which we labour to-day; with having abandoned the Pacific Railway policy; with having declared there was a deficit two years ago in the revenue, when subsequent events proved there was none, and with having unnecessarily increased taxation to meet it. He attributed to them the really serious attack made in England upon our railway securities; he charged them with general extravagance, with suppressing proper information from the public and with making improper advances to the banks. If any one of these matters were true, it was his bounden duty to have attacked the Government, not by words only, but to place before us some resolution on which he could have taken the opinion of the House. More particularly should he have done so when he has been holding out to the country hopes that to him and his right hon. colleague the manufacturing interests must look for help, and not to the hon. gentleman opposite.

I think that the hon. member for Cumberland very happily referred to many of the utterances of the First Minister with reference to the longitude in which he stood in the tone and expression given to them, but the hon. gentleman might have taken to heart some of that lesson to himself for words recently spoken in Peel and Renfrew, which places are sufficiently near not to be unknown to members of this House; but he avoided that point and attacked all that was defensible, and all that which was satisfactory. He did indeed speak in some general terms of a "national policy," but I have yet to learn what is really meant by such an indefinite term. After all the mortification and disappointment I experienced on Friday evening, there was indeed one gleam of satisfaction, and that was that I should never be able to look to my hon. friend from Cumber-

land, or his right hon. colleague, for that necessary relief to the manufacturing classes of this country which is necessary. But, Sir, turning from these hon. gentlemen to the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, I regret to say I do not see much improvement. I must say I have reason for disappointment, not only from one side of the House but also from the other. There was indeed a certain smoothness of diction in the style of the address of the Hon. the Finance Minister which met the approval and admiration of the hon. member for Cumberland. But compliments to a Minister under such circumstances should not be confined merely to matters of style but to matters of principle, and therefore I have no words of admiration to bestow. It does appear to me that the Finance Minister has grievously disappointed the country generally and the manufacturers especially. I cannot help remarking that the country had been led to expect something very different at the hands of the Government. It had gone forth from party organs of the Government—they say, indeed, they have no organs, but they will not deny that which the *Globe* led us to believe,—that the rate on some manufactures might be slightly advanced; and I am sorry that the Finance Minister did not adopt that policy. In several of the deductions and statements of fact of the Hon. Finance Minister, there are matters upon which I differ from him, and which I shall take the opportunity more especially to elucidate and explain. The Finance Minister after dealing with matters which are solely administrative in his office, accounted to us satisfactorily for the way he had administered these affairs in reference to the instructions given to him by Parliament, which he did fairly; but when he branched into matters of policy I think he lamentably failed. He fought against an imaginary evil, as though there was a party in this House forcing upon him a high protective tariff. I have not heard of any party forcing upon him a high tariff, nor have I heard anything said that would justify any difficulty of that kind. The Hon. Finance Minister put one in

mind of Falstaff and his men in buckram, or more properly speaking, Don Quixotte tilting against the windmills. But, Sir, with reference to his policy of doing nothing, or as one of the newspapers summing up the matter very pithily puts it, "the Finance Minister wants calmly the advent of better times." If this is statesmanship, then the Finance Minister rises to the sublime; but with the Finance Minister on the one hand, and the hon. member for Cumberland on the other hand with his Fabian policy, between these two hon. gentlemen many interests in the country will languish if not die. Indeed these two gentlemen put me in mind of the last chapter in *Rasselas*, where everything is considered and nothing is concluded. "Imlac and the Astronomer were contented to be driven along the stream of life without directing their course to any particular port." That appears to be the statesmanship that now surrounds the governing and ungoverning powers. Those matters which have especially disappointed me in the views of the Finance Minister were those bearing upon the industrial difficulty or difficulties of the country. I cannot say that the Finance Minister did not exhibit that he had spent a great deal of research and industry on this subject. I cannot say he had not looked round the world to find a policy. He spoke of having considered that which prevailed at Moscow and Vienna, and then he bounded from Europe to the country of Brigham Young; but if the hon. gentleman had been only content with examining into the condition and the circumstances of the industries of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, he would have been able to come down with a policy much more suitable to the country and acceptable to the people. I could have shown him that the industries of the country were suffering by reason, among others, of the competition of the cheap prison labour of the United States, and I think a country like this should hardly have its labourers forced to stand idle, in order to have forced upon them the products of the convict labour of the neighbouring country. I think our manufacturers have hardly been fairly

dealt with in this House, nor indeed always by their own friends. I object to the idea that whenever a subject of this kind is to come before the House for discussion we are to be met by extreme arguments with reference to a Chinese Wall of Protection. There is no agitation in this country for a high tariff. The agitation is that the system of tariff as it at present exists should be adapted to the wants of the country, so as to protect those industries which are now suffering by reason of its misapplication. That is the point and the principle I invoke here, and, I think, the Finance Minister begged the question and surrounded it with a number of difficulties—true, perhaps, in themselves, but wholly inapplicable to the narrow issue we want discussed on the floor of this House. Then the First Minister took up the question of free-trade, and I have now to deal with him; dealing with those gentlemen in the order of their criminality. The First Minister the other night referred to Cobden and his principles as the great Free-Trader. The great Free-Trader of modern times may be measured by his negotiation of the French Treaty of 1846.

I wonder—for the First Minister is almost invariably so accurate in everything he states—whether the hon. gentleman ever took the trouble to read that treaty. Does he know that the very first clause of the Cobden Treaty is to this effect: "That the Emperor of the French would bind himself not to impose upon British manufactures going into France more than 30 per cent. *ad valorem*." Is there any free-trade in that? On the other hand, the next clause binds England for a certain number of years not to put an export duty on coal. Is there any free-trade in that, which was a chief ingredient in the negotiation? Talking of coal, I am reminded that Mr. McCulloch, an accepted authority upon commerce and a leading authority on free-trade, says that "England should never have consented to give up her right to impose export duties on coal, because being better situated in that part of Europe to supply other countries she could monopolize the market."

I refer to these instances to let my

hon. friends know that free-trade is a noun of no quantity, and is merely an expression or cant term for making the best bargains. But, placed as we are, we have no voice in making a good bargain. We have to accept free-trade on one hand, and a commercial policy of extreme protection on the other. In the same way let me tell those hon. gentlemen, if they have never heard of it, that the whole system of England as adapted to free-trade at the present time is free-trade in the sense that it suits them specially. When free-trade principles were formulated in that country fifty years ago, it was never intended by Mr. Huskisson that they should be extended to countries with hostile tariffs; and in the discussion in the House of Commons in 1846 it was admitted that that was the true principle in reference to the question. The point by which free-trade was carried was that the Manchester people coupled it with a cry for cheap food. The opportunity of striking at the large landed interests and the Manchester men with their large capital in manufactures succeeded in forcing a system upon the country which, however satisfactory it may have turned out, would not have been carried had it stood alone, apart from the cry of cheap bread.

I will state the position in which I understand the manufacturers are placed, and in which I think they are entitled to the consideration of the House. I begin by laying down the premises that there is no man in this House but is willing to sustain the manufacturers by all that is reasonable and fair to ensure their success. We are all friends here to the country and to the manufacturing interest especially if, as we have been told over and over again, manufacturers are a source of benefit and wealth, and we are all necessarily in favour of their establishment and success. I also take the argument of my hon friends opposite—that England being a free-trade country, must necessarily procure goods cheaper than any other country, and consequently, I say that the prices with which she is satisfied should be regarded as the normal prices. I will also go further

and say, taking the argument of the Free-Traders, that America being strictly a protective country, by parity of reason it is impossible that she can produce goods which can be sold as cheap as the products of a free-trade country. If, therefore, the result be, from causes which are abnormal, that American goods come here and injure Canadian manufactures, it must be by reason of there being something vicious in the system which permits sales below those prices which must be the proper prices. By taking free-trade prices as the measure of prices for our manufactures, the Government, therefore, if they are sensible of these facts, if they can be made sensible that American goods are sold below their real value, then to that extent should they shield our manufacturers. This intrusion of American goods is a disturbance of regular prices, and that is a matter which true statesmanship should rise up to the level of being able to protect us against. That is the protection we want, and not any absurd nonsense connected with high protective tariffs or Chinese Walls.

Having gone so far as to point out a number of what I call the deficiencies of the hon. gentlemen opposite, in whose hands the destiny of the country now is, I shall venture to explain what I believe is the manufacturers' position, and their views of what is fair on this question, and what they will be satisfied with. They have not asked for any extravagant rate. In November they passed a general resolution in Toronto to the effect that they would be satisfied with an advance to 20 per cent., and protection against the sacrifice of American goods, and by the newspapers I see that a few days ago, at some convention, an effort to commit them in favour of 25 per cent. was negatived by a large vote. In their distress and difficulties they do not ask any high amount, but come to the Government and say, "Give us some moderate aid and we will be satisfied." Those gentlemen on the Ministerial benches, however, turn obdurately away, and give no hope whatever.

What are the remedies that have been proposed? There has been a great flourish of trumpets throughout the country with reference to recipro-

cal legislation. I understand that to mean something in the nature of fixing our duties in the same way that the Americans fix theirs in Congress. That matter has been discussed generally, and the country has very properly and loyally protested in ever being included in what would practically amount to an American Zollverein. Therefore, I see no remedy in that direction; nor do I see any relief in what is brought forward under the head of national policy, unless those who advocate it will give to us the details of the tariff they mean to advocate. That may be such a tariff as we may like to accept, but so long as great men use large words with respect to a national policy, and give no precise definition of their meaning, we must refrain from placing in their hands the reins of administration until they take a more distinct course.

Well, Sir, I will now proceed to propose a remedy, which I will define:— I would discriminate against foreign manufactures which come into competition with the productions of Canada and the United Kingdom. When I have sat down some hon. gentlemen may reply—"We cannot adopt retaliatory duties." I have not used these words, and I do not propose to do so. The Americans have imposed a high tariff; and if there is an adjective proper to describe the policy we should pursue I would say that it is imitative. I would take a small leaf out of the American book, and if it be true that imitation is the sincerest flattery, why we can so flatter in this relation the American eagle as to turn it into a very peacock. It is said that there is very great difficulty in the way owing to treaties that exist, and some eminent statesmen like Lord Burleigh walk across the stage and shake their heads; but I hope that the result of this discussion will be to show what our right position is, for no such difficulty has any existence; and if the Administration will not meet the demands of the country, we must have a Ministry occupying the front seats on the right of the Speaker which will do so. I have taken it upon myself to assert that in no treaty does any provision exist preventing any legislation such as we require by the Canadian Parlia-

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ment. Instructions are merely given by the Crown directing His Excellency the Governor General to withhold his assent from any Bill imposing differential duties; and the despatches and correspondence which have passed in this regard—though so long ago as to be scarcely applicable to the present day—warn the Colonial Legislature against legislation in this connection, not owing to want of power or to treaty requirements, but simply because, it being a difficult question, the Crown desires that no legislation may in any way interfere with the prevailing Imperial policy, with which the Colonial Parliament is assumed can hardly be so well informed as to be able to deal with at all times with propriety. Therefore the course is perfectly clear for the Government at any time to enter into communication with the Imperial Cabinet in order to discuss a policy that may relieve this country from the difficulties with which it is at present surrounded. I am not content touching a matter of this importance to allow the House to remain under this impression solely because I have so stated. I will accordingly turn to one or two public documents which deal with this question very distinctly. After the war of 1812, at the Treaty of Ghent, Great Britain and the United States signed a convention of commerce in 1815, in which appear these few words, to which I beg to draw attention:—
 "No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of His Britannic Majesty in Europe of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of His Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, than are or shall be payable on like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country."

This provision, in distinct terms, limits this convention to trade relations between the United States and Great Britain in respect to all European productions; and in order to prevent any mistake this additional clause was added:—"The intercourse between the United States and His Britannic Ma-

“jesty’s possessions in the West Indies and on the continent of North America shall not be affected by any of the provisions of this Article, but each party shall remain in the complete possession of its rights.”

This Treaty is as plain as words can make it. Such a difficulty as has been represented does not exist, and I assure hon. gentleman that no treaty has been made on the subject since. I have already explained that the Imperial authorities should be consulted in such regard by the Ministry. I hope that the day is not far distant when we may have a statesman on these Benches—I am not prepared to affirm that he is not there now—who, with a clear head and a bold pen, will send such a despatch across the Atlantic.

In these ideas there is no novelty; such was the policy up to 1847, when discriminatory duties prevailed throughout this country in favor of Great Britain as against all the world.

In 1852, at Quebec, Mr. Hincks made a similar proposition in language which is singularly applicable to the present state of things—“Our policy towards the United States,” he stated, “has been one of concession. England had given to the people of that country most extraordinary advantages, and yet they refuse to us the paltry concession sought for. We abolished our differential duties and obtained nothing in return. We have given them the free use of our canals when they refuse to allow a Canadian vessel to pass through theirs; and now they want to obtain our fisheries and the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Let us suppose that the differential duties which existed in 1846 were now in force, and he would ask whether any individual could be found who would now advocate their repeal unconditionally.”

More follows to the same effect; but enough has been read to show hon. gentlemen that the policy in question has been on several occasions before the country, and I think the time has come when we should deal with it again.

Mr. Merritt in 1858, concerning this matter, reported to the House of As-

sembly:—“In 1847 in deference to opinions expressed in despatches of 1843, our duties on American manufactures were reduced from 12½ to 7½ per cent. and increased on British manufactures from 5 to 7½ per cent., the effect of this Act being to remove all discriminatory duties against the United States. Your Committee therefore earnestly recommend that that despatch of 1843 be withdrawn, leaving the legislature to regulate the duties on imports as heretofore under the Act of 1846 without restriction.” Further, Sir, I am highly gratified to observe that so late as 1870, as the hon. member for Cumberland informed us the other night, he advocated this same policy. Now this question must be faced; it is not a question of parish politics, but one upon which the country desires information, and regarding which, whenever questions relating to our trade and manufactures are discussed, it is suggested that discriminatory duties would meet the difficulty. I therefore hope that the Ministry will turn their attention to this question, and deal with it in such a way that a thrill of satisfaction will pass from one end of the country to the other, giving us another reason for being proud of the name of Canadian.

I propose moving a resolution embodying the views I have stated, and having read it I will beg to draw the attention of the First Minister to one or two additional remarks. I move, seconded by my hon. colleague from Hamilton,—That it be

“Resolved, That this House in maintaining the policy adopted by the present and past Governments in limiting the rate of duties upon the importation of these classes of articles which are produced in the country, to the extent required to meet the wants of the revenue, fully appreciates the national benefits arising from the degree of protection to the existing manufacturing industries of the Dominion afforded under that system, but observes with regret that the fluctuations in price, resulting from the uncertain condition of foreign markets, affecting the Canadian markets, and incapable of being foreseen by the Canadian manufacturers,

exposed our manufacturing interests to unfair competition, and this House, while now ready to record its approval of the general policy of the present Administration, is nevertheless of opinion, that the said manufacturing interests deserve the continued fostering care of Parliament, and that the time has arrived when the Government of the Dominion should inform the Imperial Government that the Parliament of Canada deems it necessary to revive some of the features of a former policy by imposing differential duties; and to indicate, further, that in order to meet the difficulties against which Canadian manufactures are struggling, and in the general interests of the Canadian public, and to bring the British and foreign manufacturer on nearer terms of equality in the Canadian market, this House would be prepared to approve of any measure to be submitted to them by the Administration whereby a rate of not less than ten per cent. should be added to the existing importation tariff against such articles of foreign manufacture, of which the same classes are manufactured in the Dominion by way of difference to that extent in favour of like classes of productions of the Mother Country."

I think this resolution if adopted would meet the difficulty. It would encourage the manufacturing interest to expect some meed of protection and defence from the present Government. I hope that the Government will not set the cities at defiance. Already in the cities there is more active political thought upon this subject than in the country constituencies generally. The views I have been attempting to enunciate have never, to my knowledge, been opposed by the farming community, to whose good sense I look for protection in favour of their relatives who live in the neighbourhood of cities. I entirely deny the propriety of raising a distinction between the rural and urban populations of this country. In my mind they are the same kindred.

In conclusion, I wholly dissent from the ideas of the Finance Minister that the result of manufacturing in the cities is to take away the population from the country and carry such

population to the cities. It is a well known fact that the manufacturing establishments of Connecticut and Massachusetts are more than half manned by Canadians, and Chicago is swarming with our countrymen who cannot find employment at home. If our population has not increased in some of our rural constituencies it is for want of congenial labour in the country, many have been obliged to go to a foreign land to get employment.

Mr. CHARLTON—Like many hon. members in this House, I had believed that protection to a certain extent and within certain limits would benefit the country. We have been told that a protective policy is one which could only be adopted by patriarchal Government—a Government which could not only protect industries but also limit production. I hold that a protective policy, on the contrary, runs through the whole legislative system of any country. To afford protection of life and property is the duty of Government, and armies are raised and navies built to protect the nation. Prisons are erected for the protection of the public, and free grants given for the purpose of increasing the public wealth and adding to the population.

It may be safely assumed that no nation has attained to greatness in commerce or manufactures without having in the course of its history imposed exactions and restrictions. This has been notably the case with Great Britain herself; and I think the assertion that the development of various industries is necessary to the cultivation of the self-defensive power of a nation is incontrovertible. We have had an illustration of it in the neighbouring nation. The Southern States were without manufacturing industries while the Northern States were filled with them, and the advantage this gave them resulted in the suppression of the rebellion.

No person will assert it is proper to protect industries that are not naturally adapted to the country, but when they are suited to the land it is the duty of the Government to foster them. Arts and manufactures do not spring up readily on a virgin soil. In the first place trade has a tendency to remain in beaten tracks. Then the

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advantage is on the side of a nation in which manufactures are established, because money is always more easily obtained there than in a new country.

Then, again, the possession of organized and skilled labour is an advantage that the manufacturers in a country where manufactures are established for a long time possess over a new country. But, although it may be conceded that protection is to the advantage of manufacturers, unless it can be shown that it is also an advantage to the other classes of the community and the nation at large, all arguments in favour of protection fall to the ground. It must be shown that the agriculturists are to be benefited by protection before it is incumbent upon the Government to adopt a protective policy. I believe that the interests of the nation at large would be promoted by judicious protection; I believe that the agricultural interests of the Dominion would be promoted by protection, and that the manufacturer, being brought to the door of the farmer, would afford a market for a great many articles of produce that would not be saleable if the market were three thousand miles away. With a home market of this kind established by protection to manufacturers, the agriculturist can benefit his soil by producing a rotation of crops. The purchasing power of money is not a correct measure of the purchasing power of labour. A farmer raises a bushel of corn which he sells for fifty cents in a foreign market, and with the proceeds he can buy three yards of cotton; but supposing the manufactures are brought to his door, and the better market which it creates increases the price to 60 cents or 70 cents per bushel, and although impost duties are levied on cottons from Manchester so as to add largely to its price, still he may be enabled to buy four yards of cotton with his bushel of corn instead of the three yards it was able to purchase before, as the purchasing power of his labour is increased.

We have at our own doors all the illustrations and experience of protection and its benefits required for our government and guidance. The United States have adopted a protective policy under which their manufactures have

been fostered and promoted until in 1870 their products reached the sum of \$4,253,000,000, giving employment to 2,000,000 operatives and disbursing over \$775,500,000 in wages.

It has been charged that protection has prevented the extension of foreign commerce in that country. That may be true; but it is estimated that the domestic commerce of the United States last year reached the enormous proportions of 200,000,000 tons, valued at \$10,000,000,000. What is the foreign commerce of that country compared with the vast domestic trade that goes on increasing without the fluctuations or risks of foreign trade. Look at the progress of the cotton trade in that country. Previous to the import duties on foreign cottons in 1824, British manufactures crushed out all efforts to establish factories in the Republic; but the imposition of 25 per cent. duty on foreign cottons had the effect in a few years, not only of building up manufactures, but led to the production of an article better in quality and lower in price than the Americans received from British manufactures before their own industries were established. In 1860 the United States were exporters of cottons, exporting nearly 10 per cent. of the whole amount manufactured. The same way with the iron trade. All attempts to establish iron industries were crushed out by foreign competition, and high prices were maintained at intervals—higher, on the average, than the per centage necessary to produce them in the United States at a profit. But when a protective duty was imposed iron manufactures were established, and in a short time the price of iron was brought down several dollars per ton, and it is now sold cheaper than the British iron ever was offered for on that market. The shipping interest of the United States was one of the most signal illustrations of the benefit of a protection policy that could be produced. Under a protective tariff the ship building of the United States had grown, till in 1860 it was nearly as great as that of England, and there came two causes to ruin it. First, the war, which placed the United States shipping at a disadvantage with all other common carriers, and the second cause was the

revulsion in the ship building trade caused by the substitution of iron for wooden vessels. Under these combined influences the shipping trade fell into the depressed condition in which it now remains. Why is it that we are so desirous of selling to the United States articles of food? It is simply because they have by protection built up manufacturing cities with a numerous population that consumes not only the vast products of their own country, but also afford a better market for our products than we in the Dominion possess. The issue in Canada to-day is not an issue between free-trade and protection; the issue is, is the protection now afforded adequate for the promotion of our industries? Although protection has conferred great benefits upon the United States, I think it can be clearly shown that the amount of protection in that country has been altogether greater than necessary for the purpose of promoting its interests, and in consequence of that over-protection monopolies and rings were created and a gambling element was introduced into all business transactions. Part of this is due to that element brought into the problem, the influence of which is so difficult to measure or define, the element of an irredeemable vicious paper currency. In consequence of that it was necessary to introduce a higher tariff than would have been necessary under a sound monetary system. I am satisfied that the manufacturers of the United States, through lobbying, obtained vastly more protection than they were entitled to or the country should have granted. I had supposed that the duty of 17½ per cent. levied upon that list was a duty insufficient for protection, and the impression I had formed upon that point I must confess was very seriously shaken by the statement made by the Finance Minister in his Budget Speech. On examination into the subject I find that the imports under the 17½ per cent. list for the last six months of the year 1874 were \$28,271,000, and for the corresponding period of 1875 they were \$18,142,000, a falling off of \$10,129,000, or about 36 per cent. It must be borne in mind that although there was a heavy falling off in that list there was a diminution in the total volume of trade, and it is necessary to consider

the falling off in the general imports. I find that the total imports for the last half of the year 1874 amounted to \$69,193,000, less goods on the 17½ list \$28,271,000, leaving the imports exclusive of the 17½ list at \$41,422,000 for that period. The total imports for the last half of 1875 were \$51,223,000, from which deduct the imports on the 17½ list and it leaves \$18,142,000. Thus we have the amount of imports, exclusive of the 17½ list, of \$33,781,000, a falling off of imports exclusive of the 17½ per cent. list of \$7,141,000 or 18 per cent., a nett reduction of 18 per cent. of imports for the advantage our manufacturers in twelve months of protection. I doubt whether it would be policy to advance that rate 2½ per cent. It is evident that it has acted efficiently as a protective duty, but whether efficiently enough remains to be seen. At any rate the 17½ per cent. had better be continued for the present.

There is another feature to be borne in mind. The present duty caused a heavy falling off in receipts and a deficit in the revenue. Were there 2½ per cent. increase in the tariff, industries would, perhaps, be unduly stimulated, there would be a still larger deficit, and Government would be further embarrassed. With regard to the resolution, I confess I would like to see a retaliatory policy adopted which would bring the United States to terms, and would at least protect us against slaughter invoices. I doubt, however, whether that is an evil which requires the interposition of Government. I think it is much magnified, and is entirely owing to a state of affairs across the lines which cannot be considered permanent and which will disappear with the return of good times to that country. Greatly as our manufacturers have been injured, I think their complaints will not last long; and I doubt whether it is good policy, in view of the fact that this is a temporary evil for the Administration, to pursue a course which would lead to retaliation. I am reminded of the anecdote of the Englishman who allowed his wife to beat him. When asked why he endured the treatment, he replied, "Oh, it pleases she, and don't hurt I." That is exactly our position in this respect. A retali-

atory policy may please us but will not hurt them. I hold that what Canada desires is reciprocity with the United States—a short cut to the markets which Protectionists propose to secure for us. It is a matter of very great importance that we should obtain access to those markets. A retaliatory policy might have a bad effect in preventing this. In the United States just now the Democratic party have a majority in the House of Representatives, and they are favourable to granting us more liberal trade relations than we have hitherto enjoyed. It is not impossible that that party may carry the elections this year, and thus exert a greater influence upon the policy of the country; and it would be folly on our part to do anything to prejudice our case in the meantime.

To attribute the existing stagnation to inadequate protection is a fallacy. England, with her free-trade, is to-day depressed; and in that highly protected country the United States there is a great stagnation. This great wave of depression has swept over the commercial world, and our interests being blended with those of the United States, it is not surprising that distress has visited us. No Government could do anything to mitigate or avert the trouble under which Canada is suffering. The Government has no more to do with it than with the tides of the ocean or the changes of the moon. The crisis came in obedience to a natural law, and in obedience to a natural law it will pass away.

In conclusion, I may state that I am desirous of doing everything calculated to promote the manufacturing interests of this country. But looking from my stand-point I believe that the present tariff is adequate; that at all events to demonstrate its inadequacy will require more time. I heartily endorse the policy of the Finance Minister in declining to advance the rate beyond $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. WORKMAN—In arising to address a few remarks to the House I have to crave its indulgence fearing I may to some extent trench upon personal grounds. I will not detain the House long if I can avoid it. Before entering upon a discussion of the question now before us I cannot but ex-

press my deep regret and mortification at the policy initiated in this House by the Finance Minister on Friday last. Since my arrival in Ottawa a great many deputations from my constituents in Montreal have visited this city, and I have had the pleasure, as it was my duty, to accompany those deputations to the different heads of the Departments and to put them in communication with the Ministers of Finance, Customs and others, in order that they might explain to the leaders of the Government their views in reference to this question of the tariff. I think I am correct in stating that the gentlemen composing these deputations formed a conviction from their intercourse with these heads of Departments that on the whole there would be some slight change in the tariff.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that I or any other member of the Government made that statement to him or any other person?

Mr. WORKMAN—I say that those gentlemen from their conversation with you and others came to that conclusion. The hon. gentleman never directly stated so, but there is such a thing as an inferential conclusion. If the hon. gentleman stated directly and distinctly to those deputations, as he did on Friday last—and here I wish to remark that he treated us courteously and not discourteously as the newspapers had it, that the policy of the Government was fixed and there was no use in their coming here, we would have understood our position and saved trouble and expense to these gentlemen and a good deal of inconvenience to myself. I mention this in order that I may be distinctly understood on that point.

When I had the honour of coming forward as a candidate for Montreal West I saw that the temper of the people and the tone of the public opinion ran strongly in favour of protection. I had always been to a moderate extent a Protectionist myself. but I confess that the prevailing sentiment was beyond the ideas I had previously formed on that question. I stated then, and I repeat it here, that if I had the honour to re-

present Montreal West on the floor of this House, I should advise and impress upon the Government by every means in my power to adopt a system of duties that would place us in a position to enable the struggling industries of this country to compete on fair grounds with those of the United States. Nay, Sir, I went even further, and I stated that my convictions of what would be proper were, what I should term, a reciprocity of duty. By that I meant the imposition of duties on all goods coming into Canada from the United States equal to the same rate of duties that that country charged upon similar goods coming from Canada. That was what I stated, and I say now that I am prepared to advocate that doctrine. For the last ten or fifteen years I think we have been what I might term cringing to the United States. It is time that we should try to adopt a policy of our own and free ourselves from that thralldom. Therefore, I think one of the most important steps in that direction would be the one I indicated at Montreal, and which I repeat here to-day. I remember well what Canada was 45 years ago, when I was a lad and went first to business. It was then pre-eminently a free-trade country, and I would like to tell some of the hon. gentlemen who favour that policy now, what Canada was at that time. There was a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on goods coming from Great Britain, and specific and *ad valorem* duties on goods from foreign countries, but nearly all our imports were direct from the Mother Country. At that time trade was very small indeed, and our shipping was still smaller.

Our duties were so light that we were frequently flooded with the overstocks of Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow. Although the number of merchants was very limited very few of them were able to survive this competition from England. Goods being admitted at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that duty being only indifferently levied they were sold for what they would bring. The consequence was large and numerous bankruptcies. I remember well the condition of affairs from 1827 to 1837 under a free-trade policy, and in order that my free-trade friends around me may know a little about the

condition of things then, I will quote a few prices of leading staples of the farming community of that day, and now. I refer principally to articles that the farmer produces and which are consumed in and around his own residence and in the towns near where he lives. From 1828 to 1830, the price of beef at Montreal was $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound. I bought very good beef myself for three half pence a pound. To-day the same article sells at 12 to 18 cents, so that the farmer gets under a $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. tariff nearly five times as much as he got then. Mutton was 20 to 25 cents a quarter. Two years ago it sold in Montreal at 75 cents. Butter was 8 to 10 cents a pound; it now sells at 22 to 30 cents. Eggs were then 6 to 7 cents a dozen; they now bring 15 to 20 cents. Oats sold at 16 to 18 cents a bushel. One of my first speculations was a large purchase at 10 pence per bushel, on which I lost money. To-day oats sell at 40 to 50 cents. Firewood was then \$1.75 per cord, to-day it is \$7 to \$8. The price for sawing wood was 9 pence to 10 pence currency, that is 16 cents; to-day it is 50 cents. The wages of a very good servant girl was \$1.50 per month; now good servants command readily \$7 to \$10. White pine, 80 feet average, sold at 5 cents; to-day it brings up to 25 cents. Rock elm brought 9 cents; to-day it brings 30 to 35 cents. What is it that has produced this great change in these staple articles, the produce of the farm and forest? I do not mean to say it is entirely to be attributed to our manufacturing establishments, but I say they have largely contributed to it. We have established a home market, and the farmer can find at his own door ready sale for his articles, at highly remunerative prices. At that time an axe cost the lumberman \$2.50 and he got a very inferior article. There was only one small axe manufactory in the country at that time; to-day the same article can be bought for 75 to 80 cents. The lumberman is now getting his axes for one-third the price he then paid, and receives four times as much for the products he sells. The same will apply to nearly all the articles farmers and lumbermen use to-day. All the agricultural implements, spades,

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augers, scythes, &c., were made in England and brought to Canada. They were of the worst possible quality and entirely unsuited to our wants, since then, during the last 25 years, small factories have been established and our industries have grown largely. They are now producing these same articles of a very superior quality—quite equal to those manufactured in the United States—and selling them to the farmers at the same price, and in many instances at less than they paid for the inferior productions of Great Britain. That state of things has been brought about by incidental protection, but to-day our manufacturers are not prospering for reasons I have already stated in this House. Until two years ago they were prosperous, but since then we have had to meet competition from the neighbouring States, which has proved disastrous to a great number of them. If that competition were conducted on fair terms we would not object to it. If we in Canada were allowed the same access to their markets that they have to ours we would not complain. When our markets are full to repletion, when our factories are working at three-quarter time and are just in a position to make two ends meet, if \$10,000 worth of goods from the United States were thrown on our markets, even that small quantity would produce disastrous results, and to my own positive experience it has done so.

Lower Canada is pre-eminently fitted for a manufacturing as well as an agricultural country. We have a very thrifty and economical population, but the policy of this country hitherto has had a tendency to drive them out of the country. They have gone to the neighbouring Republic, so that to-day, if I have been correctly informed, there are 500,000 French-Canadians in the factories of New England alone. Why is it that these people leave us? There must be "something rotten in the State of Denmark."

I hope the Government will take this matter into consideration. I did hope they would have done so at this Session of Parliament, and that they would have submitted to us a tariff that would at in some degree have met the well-understood wishes of the large manufac-

turing centres. I am almost afraid to express the amount of indignation and regret that pervades Montreal under the excitement caused by the Finance Minister's statement. My letters and telegrams are of the most stinging nature. Occupying the place I do here it is only right to the House that my constituents should understand the position I took on this question last Friday. I confess my deep mortification at the result of all the deputations that came here at my desire and on my prognostications. Feeling that I was bound to sustain here the doctrine I advocated at Montreal, when the hon. member for Cumberland was about to reply to the Minister of Finance, I walked across the floor of this House and asked him a question, telling him what my answer would be on the matter. That question was, whether he was prepared with a resolution to offer the House in opposition to the policy laid down by the Finance Minister.

The hon. gentlemen told me---I am not sure whether he said I was, or we were not prepared with a resolution at present; and that if he decided to submit such a resolution he would let me know. He has not done so. Therefore, I conclude that he is not so prepared. I drew that conclusion because I had no communication from the hon. gentleman in this relation. On the contrary, instead of acting in such a manner as to have pleased me, grappling with the question in a straightforward and manly way, he entertained this House for a considerable time in quoting from my speeches in Montreal. I really was delighted to find that any of my utterances had attracted the attention of such a distinguished gentleman, who had actually gone to the trouble to keep in a scrap-book with these extracts from my stump-orations, delivered at unguarded moments very often, and send them to the country as sentiments worthy of repetition. If the hon. gentleman publishes a second edition of that work I beg him to send me a copy, and if he would be kind enough to enclose a few locks of his hair I would be delighted.

I would have been gratified to a greater degree if the hon. gentleman had stated clearly and distinctly his

views on protection, because that is the most pertinent question before us, to my mind. I listened with a great deal of attention, but, I confess, to deep disappointment, when I heard the hon. gentleman say that he was neither a Free-Trader nor a Protectionist; and that he was in favour of the grand system known as the National Policy, one of its items being, I believe, the imposition of a tax of fifty cents per ton on coal.

I did expect that my hon. friend from Hamilton would have drawn up a resolution of a sufficiently simple and striking nature to have secured a clear expression from this House on this question of protection; and in order that no misunderstanding may exist, and that I may place myself right with my constituents and this country, I propose to move an amendment to the amendment. I desire to know whether the majority opposes a protective policy or not, and if so, we will then be prepared to educate public opinion to such a point as to secure the return at the next election of a majority sustaining our views.

An Hon. Gentleman—Never!

Mr. WORKMAN—If we cannot do so then it will be useless further to discuss the question.

I move in amendment, seconded by the hon. member for Montreal Centre, that all the words after that be struck out, and that it be *Resolved*, That this House deeply regrets to learn from the speech of the Hon. Minister of Finance on Friday last, that the Government has not proposed to this House a policy of protection to our various and important manufacturing industries; and that the large amount of capital now invested in these industries, and their present depressed condition, render such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity.

I submit this amendment with a great deal of deference. Before I sit down I would like to allude to another matter which perhaps has been one of the causes that has produced the existing distress, in the mercantile community at least—the amount of money deposited in different banks throughout the Dominion—banks which were not at the time fitted to become custodians

of public money, or restore it when so called upon. Receiving large sums in deposit it was necessary for them to find customers for it; and to my certain knowledge, in two instances—banks were so anxious to distribute this Government money—it was loaned to firms which soon became bankrupt. In one case \$179,000 were loaned to one establishment; it should never have received more than \$30,000 or \$40,000. In the other instance, a still weaker house, composed of very active and enterprising young men, whose cash capital did not exceed \$10,000, obtained \$212,000 under discount; and I believe that at the date of their suspension the sum under discount amounted to \$197,000. The character of that paper being largely accommodation and partly forged was the most discouraging feature of the affair.

If to these banks had not been confided such large sums they would have been more careful as to its distribution and would have paid more attention in the selection of their customers; fewer men would have engaged in business and there would have been less competition; firms doing business in a legitimate way would not have been obliged to submit to undue—nay, to ruinous competition; for if the houses to which I have referred had obtained the sum to which they were alone entitled—ten thousand dollars—they would not have been able to sacrifice goods in Western Canada, as they did to the great detriment of houses transacting their business in a proper manner. I mention this in order that the Government whenever it has a surplus may take better care of it, discontinuing the policy followed in this regard during the last eighteen months.

The Finance Minister will be greatly deceived in his calculations concerning the receipts of Customs duties during the next six months. I consider that they will be less by 25 or 30 per cent., because I well know what a degree of depression exists throughout every branch of trade. Had the hon. gentleman asked for the imposition of an additional 2½ per cent. on the tariff, it would have given a wonderful stimulus to the commerce of the country; and in lieu of being a burden, as has been pretended disastrous to the lum-

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bermen and farmers, I am prepared to prove that this would have been a decided advantage to the trade of the Dominion; and that the lumberman, the farmer and the mechanic would have in consequence occupied a wonderfully improved position. The present prostration will continue for some time longer. I know that our country is full of vitality and energy, and that it will recover its prosperity; but if the Government are not prepared to extend a helping hand to our industries, then I am prepared to support any resolution coming from hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House which will place this question fairly and squarely before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER—An amendment to the amendment to a motion for the House to go into Committee of Supply is not in order.

Mr. WORKMAN—Then I shall take the first possible opportunity of submitting such a motion to obtain a square vote on the question at issue.

Mr. DEVLIN—A few minutes ago I was requested to second the resolution proposed by the hon. member for Montreal West, and observing that it called in question the financial policy of the Government, I stated at once my willingness to second any resolution which would give expression to our disapprobation of that policy. I now find it ruled out of order; but nevertheless, representing as I do the leading manufacturing constituency of the Dominion, and being in full accord with the opinion entertained by my constituents as to the necessity of adopting a truly national policy, I feel it to be my duty to say, that I am in complete harmony with the gentlemen who have recommended a policy of protection for our manufacturing industries.

I have been a member of what is known as the Reform party for over twenty years, and I think I have always been amongst the number who have striven to give effect to its principles. I looked upon its accession to office with pride and pleasure, and I expected that when the opportunity offered its leaders would govern this country with wisdom, impartiality and justice. I placed

faith in them; and at this hour it is with deep regret that I feel myself compelled to declare that I utterly dissent from the policy propounded by the Finance Minister for himself and his colleagues, and in accordance with the sentiments of my constituents and my own convictions I am now perfectly willing to assist in the passage of any resolution—honestly put before the House—which will reverse that policy.

I occupy an embarrassing position from another cause; desirous of procuring protection for our industries, and discovering that the Government does not contemplate granting any further protection than has been extended since their accession to office, I naturally look to the Opposition believing that they will gladly avail themselves of so favourable an occasion for striking a direct blow at their opponents, an opportunity for which they have anxiously waited for a long period. I regret however to be obliged to state after the speech of my hon. friend for Cumberland who, when he spoke, I supposed would have in his manly, eloquent style, advocated protection as we understand it.

I had expected such a result from his speech, but when the hon. gentleman closed by stating that he was neither a Free-Trader nor a Protectionist, I felt that our protection friends look in vain to the members of the Opposition for the assistance they require. I therefore find that we who support the manufacturing interests of this Dominion cannot look for assistance from the Opposition, nor can we look for it from the Mintsterial benches; therefore we occupy a most unfortunate position in the House at the present moment. But the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition has not spoken yet, and I wait with some degree of anxiety for that hon. gentleman's speech upon this important question. It has been stated that the hon. gentleman informed a deputation that his platform was a Protection platform; if that be true I await with anxiety his endorsement in this House of that statement; and I say now if he is prepared to put himself forward as the advocate of the manufacturing interests of this Dominion, he will find the members for Montreal

prepared to follow his lead in that particular matter. The question under the consideration of this House is one of vast importance to the country, but I regret to say the opinions of an overwhelming majority of this House is against those who advocate the imposition of higher duties than those which we have at present. I can understand the embarrassing position in which the Government find themselves in this matter. The hon. gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces, it has been said, have called upon the Finance Minister and the Leader of the Government and intimated to them that if any change was made in the tariff they might rely upon opposition from these Provinces. I hope this is not true, for if it were it would prove that Confederation could not after all produce the happy results we were lead to anticipate would flow from it. It would be a most painful position for Ontario, Quebec, and the Western Provinces to be placed in by any attempt of this kind, to force legislation on the Government of the country by the threat "if you don't give us all we want, we are prepared, regardless of all consequences, to record our votes against you, and drive you from the Treasury Benches." In Montreal and other manufacturing centres the strongest possible hopes were entertained that the tariff would be increased. I believe the hon. member for Montreal West is to-day responsible, and is held responsible to some extent in Montreal for the loss which the merchants of that city have sustained by reason of the course pursued by the Government at the present moment. The hon. gentleman has on the occasion of public meetings in Montreal held out certain inducements to the persons who were then assembled, which led them to believe that some change in the tariff would be made; that change has not been made, and the hon. gentleman no doubt finds himself in a very embarrassing position. If he had it in his power no doubt he would make such a change as would satisfy his friends in Montreal West. Protection has not been afforded to the manufacturers of the Dominion, and all they can do is to record their protest against

the policy of the Government. If the population of this country is to be increased the manufacturers must be afforded greater protection. No more powerful argument in favor of such a policy can be adduced than the fact that while we in the Dominion who are paying out large sums of money annually to encourage immigration to our shores, our own people, skilled in the language and industries of the country and accustomed to its climate, are leaving for the United States where they can find employment, while the ships are bringing hundreds upon hundreds of strangers into the Dominion at the same time. There must be something radically wrong, and there is something radically wrong in the Government of the country when such a state of affairs can exist. Look at our position to-day; look into the great metropolitan city of the Dominion and see the condition of her artisans, labourers and others who have now many of them to depend upon the soup kitchens and the charity of the citizens of Montreal to save them from starvation. Similar distress exists in other cities of the Dominion and what is the cause? Surely there must be something wrong in the Government when, with all our national advantages and the wonderful products of our soil, thousands of workingmen are in a state of destitution. It is all very well for hon. gentlemen to entertain free-trade opinions and give expression to them in this House, but they will have very little weight with men who have wives and children who are starving, and are told to wait and suffer a little more until the policy of the Finance Minister had been more fully developed. Free-Traders say protection is all very well for Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton; it may be very convenient for those who live in the cities in Canada; protection may be an argument for them, we sympathise with them; but if we become Protectionists what becomes of the agricultural classes. Everyone knows that it is to protection England owes her commercial prosperity and present commercial greatness. Hon. gentlemen have said the protection argument may meet very well the views of Montreal, but rub out Montreal from the maps,

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follow it up by extinguishing Toronto and the other cities and then what becomes of the great Dominion? I take it for granted there is not a man residing in Canada and not an hon. gentleman in this House who is not proud of Montreal. I take it there is not a man in Montreal who is not proud of Toronto, and of every other city in the Dominion, and I say if you abolish the industries that give vitality to these cities you strike a blow at the life of the Dominion itself. My hon. friend, the member for Norfolk, made a very able speech; but when he rose to address the House I had something of the same feeling as when the hon. member from Cumberland rose. I thought the hon. member for Norfolk was a strong Protectionist. After he had logically shown that protection was needed in this country, and that the manufacturing interests were not sufficiently encouraged, suddenly a change came over him and he reversed the picture. In doing so he reminded me of that eminent Scotch advocate, who being engaged to prosecute in a certain trial, in a fit of absent-mindedness, delivered an eloquent speech for his opponents side. When, however, his client intimated that he was speaking on the wrong side, he turned the tables by saying, "That is exactly what my opponents will say;" and then demolished the argument he had previously made. The speech of the hon. member reminds me of that circumstance. After addressing the House in favour of protection, he concluded by proclaiming himself a Free-Trader. But what is the most remarkable is, that three days ago the hon. gentleman declared that an increase of 2½ per cent. was necessary. To-day he expresses himself perfectly satisfied with the soundness of the Finance Minister's policy. In the course of his speech the hon. gentleman said if we adopted a retaliatory policy against the United States we would offend that nation; that their industries are depressed, but that the days of prosperity are not far distant; and that they will recuperate in a very short time. That may be all true, but do we live in fear of the United States in this country? Has our legislation to be shaped in accordance with the will of its

people? I apprehend not. There is not a man in this country who would consent to occupy a position of that kind. Considerations of that kind should not for one moment enter into our adoption of a policy. If our policy is just and can be recommended we ought to legislate accordingly, irrespective of what other countries may think or do.

The manufactures of this Dominion, I contend, are entitled to greater protection than is accorded them now. They asked to be placed on an equal footing with the United States, which was a fair request. That country numbers forty-four millions; we are but four millions, and if we are to compete with them, there is no reason why it should be under other than equal conditions. When they close their markets against us we should retaliate by closing our markets against them.

My hon. colleague from West Montreal has given his experience of free-trade forty-five years ago; unfortunately my memory does not extend so far back, and I am unable to follow him on that point. Before I close I deem it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to say that I am in a position to state that so far as the City of Montreal may be worthy of the consideration of this House, her citizens are very deeply grieved at the policy of the Government. That city showed great confidence in the present Administration by returning three supporters, and I think that a city of its magnitude and population was entitled to a larger share of consideration than the Government have afforded it. I hope that the hon. member for Kingston will take this opportunity to catch the members for Montreal East, West and Centre. If he does not the hon. gentleman will throw his net out for a long time before he will secure so good a haul. On the other hand, if the right hon. gentleman believes in the wisdom of the policy announced, if he believes that no other course could be adopted under the circumstances; if he believes that greater protection is impossible under existing conditions, it is his duty to rise now, and give the country the benefit of his views thereon.

It being Six o'clock the House took

RECESS.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. DEVLIN resumed his speech. He said—When the hour for recess arrived I was endeavouring to persuade the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition to favour us with his opinions upon the important question now under consideration, and I am not disposed to leave that branch of the subject without putting it still more forcibly if I can. I believe the country expects to hear his views on this matter. I have in my possession a communication from gentlemen exercising a very large influence in Montreal and outside of it, who seemingly look to the Opposition for protection, and I would be wanting in my duty if I did not call upon the right hon. member for Kingston to speak out plainly on this subject. The hon. member for Cumberland has spoken at length and with great eloquence; and certainly he assailed the Government very strongly on this particular question, but he concluded his speech by saying he was neither one thing nor the other. Therefore, so far as he is concerned I can extract no comfort from his remarks for my constituents, and I turn to the right hon. member for Kingston.

There is another gentleman, whose name is a household word throughout the Dominion, who applies himself to legislation in a way that shows he takes a deep interest in every matter that concerns the country's welfare—I refer to the gentleman who is recognized as the leader, the worthy Leader of the Left Centre.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—What have you got to say about him?

Mr. DEVLIN—I say that if he desires to occupy that position in the Councils of the country to which his eminent talents entitle him, now is the time (if the right hon. member for Kingston refuses to speak on this subject, or to avail himself of the strength with which he can surround himself,) for him to enunciate his opinions on the policy of the Government. If all the gentlemen of the Opposition keep silent the country will come to the conclusion that they are better off after all with a Government that increased the tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent.

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I believe the right hon. member for Kingston when called upon by a deputation from Montreal received them very kindly (as he always does those who call upon him) and expressed his sympathy with them. If I am rightly informed he intimated his readiness to render them all the assistance in his power. I wish to know to what extent he is willing to go in aiding the manufacturing industries of the Dominion at the present time. I declare most seriously if the Opposition will throw themselves into the cause, if they will raise the banner of protection and allow us to enroll ourselves under their standard, if there is no humbug in it; although I have been with the Reform party all my lifetime I will give them all the assistance and support in my power.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—How long?

Mr. DEVLIN—As long as they continue to protect the interests of the people of this Dominion. As long as the public believe it is for the good of the country to have such a policy, so long will I give my warm and cordial support to the Administration that pursues it; because I contend in a question of this kind we must throw aside party lines. When we know that starvation is staring thousands of our people in the face, and that the destitution is attributed to a certain cause, the men who are willing to provide a remedy for the evil should receive the support of every lover of his country. If the Opposition are not prepared to submit a policy, in the name of common justice let them not add fuel to the flame and increase the excitement that already exists, by pretending they would do so if they held the reins of power. I want the leaders of the Opposition to speak out. I feel that I ought not to close without referring to the efforts made by the hon. member for Bothwell to discover the cause of the depression. Every hon. member knows that the hon. gentleman has always taken a deep interest in the legislation of the country. But I must be permitted to say that it looks to me like an attempt to enquire into a matter to learn that which is manifest to the meanest intellect in the country.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear! hear!

Mr. DEVLIN—I am bound to say that if the appointment of this Committee, or its object was simply to divert attention from the real cause of distress, it should fail; and if it be to divert attention from the Government's financial policy, it must fail.

I listened to the speech of the Finance Minister with admiration; it was most able and eloquent, but I am convinced that his arguments utterly failed to satisfy the interests I represent. I believe that it is still within the power of the Government to give relief to our manufacturing industries, and I most sincerely hope that the Finance Minister will even yet see his way to granting the legitimate protection to which they are entitled, also that the Hon. Leader of the Government will change their financial policy in this relation. I have heard it said, that the Finance Minister informed a deputation that no change would be made; but I trust that the contrary will be done. I derived deep gratification from the speech of the hon. member for Hamilton and the other hon. gentleman who supported his views. I am obliged to tell the Government that if they persist in the policy enunciated by the Finance Minister they can no longer rely—as I am at present advised—upon the support of the members for Montreal. I cannot support any party, or any Government that refuses, as I understand it, to deal justly with the interests I have the honour to represent. I simply ask the Administration to remember that we have to compete with forty-four millions, and that all we demand is to be put in a condition to compete with them fairly. If you want free-trade, give us absolute free-trade; give no advantage to the United States; do not enable them to close their doors against us and leave our doors wide open to them to do with our country as they please. I will not abuse the patience of the House by discussing the "slaughter" market-question. This is stated outside. It has been discussed at great length, and if our manufacturing industries are left to perish for want of legislative protection, all I will further say is, the Opposition will take all the advantage of it, and the Government

will have all the disadvantage accruing from such a course.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—I wish to say a few words in reply to the hon. gentlemen from Hamilton and Montreal West. The former, while introducing his resolution, with all the ingenuity of a practiced debater, and all the skill of a special pleader, made certain statements which, from his point of view, bear upon the subject; but before resuming his seat, to my mind the hon. gentleman destroyed the entire force of his argument when he admitted that in England, at present, under a free-trade system, goods were manufactured more cheaply than in the United States, with protection. I take this to indicate that although discussing the question from one point of view, the hon. gentleman is in reality at one with us on the main question.

Mr. IRVING—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon; I simply cited it as part of the argument advanced against me.

Mr. JONES—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon; I think he put it the other way.

The hon. member for Montreal West argued from a different standpoint; and he was good enough to give statistics of forty-five years ago to prove under what circumstances the country was placed at the time. The hon. gentleman is, however, the best illustration of the advantages of free-trade during the last forty years, for I am told, and I am glad to know it, that he has amassed a colossal fortune, as well as other merchants who buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. The hon. gentleman wants to go back on this record and introduce an injurious system. He quoted the prices of certain articles; but I do not think that he expects the House to receive this as evidence of the advantages of protection, for such prices are regulated by supply and demand; and no one is better aware than himself that to reverse the policy under which this country has so happily advanced during the last forty-five years, would be suicidal in the extreme.

I listened with the deepest pleasure to the speech delivered by the Hon.

Minister of Finance; and I am sure that every person who had the interests of the Dominion at heart, throwing aside sectional considerations, must have rejoiced, as I am confident the country will rejoice, on account of the able, patriotic and statesman-like policy enunciated by the Government on this occasion. The hon. member for Montreal Centre talks about threats having been used by the representatives of the Maritime Provinces, but surely if they felt that an increase of duties would be prejudicial to their interests, they had a right to exercise any influence they possessed with the Administration. The hon. gentleman himself has, moreover, threatened the Government, and I think the remarks he has made under the circumstances scarcely came from him with good grace.

I believe that the country is satisfied, and that deep disappointment would have been felt had the tariff been raised. I hold that to do otherwise would be a violation of good faith. What was the understanding when the Pacific Railway policy was announced by the late Government, and when subsequently introduced to this House by the present Government? It was based upon the assumption that the taxation and burthens of the people were not to be increased in any respect for the construction of this work. If the Government have not the money to carry on other public works, let them take it off the Pacific Railway until time and the resources of the country would allow them to proceed with it. The Government have very wisely curtailed the estimates for the current year, without unduly reducing the expenditure on public works, by about two and a half millions of dollars. I believe the country will approve of that reduction; I believe the country would rather all these works should be carried on on a smaller scale until the revenue came up to its former standard. Reference has been made during this discussion to the United States, England and other countries, and to the progress that they have made under different systems. Nobody will deny that the prosperity of the United States previous to the war was brought about entirely under a mere

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revenue tariff. They were peculiarly situated at that time, and they gradually developed a protective policy. Everybody knows that there never has been such a blow at the prosperity of the country as that protective policy. The destitution of Montreal is referred to; but look at New-York, Boston and other great cities of the Republic, where thousands of workingmen are clamouring for employment; mechanics that used to have \$4 a day are now glad to get laborers' work at a dollar a day. That is under a protective policy. I hold in my hand an article from the columns of the New York *World*, showing what protection has done for the ship-building in the United States. It says:—"Forty-four years ago our tonnage was seven times that of foreign nations; now of all the ships entering our ports we have a tonnage of less than 4,000,000, foreign countries having more than 6,000,000. Low tariffs and great commerce, high tariffs and little commerce go hand in hand." * * * * Of the commerce of Christendom we had 13 per cent. in 1860, before protection, and only 9½ per cent. in 1870, after nine years of the blessings of that "system." In this period the world's commerce nearly doubled, and under the general augmentation, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and other great powers kept about equal pace, while the United States comparatively lagged far behind. Had that country done as well as England or France, their commerce in 1870 would have aggregated some fifteen hundred millions of money instead of less than nine hundred millions; and this was the price of their protection. Who do the Protectionists of Canada wish to protect themselves against? It is a fair argument held by these gentlemen that they desire to be protected against the United States. I don't dispute that; but who else do they want to protect themselves against, but against Great Britain, of which we form a part? Some of these gentlemen talk much of their loyalty to the British Empire; but they come to this House and ask us to put on a protective tariff against the very country that bears the expense of protecting us with her army

and navy at home and abroad. The hon. member for Montreal Centre seems to think that Montreal is the whole Dominion. It is a beautiful city and a great commercial centre, but I say with all due respect it is not the whole Dominion. If Montreal, Toronto, St. John, and Halifax with them, were all blotted off the map of the country, the Dominion would not be ruined. They produce nothing themselves; they only distribute the natural products of the country, and the country could do a great deal better without the cities than the cities could do without the country. Then the hon. member introduced an argument I was very sorry to hear used on the floor of this House. He pointed to the position of the poor working men who would not wait until the Government came to their assistance. It is an argument I hope never to hear used in this House again; for the moment a Government are asked to take charge of and feed the poor, you strike a blow at their self-respect and independence that is fatal to our existence as a people. There is no doubt that a great many of the industries of the country are in a depressed state at present, but it is very easy to know the cause. We know that during the existence of the Reciprocity Treaty the Provinces that now compose the Dominion exported largely to the United States at high prices. After the Union of the Provinces a great deal of money was expended on large public works, which gave an unnatural impetus to trade for a time; then came a period of depression that everyone knows visits every country with the regularity of the rise and fall of the tide every ten or fifteen years. If it were not so, if there was no such risk, every one would rush into business and get rich like my hon. friend from Montreal under the free-trade system. Trade is depressed, but the evil will cure itself in time, and I have such faith in the recuperative powers of the country that I have no doubt in another year the Finance Minister will have ample means to carry on the public works to the advantage of the country without increased taxation. The coal trade and lumber interest of Nova Scotia are in a depressed condition; but what is the cause? Three years

ago, when Canada was represented at Washington by the right hon. member for Kingston, we had an offer from the Americans to admit our coal and lumber into their market free, and the right hon. gentleman refused it at that time. There never was such a blow struck at the interests of this country as when the right hon. gentleman bartered away the only thing which the Americans wanted—our fisheries, the only thing we had to give them as a *quid pro quo* for what we wanted—their market—and thus sacrificed the lumber and coal interests. The American markets are the only markets we have for our coal. It is all very well for hon. gentlemen to talk of Ontario, but we are geographically debarred from taking advantage of the markets of that Province, and the right hon. member for Kingston and the hon. member for Cumberland are more responsible today for the depression of the coal trade than any other cause.

We have heard a great deal about slaughtering goods in this market. I hardly know what the term means, but I infer that its meaning is that the Americans have been sending goods into Canada and selling them below their value. It is unnecessary to go into statistics on this point. Figures have been produced and answered by the Hon. Finance Minister himself, and his reply has not been controverted. The *ad valorem* duties, which would form the entire bulk of the goods to which reference has been made, have been shown by the hon. gentleman to have decreased \$18,000,000 in amount during last year, and that should convince the House that the whole outcry against increased imports was a mere fallacy, got up in the interests of the manufacturers, to bring pressure upon Parliament. In a discussion on this subject in the Chamber of Commerce of Halifax, the other day, a different view was taken. I do not mean to say that it is my view, but I give it in the same relation as the hon. member for Montreal West treated the question. It was held at that meeting that the only protection Halifax wanted was against Canada—that traders dealing in Montreal were subject to the same tricks as manufacturers across the lines are said to practice.

I doubt very much whether manufacturers are in the sad condition depicted by the hon. member for Montreal Centre. That hon. gentleman stated they had been compelled to reduce their staff to one-third, and could only pay working expenses. It is no great indication of hard times when they can pay working expenses while running with one-third their usual staff. If they now make expenses, what money they must have accumulated when running full time! There have been fewer failures of manufacturers in Montreal and elsewhere than of any other branch of trade. During the last three or four years men engaged in the commerce of the country have scarce been able to make both ends meet.

We have been told that protection must be upheld and that good times will result. If there is any soundness at all in this argument, if it is to be of any value to the manufacturers, it must have one result, that is to shut out the *ad valorem* goods from other countries, and to that extent it will decrease the revenue. What will we then do for revenue? We will be compelled to place a duty on other articles which are heavily enough taxed at the present time. Suppose shipping to be one of those articles. Last year in this House, when certain expenditures were going on for lighthouses, &c., the policy was pursued that the interest receiving the benefit should to a moderate extent contribute to the revenue. I advocated that plan at the time and do so now, as I think it perfectly fair. But what view did the hon. member for Cumberland take? He made a great outcry against it, and he now comes here and has not the manliness to state whether he is a Free-Trader or Protectionist. To use a common expression, he is trying to "hedge." When the time comes, he will be able to say: "I did not announce myself as a Protectionist; you cannot say that. I neither said I was a Protectionist nor a Free Trader; you can take which you like." What would his policy lead us to? Assuming that he is a Protectionist, I have shown that the revenue will be decreased to the amount of *ad valorem* goods that are going to be excluded, and then he will have to

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increase the duty on shipping, which procedure he denounced so earnestly two or three years ago. I hold that a man who builds a ship worth \$50,000 is as much a manufacturer as the man who makes boots and shoes, furniture, &c. I may be wrong, and I am open to correction.

As is well known, we have at the present time a heavy duty on petroleum, amounting almost to prohibition. I am told that as soon as that duty was passed, a ring was formed out West so that no petroleum could be bought except through a certain agency or town. And that is the protective system which the hon. gentleman, with singular inconsistency, asks us to build up now. About a year ago, the Government brought down a fair proposition to reconstruct the sugar duties. In the Maritime Provinces we are largely interested in the West India trade, and I endeavoured to show last night that every man engaged in commerce has an equal interest in these matters; but when that proposition was made, deputations of Protectionists, headed by my hon. friend the representative for Hamilton, came down and brought such pressure upon the Government that, although raw sugar paid 50 per cent. and fine 40 per cent., it backed down. That was an instance in which the duty was a manifest injustice to a great interest, but still these gentleman refused to allow a proposition to equalize the raw material with refined.

I saw it reported that on a recent occasion the hon. and distinguished member for Cumberland visited Halifax and attended a meeting where he made a speech, and took good care no one should be present to answer his arguments. He took the opportunity to say that the sugar question was one on which I had never dared to open my mouth in the House.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Allow me to correct my hon. friend. I said he had not dared to open his mouth on the question in favor of protecting the sugar refineries, because he had previously denounced the tariff from an entirely different stand point.

Mr. JONES—I am sorry I have not the hon. member's speech with me, but

I think he will not deny it when I bring it before the House on another occasion. I am prepared to discuss that matter with the hon. gentleman, now, or at any other time. What I said when the question was before the House at the time referred to, was, that the policy which the Government pursued was going to drive out the consumption of the better qualities. I have been a true prophet; that policy has driven that class of sugar entirely out of consumption, and we import nothing but raw material at the present time. But it has done worse than that. It has made Boston and New York the capitals of all West India trade; it has driven from this country a large trade which we formerly enjoyed, and which involved some three or four millions dollars a year.

I only refer to that because the hon. gentlemen, when he comes down to Halifax, indulges in some of those playful observations which he used when taken to account for removing the railway works from Halifax. He said it was done before he entered the Government; but on reference to the facts it was found they were removed ten years after he became a Minister. I allude to that to show he is not always accurate in his recollections in that respect any more than in others.

It is very desirable that this question should be looked at in all its aspects. I am willing to view it not from a Nova Scotia, but from a Dominion stand point. The manufacturers are as a rule in the large cities, and being where public opinion through the press is largely influenced, and being also usually active men, they have made the very most out of their position. I believe in Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton they have worked up a pressure of public opinion until they have really at last persuaded themselves into the belief that the country is with them. They never made a greater mistake. They have been most active in the debates in this House, and I have listened to them feeling, as the hon. member for Montreal Centre said, that "it pleases them and doesn't hurt I." That is the way the question has been allowed to drift until now, and it is only because I am reluctant to let it be supposed that the Lower Provinces

share their opinions that I take part in this debate. I believe the country has received the policy of the Finance Minister with intense satisfaction. I believe it would have created a great deal of unnecessary uneasiness if the Government had increased the tariff; and that more or less uneasiness had already in reality arisen from the fact that it was supposed, by those who looked superficially at the question, because we had a slight deficiency there must necessarily be a large increase in the tariff. Many merchants imported largely, paid duties in advance, and now find that they were mistaken. I would much sooner they should be disappointed than the interests of the country should be disturbed. It is essential that the Government of the day should be in a position, whenever it is necessary to go to England, to show we have merely a revenue tariff. I had in my hands the other day a resolution passed two years ago by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, protesting against what they called, at that time, the protective policy of Canada against their manufactures. It was natural enough. These people are called upon to contribute to the maintenance of an army and navy for our defence, to bear burdens on our behalf, and to lend us money when we require it. To let it go to the world that the views expressed by the advocates of protection are those of our people would be a fatal mistake.

The hon. member for Montreal Centre seemed to think an undue pressure had been brought to bear upon the Government, by the representatives of the Maritime Provinces, to induce them to reach the conclusions at which they had arrived. I have too high an opinion of the Government to think they require any such instructions. I believe them to be Free-Traders naturally. They have always avowed it manfully. They advanced the tariff $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and reduced the duty on raw sugar; to that extent they may be regarded as more favourable to protection than these who preceded them; but it was for revenue purposes. Free trade has always been the deliberate policy of the party to which we are allied, and I believe it is so still. If the Govern-

ment had been able to show me that it was necessary in the interests of the public credit and the public service that a small increase of taxation should be made for revenue purposes and not for protection, I say for myself, and I believe I can speak for the representatives of the Maritime Provinces generally, we would be willing to vote what was required. But that is a very different thing from what has been pressed upon the Government by deputations from Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton. We of the Lower Provinces are not so near the seat of Government, and that fact throws a great responsibility upon us to speak plainly whenever the question comes up in Parliament. If we could not carry our views, we would not, like the hon. member for Montreal Centre, cross the floor of the House and make an unholy alliance with the hon. members for Cumberland and Kingston. I believe it is better to endure the ills you have than fly to others you know not of. The Government have conducted the affairs of the country on economical principles, and the principles they advocated when in Opposition. When the hon. member for Cumberland delivered his speech it was evident he had prepared it to denounce the Government for unnecessarily increasing taxation. The hon. gentleman has one speech yet undelivered. He had better keep it till next year, and then if the tariff goes up he can use it.

Now that this question is before the House, I hope we will have a decided expression of opinion. In my own Province the dissatisfaction would have been intense if the Government had adopted a different policy from that which they have announced. Although Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton do not like it, still there are more constituencies in this Dominion which have larger interests involved than theirs, great as they are, and they will sustain the policy of the Government.

Mr. THOMPSON (Welland)—I do not rise to speak with regard to free trade or protection. I only desire to lay before the House some thoughts and some knowledge which I hope will have some effect in educating the minds of members

of this House on the subject. Authorities who existed two hundred years ago have been quoted by some hon. gentlemen, but at that time there was no such thing in existence as a steam engine. Since the construction of railways and telegraphs, the power of the human mind has been greatly developed, and hon. gentlemen should follow the steam engine. We find that machinery can be made just as cheap in one part of the world as another, and worked as cheaply when intelligence is put beside it. The question arises, why cannot we manufacture as well and as cheaply in this country as in others? It must depend upon the intelligence and enterprise of the manufacturers. I want to know if the hon gentlemen here are going to support ignorance?

If our manufacturers were equally educated and intelligent with those of Great Britain and the United States, they would need no protection. To say the contrary is simply absurd, for we can buy as cheaply as they, employment is as cheap, our population could do as much work, and, therefore, the want is intellectuality. I have heard of a Canadian gentleman who made \$100,000 in manufactures, and who placed on his sign "Domestic Industry and Fair Trade"—some boys changed it to "Free Traid," and he remarked it was not free-trade, it was fair trade—fa-r-e fair—and these are the people who want protection. Such a system is false, it makes money dear. My right hon. friend from Kingston remembers as well as I, Canada twenty, thirty, and forty years ago. I never saw a happier people than the Canadians were at that time.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Let us go back.

Mr. THOMPSON—Canada in the aggregate is to-day richer, but not as to individuals. Why cannot agriculturists be as intellectual and as happy, and make as much money as other classes of the population? and everything that tends to shut cheap articles out is not only contrary to philosophy but it also makes the people poor. With free-trade, articles being cheaper, families can save perhaps \$100 a year, and supposing there are 500,000

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families, this would make in a year \$50,000,000, while with this miserable revenue of \$18,000,000, the country loses the difference, besides the reproductive advantage of this capital; therefore, every single dollar placed on imports cause a loss of three dollars.

This system is entirely a matter of expediency; little by little the theory is adopted, and men's minds are filled with the stereotyped notions of England a hundred years ago, and the country crawls back like a lobster. Some hon. gentlemen say—Look at the United States and its growth as proof of the value of protection; but I affirm that protection has never made the United States prosperous, but on the contrary, impoverished them. In New England, in the manufacturing towns, as Worcester, &c., the houses have an excellent appearance, but the families are living in tens of thousands in respectable poverty, on incomes of \$600, \$800 or \$1,000. New England is not rich, but poor; and extensive duties impoverish the manufacturer as well as the people because they make capital dear, and limit the power of consumption, producing an unnatural state of things. The United States would have been to-day twice as prosperous had it not been for this system of protection.

I have visited all the manufactories of Great Britain; and if I was talking in Yorkshire or Lancashire, the mechanics could understand me perfectly, but here an educated Canadian gentleman cannot understand me. In taking twenty millions by an artificial process out of the pockets of the people, so much working capital is displaced; and if this be extracted during the months of January, February, and March, in a year one hundred millions of capital would be annihilated, and this would probably produce, under other circumstances, three hundred millions; remove twenty millions, and only \$240,000,000 would be produced, sixty millions being lost by the displacement of twenty millions.

The member for South Norfolk speaks of the money of the United States being a vicious currency because it is irredeemable; but if the Government of the United States were not as ignorant on this subject as this

House is, the money of the United States would have remained at par from the day it was issued until this moment. Greenbacks are redeemable upon their farms, and in every house in the Republic, and the only reason it is deficient in value in the eyes of the people of the world, is because the Legislature insists on calculating the duties on a gold basis. If this House adopts a protective policy they will give the greatest blow to the country it ever received. I do not care whether the manufacturers or the merchants or anybody else succeeds, I do not want any man to protect me; I want every man to stand on his own bottom. You give the manufacturer twenty-five per cent. on his manufactures, and the farmer twenty per cent. on his corn, and what difference does it make; it puts up the price of food and the labourer puts up the price of wages, and it balances. These tariffs are merely the result of the profound ignorance of the people. I do not speak in support of this Government, or of this party, or any other party—I am speaking in favour of a philosophic principle, without which this nation is never going to amount to anything. We have to rise in harmony with the laws of nature and of trade to arrive at anything.

Mr. MacDONNELL (Inverness)—It has been said that members from the Maritime Provinces have brought pressure to bear on the Government to dictate to them what shall be their financial policy. As far as I am concerned—and I was happy to hear the hon. member for Halifax say the same—I had no influence over the Government on the subject. Nothing was asked of me about it, nor did I trouble myself to communicate my ideas on the subject to the Government. I am sorry this charge has been made. I think we ought all to avoid everything like undue pressure from any section of this Dominion. I think the harmony and prosperity of the future of Canada greatly depend upon every member of this House considering himself a member for the whole Dominion and not for any one part of it. But supposing we did wait upon the Government, in the face of what is attempted to be done in this House, a delegation representing certain inter-

ests in this Dominion having in the lobbies and Committee rooms of Parliament asked for sectional or class legislation would it not be the duty of other hon. members of this House to take steps in order to defeat any step of that kind. It is true the members from the Maritime Provinces as a whole are Free-Traders, believing it to be the principle that does justice to the various interests of the Dominion. It has been said by Perry, the political economist of the United States, that no Legislature upon principle can be Protectionist unless at the solicitations of certain individual interests. This theory of protection has long ago been exploded. It is not true that the prosperity of England is due to protection. In 1826 England began to manufacture silk. It then reduced the tariff from ten shillings to five shillings per pound on foreign silks, and the tariff on raw material much more. The consequence was, England became a silk producing country. In 1860 she repealed the last vestige of the tariff on silk, and its manufacture had then grown to the extent of ten millions of dollars of an export trade. It is said protection has built up the United States, but I say it has been ruin to the United States. What was the period of the greatest prosperity of that country? It was when the tariff was lowest, in 1790, when the average duty was only $11\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

At no other period of its history was the United States so prosperous as then. What does protection mean? In order to be available it must be discriminative. If you protect all the industries of a country, you have no protection at all. This is the principle which is laid down by writers on political economy, and which will be understood by every person who gives it a moment's consideration. Whatever is discriminative is partial, whatever is partial is unjust; and therefore protection is unjust. I contend that protection means to enrich the rich and impoverish the poor. Whatever restricts trade, whatever forms an obstacle to trade, adds cost to production—cost and scarcity. And scarcity means what? The poor man wants and is incapable to buy; the rich man can buy what he desires. Abundance is for the benefit of the

poor, and abundance is produced by free trade.

We are told that the Americans make a slaughter market of the Dominion. If goods are sold here at half price, is it not a benefit to the country? Would it be an injury to the people if ship and car loads of goods came into the country gratis? Would it not produce an abundance? If such is the case, and I hope no hon. gentleman will have the hardihood to deny it, then goods received at half price must be better than goods received at high prices.

Let us take the article of iron. I presume the iron manufacturer is one of those who wish to be protected. Well, iron is an article that enters into the composition of every industry. You may protect the iron manufacture, but such a course will injure every other interest in the country. A few years ago a gentleman by the name of Bessemer invented a method of producing steel. He did not attempt to produce a better article, but simply to cheapen the mode of production. No sooner was this heard of in the United States than the doors of Congress, like the doors of this honourable House at present, were besieged by iron producers. A law was obtained enhancing the duties upon iron, and what was the consequence? In the year 1872, when the Michigan Central Railroad was being built, the Company had to pay \$79 for steel rails, while across the Detroit River, a few miles distant, the Canada Southern was being built with steel rails at \$50 per ton. This was protection to the manufacturers of iron; but what benefit was it to the company? Was it not an injury, and being an injury to the Company was it not also an injury to the whole United States? It is said that protection will give ultimate cheapness—that if the manufacturers of the Dominion are protected to-day, at some early time in the future they will become so developed and progress to such an extent that manufactures will be cheap. This is not the fact. They may progress for a certain time, but after a while, as experience shows, the price of labour will be enhanced, and they will soon be applying for another increase in the tariff. Such

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has been the experience of the United States. The tariff passed in 1790 gave protection, and in 1808 the same clamorous appeal was made to Congress and the duty was again raised. But the matter did not rest there; from time to time it was enhanced until at last they had the tariff of abominations. Who was the advocate of the tariff in 1790? It was Mr. Colquhoun, a man whose name is bright in American history, and is known to every gentleman in this House.

Mr. PLUMB suggested that the hon. gentleman was incorrect in his dates.

Mr. MacDONNELL—I beg pardon; I find on examination that the second tariff passed in 1816 was designated Colquhoun's tariff. The tariff passed in 1790 was called the Hamilton tariff. That, however, is only a matter of date, but I am very glad to find my hon. friend so exact. There was no stronger advocate of protection than Mr. Colquhoun; but he afterwards saw his error and became the champion of free trade, and died as such. If, instead of coming to this House for protection, the gentleman representing the manufacturing interests had come here for a cash subsidy, I should feel much more disposed to support them. But protection means nothing but a cash subsidy. It is paying them out of the interests of the nation. It is putting a tax upon the other people of Canada in order to put money into the pockets of the manufacturers; but I would prefer voting for a direct subsidy at once for the amount claimed for those gentlemen, than to introduce and engraft upon the constitution a protective policy, of which we may never rid ourselves hereafter. Admitting that the present tariff is a just one, upon which the revenue is collected, each man would pay his fair proportion to that subsidy; but by protection you may do injury to certain sections of the Dominion. The hon. gentleman who last addressed the House asked why it was the manufacturers were praying for protection. In my opinion, in doing so, they admit somewhat of an inferiority on the part of the people and resources of the country. It is said

that manufactures are in their infancy. I don't think this is the real cause. What constitutes their infantile condition? Is it their want of raw material, favourable conditions, or experience?

I cannot understand why the manufacturers of this country cannot compete successfully with those of other countries when they have a tariff of 17½ per cent. and the cost of transportation in their favour. I do not believe in the Government taking in hand the protection of the industries of the country. They should be left to private enterprise. It is not the function of a Government to direct what industries shall be developed. No part of this country has suffered more from the protective policy of the United States than Nova Scotia. That country a few years ago raised and shipped three times the quantity of coal it does today. The coal mines are closed and yet, I am proud to say, there is not a single representative of Nova Scotia asking for aid. I say these men who ask for protection to private enterprises come here as paupers. They embarked their capital in those enterprises without consulting the Government; they were guided by their own judgment, and they have no right to come here for aid. A farmer who by some misfortune would lose his crops and be obliged to mortgage his farm, would not pursue such a course.

Mr. DEVLIN said the manufacturers did not ask for aid. He had simply remarked that Free-Traders who would go to Montreal would meet with a very poor reception from those who were suffering from the factories being closed up.

Mr. MacDONNELL—The rose by any other name would smell as sweet. The man who asks assistance in his private affairs wants charity. This matter of protection is the old cry of monopoly. In England they have had a surfeit of it, and other countries have been emancipated from such a policy. Is this Parliament prepared to go back to a retrogressive system? Let us have free trade, which alone will do justice to all men, and is best calculated to develop the various interests of this country.

Mr. GORDON—I find a very laborious effort is being made by a certain class to persuade the farmers of this country they are suffering under a grievance which a protective policy would remove. The profession comes from the millers who, at a meeting held in Toronto recently, passed a resolution declaring that the admission of American produce and flour into Canada free of duty is a gross injustice to the agricultural and milling interests of this country. I have one thing to object to in this resolution—and that is, the millers having grievances of their own, seek to show that they are shared by the farmers. Under the national policy the duty on wheat was 4 cents per bushel, and the profit to the miller on every barrel of flour was eight cents. This may appear trifling, but an illustration of its importance may be found in the fact that my hon. friend from Lincoln, who produces 700 barrels of flour a day in his mills, made \$56, or \$336 a week by it. No wonder the millers are complaining that they need such protection, but they should not seek to make a stalkinghorse of the farmers to carry their grievances to a successful issue.

I find the following figures in a valuable work entitled "Does Protection Protect?":—"In 1820, the total exports of wheat from the United States, was \$38,000,000. Between 1820 and 1830 was a period of high protection. In 1830 the value of wheat exported was \$53,000,000, an increase of 36 per cent in the decade."

Between 1830 and 1840 was a period of free trade. I find the value of exports in 1840 had increased to \$93,000,000, an increase of 76 per cent. From 1840 to 1847 was a period of protection, and the last three years of the decade a period of free trade. During the ten years ending 1850 the increase was only 35 per cent. From 1850 to 1860 "free trade policy prevailed, and the increase was 107 per cent. From 1860 to 1869 a period of the closest protection, the increase was only 2½ per cent."

For the four years between 1839 and 1842, a period of free trade, the average price of flour was \$5.45 per barrel; from 1843 to 1846, a period of protection, it was \$4.40; from 1854 to

1861, a period of free trade, the price was \$6.47; from 1862 to 1867, a period of protection, the price was \$4.94. The average price during a period of 17 years of free trade was \$6.13; during a period of ten years of protection, \$4.75. The average price per barrel during twenty years of free trade was \$4.95; during twenty-five years of free trade, \$6.04. Now, I think these figures must show to any candid mind that although the millers and others may profit by a protective tariff on flour, the loss to the farmer is \$1.36 per barrel as the result of the system.

I think, that if these facts are duly impressed upon the minds of the agriculturists, it will show that this agitation on the part of the millers arises from very selfish motives, regarding a matter in which they are directly concerned; therefore, I hope that under these circumstances the farmers will perceive, as was remarked the other night by the hon. member for South Norfolk, that they will have to bear a grievous burden. The hon. gentleman, the member for Norfolk, made an allusion to the prices of land on the banks of the Hudson and in the Province of Ontario, stating that on the Hudson some \$250 an acre were paid, whilst in this Province the average was only \$50 per acre. I take issue with the honorable gentleman on that point, for I believe it can be clearly shewn that in no part of the United States—taking the last five years as the average—has the price of land risen in the same ratio as in Ontario. I remember, when five years since, it was considered a high rate to obtain \$50 an acre for the best farms in the best localities, and I now find in my own and surrounding neighbourhoods, entirely removed from any manufacturing establishments, that prices range from \$110 to \$120 per acre. So I think that this will prove that the advance in values does not arise from the proximity of lands to such industries, but to their intrinsic worth and the character of their products. This, in my opinion, will always be the gauge, in Ontario at all events.

Complaint is made that our industries are suffering grievously; but I am not aware that any hon. gentleman condescended to mention the closing of

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any such establishments in Canada. The Finance Minister referred to instances, particularly in the iron trade, where firms were obliged to shut down in the United States, in consequence of over-production; but I can mention a native industry which was compelled to close its doors, for a time at all events, — the starch manufactory at Edwardsburg. The cause, very candidly assigned, is that very large factories at Oswego manufacture this article to the value of \$500,000 annually. A home market is found for \$400,000 worth at an average profit of from 25 to 30 per cent., and the remainder is sent to Canada to be sold at a reduction of five cents per pound, in order to close the Canadian establishments.

Now, I ask if this is the case, how could a protective tariff prevent such a competition? If the American manufacturers choose to make a sacrifice, how can we prevent it? I think that the cause for existing evils is to be found in the depression which prevails in the United States, and this will be remedied in the course of time. Our friends who advocate a protective policy, point across the border as to a kind of paradise, where all Protectionists are flourishing; and I will just read two short paragraphs from a very important periodical published in the interests of the American shoemaking and leather interests at the present date, and they are to the following effect:

"Manufacturers complain that a large amount of bankrupt stocks in boots and shoes on the market, has been operating unfavourably to prices."

Again I find in another place:

"We are glad to note an increased interest in the matters of foreign trade among manufacturers of women's goods. If this branch of trade is suffering from over-production it only needs a little self-sacrifice in the way of labor on the part of a few capable men to clear the obstacles from the road."

The same cause—over-production—operates there as well as here, and although they have an average protective duty of 48 per cent., they still labour under these disabilities. I cannot see how raising the tariff to 20 per cent. would have the effect of shutting out the evils of which complaint is made, when there is an additional tariff over the border of 28 per cent.

Mr. BLAIN—I am unable to support the amendment, which, if I understand it properly, declares that we should establish a discriminatory tariff in favor of Great Britain as against the United States. I cannot conceive that this would be in the interests of the country, though I am willing to do all in my power to obtain what I think is necessary protection for our manufactures. A great deal of discussion has taken place beyond the proper limits of the debate. In the first place, many hon. gentlemen talked about protection and free trade. There is no such thing as free trade in any country of which I have knowledge on the face of the earth. There is not a single nation which is not governed by a protective policy, with the single exception of Great Britain. When the subject was reviewed, it was found that in this country out of 1,500 articles on the list she only derived sufficient revenue to pay collection for some seventeen; and that out of a portion of these seventeen she now obtains her revenue. In other words, she is almost as much a protective country as when she adopted the policy she at present terms free trade. When we come to this side of the ocean we find the people of the United States have a protective policy; and we therefore find that free trade is nowhere the rule, while protection is universal. Every nation, we are well aware, regulates her own affairs, and may foster or injure our own industries. No one here desires to shut out trade and commerce by a very high protective tariff; we wish to have a tariff for revenue purposes, so arranged as to protect our manufactures. We have three classes,—the manufacturing, the commercial, and the agricultural; two are productive, and the third wholly distributive; and if depression affects either the agricultural or manufacturing, the third must necessarily suffer. It is admitted that the farmers are prosperous, but the manufacturers labour under very great disadvantages; and it follows, as a matter of course, to my mind, that the mercantile industry must also suffer; and when American capitalists attempt to crush out our native producers, whose means are less, I say that it is our duty to deal with the ques-

tion legislatively. It is conceded that it is the duty of Great Britain to interfere in case a foreign country should give a large bonus on the export of sugar, and the same principle applies, whether a nation or manufacturers, are willing to make this sacrifice; in this event, the whole principle of protection is granted, and consequently we should place on the Statute Book, a law in this regard. That Great Britain has been injured by her free trade policy is patent to every visitor of that country. Fifty years ago probably every other man in Great Britain owned some property; but what is the case to-day, nearly every man is forced to depend upon wages as the means of support for himself and his family. The speech of the Finance Minister was admirable. He stated that protection in the United States had enriched the few and impoverished the many, but what is the state of things in Great Britain?—At the present moment nearly all the land is in the hands of about 50,000 persons, and nearly all the capital in the possession of about ten times that number. In no country on the face of the earth is there so little in the possession of the great mass of the people as in Free Trade England. When other nations are able to compete with her, she must return to a protective policy. *Apropos* of Bessemer steel, it was imported into the United States at the rate of \$160 a ton; at present, with a protective tariff, it is manufactured in the United States of as good quality in every respect for \$60 per ton. It has been supplied for something like 80,000 miles of railway. The amendment reflects upon the financial policy of the Government, and as it is a motion of want of confidence I cannot vote for it.

Mr. MACDONALD (Centre Toronto)—A few remarks may be expected from me on this subject. Three days of the time of this House have been spent in the discussion of matters relating to the financial depression of the country. A Committee was asked to investigate it, though to my mind, and in the opinion of a great many others, the causes were perfectly plain; and, I think that when this Committee has collected all possible information, it will have a very unappreciable effect.

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The country has simply been passing through a crisis, which will again be followed by others, for every country has crises as regular as the seasons, though at greater distances. No country has ever risen to greatness without passing, not only through its crisis, but its crises, and the neighbouring country to which reference has been made, and which has reached to such a point of manufacturing perfection, has passed through a variety of crises.

The eminent manufacturers of that country who have rolled up colossal fortunes, have built them on the wrecks of those who have preceded them. The resolution which was moved for the appointment of the Committee took another turn, and the amendment was moved that there should be a Committee to consider the depressed manufacturing interests. That Committee is sitting now, and that Committee has come to this House and asked for a shorthand writer, and I have no doubt they intend to do a large amount of business. And yet we have the strange anomaly of a Committee sitting to consider the depressed condition of the manufacturing interests of the Dominion, and the Government adopting a policy which affords no help to the manufacturing interests. I promised upon another occasion, when I last addressed the House, that I would refer to some of the causes which have brought this crisis about. I stated that among these was the cheap credit of England, but I have perhaps failed to impress on some of the members of this House the extent to which this evil exists. Starting from the threshold, we have the young men of the country coming to the cities, as the last census exhibits, despising the labor of the field and seeking in the larger cities mercantile callings; and so long as that disgust—shall I call it—of labor and tilling the soil exists, we shall have the same results. Here, then, is the source of the evil. They come to the city, and they easily obtain goods, the parties from whom they obtain credit having themselves easily obtained it. Notably, the export trade of Great Britain to this continent has been gradually leaving her, and her merchants have been

taking with her customers in this country greater risks than they otherwise would have done. The goods from Great Britain are sent out to this country not only to the man who buys them, but they are consigned to other parties and thrown on the market irrespective of value, and I appeal to this House if this country has a consuming power for fifty millions of dollars worth of goods, and a hundred millions are thrown on it, is it not apparent that every industry must be depressed?

Let me give one illustration. In the city of Montreal a very short time ago one concern, I was told, failed for a million and a quarter of dollars. That concern, I understand, had very little difficulty in arranging with their creditors in Great Britain at ten cents on the dollar. It is not a difficult thing to understand that a million and a quarter of dollars worth of goods thrown on a small market under such dishonest circumstances affects it considerably. Credit is so cheap in England that the same firm while settling for ten cents on the dollar was making arrangements for renewing their stock again to demoralize the market as they had done before. Speaking of the ease with which goods are obtained, so anxious are British merchants to throw them on the market that stocks bought in December are dated in the month of March. You have thus three clear months, and beginning with that they then obtain a credit of six months, which makes it nine months; then they have very little difficulty in obtaining a renewal for one-half, which makes a credit of nearly twelve months; The slaughter does not come from the United States. I was quite clear on that matter when in this House I made the statement the other day, but since then I wrote to two firms in the United States the following questions:

Question.—Are goods sold to Canada by United States manufacturers or commission men, lower than to the people of the United States?

Answer.—No; our prices and terms are the same to all buyers, whether from Canada, United States, or elsewhere.

Question.—Can you give any reliable information as to the probable increase

which has taken place in the sale of dry goods by the United States to Canada during the past year?

Answer.—We cannot. In our opinion the quantity is very materially increased over previous years, but to what extent we cannot say with any accuracy. Your Custom Houses' statistics would show this.

Question.—It is claimed that goods are sold regardless of price, and at indefinite time, by the United States merchants to Canadians, &c.?

Answer.—This is not true as applied to manufacturers or selling agents, but, undoubtedly, to a certain extent, jobbers who have "runners" throughout Canada and the United States, do much to demoralize prices and terms, as you fully understand, but this applies the same to the United States as to Canada.

I will point to the fact that in the large cities of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, the agents of English houses have their offices, for which they do not pay more than £35 or £40 a year. They contribute nothing to the municipal expenses of the cities in which they are placed, while they sell as many goods as any wholesale merchants in any of these large cities, who have either to build their warehouses or rent them, employ clerks, and maintain expensive establishments. This is a very great grievance, but I do not speak of it in this House to bring any measures to correct it, as it will correct itself. It is one of the many plans by which English houses seek to disseminate their wares through the country.

Then another feature that has brought not only this but previous crises about, has been the establishment of mercantile agencies in Canada. This may appear a very strange statement indeed, but the day was when a man who went to travel with goods required to be an intelligent man; the day was when a man who went to introduce his goods into the country required not only vim, but culture and intelligence. Now a little memorandum book is put into the hands of agents, and A B and C are said to be the men who are to be called on. It would not matter so much if but a few were instructed

to call upon these men, but all of the 1,500 travellers in Canada receive the same instructions, and the result is that if the man is not bad they make him bad in a very short time by crowding on him more goods than he can use. I have in my hand a letter from a house which sells in the course of the year as many goods as the Dominion of Canada imports from Great Britain altogether, and it will be satisfactory that this firm endorses the statement I have ventured to make in this House.

They say:—

“We have been aware that the subject to which you refer would be brought before your body for consideration at your present meeting, and we are very glad to receive your communication, in order that, so far as we are able, we may correct any misapprehensions which exist regarding the trade between the United States and the Provinces.

“Answering your questions in the order in which they are propounded, we beg to say that we presume we are sending more American goods into the Provinces than any other house connected with the trade, and we can most emphatically state that at no time and under no circumstances have our goods been sold to your merchants at lower prices than those which we received from merchants doing business in our own States; on the contrary, all buyers of merchandise of us, whether from the Canadas or from the most remote sections of our own country, are in every respect treated alike as regards the sale to them of our goods.

“In this connection we would suggest that our terms are confined strictly to our customers' credit of sixty days on what are called domestic goods, viz., sheetings, shirtings and prints, while the foreign goods that we sell throughout the Provinces or throughout the States are based on a credit of four months.

“As an instance of how closely we hold to these terms, a proposition was made us within the past few days by a house doing business in Canada, of known standing and respectability, to purchase a considerable amount of our domestic goods, provided we would sell them on a credit of four months, adding interest for the extra sixty days of time, which we promptly declined, simply because it was a longer credit than we are willing to grant on such goods. This instance, we think, is a fair illustration of the manner and time at which American goods are being sold to provincial merchants. We wish we could advise you clearly and definitely regarding the increase of the trade in dry goods between the United States and the Canadas, but this is a question rather to be determined by your Custom House records than by any estimates which can be formed here. Our own trade with the Provinces during 1875 was increased moderately over that of 1874, but it has not grown to be an element in our sales of sufficient importance to be especially noted.”

I shall not detain the House by reading the balance of the letter, but it is a very suggestive proof to my mind of the statement I have made.

Mr MACDONALD.

I have received since then further confirmation of the statement—the settlement of the affairs of a wholesale house that has just gone into insolvency. Its liabilities, direct and indirect, are a quarter of a million. I know that it did a large American trade, but the amount of American liabilities represented in that quarter of a million is only two thousand dollars. The Americans have discounted in their sales all possible loss; they have brought everything as nearly as possible to a cash basis. They sell goods at very short time, and if payment is not made they cut off the customer—this is an instance. I venture to make this statement, that that thing will go on, and that while the imports from Great Britain will steadily decrease, those from the United States will as steadily increase, unless you build up barriers against them, and such barriers as I cannot defend. Unless you build up such barriers before another eight years elapse you will find that the trade with the United States, amounting to \$50,000,000 to-day, will reach a volume of not less than \$100,000,000. The reasons are so numerous that a little reflection will show how apparent this is. The United States are 3,000 miles nearer us than Great Britain. Canadian merchants can telegraph to New York to-day, and in three days receive their parcels. In a few days more they are sold out, and have duplicated and triplicated their transaction before they could get returns from England. It is useless to shut our eyes to the change that is going on between this country and the United States.

Coming down to the Budget Speech of the hon. gentleman, I desire to state that there are several things in it which it would be folly for this House to do other than approve. And there are some things to which I shall take objection. For instance, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact—I am speaking from memory—that some \$4,000,000 has been spent upon what are called “minor works,” that \$2,000,000 has been paid on account of Prince Edward Island; and if I remember right, and the hon. gentleman will correct me if I am wrong—in reference to the St. Lawrence

there were \$2,000,000 more; and that since the hon. gentlemen assumed the position they now hold they have paid the sum of \$32,800,000. It would be idle for me or any member of the House to state that this is not a matter for congratulation. But I was disappointed, and there will be others who are disappointed that the manufacturing interest did not receive the consideration to which it was entitled in the Budget Speech. The hon. gentleman said he could not legislate for one-twentieth to the exclusion of nineteen-twentieths. I hold that to be a fallacy, because I claim that the one-twentieth have just as much right to be legislated for as the nineteen-twentieths. We have heard a great deal about a high protective policy; but I don't know where the agitation came from; I certainly have not heard it. I came down to this House unpledged to vote for protection or anything else. My constituents have confidence in my judgment; at any rate they sent me here to do and say what I like, and I shall say just what I please and when I please. I came down here with the desire that every industry that was languishing, and that it could be demonstrated that it was so languishing, was entitled to an amount of protection that would help it without injury to the consumer; and I was prepared to prove that the native competition would have kept down the price to the consumer, and that it would not have excluded American products, because I hold that the moment you exclude the manufacturer from suitable rivalry you destroy his energies.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear! hear!

Mr. MACDONALD—Gentlemen say "hear, hear" - but the moment you expose him to terrible odds you crush him out. I say I do not desire to see American goods excluded from this market. I want the consumer to have the fullest possible benefit, and I want the manufacturers to have "foemen worthy of their steel." But I have been endeavouring to look at the temper of the House. I find here the representatives of seven provinces, whose interests are dissimilar. I find the great agricultural and manufactur-

ing province of the West; at the same time I find one whose interests lie immediately in shipping, and one of my hon. friends comes from a long distance, where that long, untrodden path is between, and the "sea of mountains intercept us; and so on with the other provinces. I find what is desired by one is opposed by another; I claim that the views I held on this matter are exceedingly reasonable, and ought to commend themselves to the good sense and good judgment of every member of this House.

My hon. friend who preceded me spoke rather warmly, and the remark was made that the representatives of the Maritime Provinces waited upon the Minister of Finance and pressed their views. I don't say whether they did so or not. But I say if they did, I don't think it was wisdom. The day will come when they will want their own interests looked after, and I should be very sorry were the members representing Ontario to go to the Finance Minister, or any other member of the Ministry, and oppose anything that gentlemen from British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces or Manitoba, could demonstrate was not only for their good, but for the benefit of the whole Dominion.

I want to notice what I thought was fallacy in the Budget Speech. The Finance Minister spoke of the very great shrinkage in value as having been a source of wealth by enabling people to buy a larger amount of goods for a lower price. The hon. gentleman should remember that a shrinkage in value also represents a shrinkage in the pocket of the operative, and it would be far better for him to get a higher price for his labour and pay a little more for his dwelling-house and for his goods.

There is a point, however, that I have not heard introduced by any preceding speaker, and it is one for which I wish to give the Government the credit they deserve, inasmuch as it is to my mind a gleam of hope for the future. I mean this: That while there has been a large falling off in imports, and while that decrease has necessarily diminished their revenue, that in that very falling off I see the first gleam of

light. It is an evidence that men are gathering wisdom, and that they have commenced the policy of retrenchment and that may be regarded as a bright gleam of hope for the future. I am quite willing also to give them credit for the fact that while their increased expenditure is \$176,000, they have effected reductions amounting to \$3,250,000, being a decrease of nearly \$2,500,000.

There are many other matters of which I had intended to speak, but I am afraid that I may have wearied the House. There is one point, however, which I wish to note before I sit down. The Hon. Finance Minister says in his speech, "that in a new country like this there is force in protecting our manufactures." I accept that as an evidence that he admits the force of their claims. I will just say that frequent alterations in the tariff are dangerous—that crude and undigested alterations are dangerous—that I fear that if this House were asked at this moment to change the tariff, as I should have liked to see the hon. gentleman propose to change it, it would involve a certain amount of danger. I hope during the recess the Finance Minister will take into consideration the interest of every manufacturer. I shall be disposed to sustain such a policy, remembering that the elements which make a tariff valuable are equity, the freedom from anomalies, and above all the certainty that when framed upon just and equitable principles there is some guarantee for its continuance.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—At this late hour I don't wish to occupy the attention of the House very long. I wish, however, to reply to the invitation of my hon. friend from Montreal Centre, who has called me by name in a most pressing way to enter into a discussion of the general question which has occupied this House not only since the Budget Speech, but during the whole of the Session.

Now, I do not propose to add my quota, at all events just now, to the discussion on the merits of protection and free trade. The hon. member for Centre Montreal called upon me to state my opinions on this subject, and taunted me for silence. Several speak-

Mr. MACDONALD.

ers also taunted my hon. friend from Cumberland with having made a speech in one direction without having declared his principles. Now I do not know whether my hon. friend who sits near me (Dr. Tupper) was disappointed at the result of the speech from the Hon. Finance Minister. I certainly was. I came, I confess it, to hear his speech, impressed with the idea he was going to bring down an alteration of the tariff. We had a right to suppose he was, and the country had a right to suppose so. The hon. member for Montreal West had declared to his constituents that there was to be a change; we were led to believe he was in the confidence of the Government; we knew that he was supported by all their power, and that he came forward as the candidate and advocate *par excellence* of a protective policy. There were other indications—the speeches of the hon. gentleman himself on several occasions, the rumours in the country, the statements in the Ministerial press—which led the manufacturers and merchants of the country to believe that there was to be an alteration in the tariff, and one which would operate incidentally, at all events, in protection of our home industries. Therefore, I must say I was taken quite by surprise by the announcement of the Finance Minister, that the Government policy was to make no alteration in the tariff during the present Session at least.

The hon. member for Halifax said my hon. friend from Cumberland came prepared to attack the Government for extravagance if they increased the duties. I do not know if that was the motive which influenced that hon. gentleman when he was in opposition to us. That certainly would not have been the principle which would have actuated us in view of the grave circumstances surrounding us, of the stagnation which is admitted by the Government and by the speech placed in the mouth of Her Majesty's representative to exist. In this great crisis we were prepared to give the fairest, calmest and most favorable consideration to any proposition made by the hon. gentlemen opposite, with an anxious desire to set aside any party triumph in the in-

terests of the country. When, therefore, the hon. gentleman took his seat at the end of his singularly able but at the same time singularly unsatisfactory speech, I desired, taken by surprise as I was, time to consider what course we should take under the circumstances. However, my hon. friend from Hamilton got the floor and promised us a motion, and we got it. I shall only address myself to the words of it to-night. Of course the hon. gentleman prepared it from the most patriotic motives, from an anxious desire to secure to his constituents the advantages of protection, and as an earnest protest against the policy of the Government. It was intended as an indignant protest against the Ministry for being so utterly regardless of the interests of the manufacturers of Hamilton, notwithstanding the admission in the Speech from the Throne that there was a deficiency in the revenue and distress all through Canada. The hon. gentleman, I have no doubt, was actuated by a sincere desire to place himself right with his constituents and the country in laying before the House the resolution in your hands, and which we have got to dispose of before we can proceed any further. I suppose the hon. gentleman understands his constituents best. He has felt their pulse, and in laying this motion before the House he has satisfied their wants. He will have an ovation when he returns to Hamilton from every artisan and mechanic for the bold, manly, clear and decided manner in which he protects them against the hostile and unfriendly course of this Government. But while I have no doubt his constituents will crown him with laurels, those who have not been educated up to that point—the manufacturers of Montreal and other cities—will feel disappointed at the resolution. I do not know whether the hon. gentleman acted on his own advice or on the suggestion of others, who aided him in drawing up the resolution. It may be a mistake, but I say every person who will read it, every one who understands the effect of a resolution will say if a friend of the Government had been employed for the purpose of

making protection ridiculous and getting the smallest vote possible, he could not have framed it better. In the first place it will be voted against by every Free-Trader in the House. In the second place it will be voted against by the Administration, whose policy it attacks, and by those of their followers who have such unlimited confidence in them that they will come under the category the hon. Premier reckoned my supporters to be in when he spoke from this side of the House. He used to say they were the servile followers of a corrupt and incapable Administration. I have no doubt my hon. friend has found the advantages, though he is neither incapable nor corrupt, of having not a servile, but a confiding majority. The hon. member for Hamilton, I repeat, so framed his resolution as to succeed in getting every Free-Trader, the whole Administration, and every one of their confiding followers to vote against his resolution—and he must expect every member of this House who has not the good fortune to confide in my hon. friend, and who are placed in a position of political opposition to him, to oppose it also. He has ingeniously contrived that every member of this House, no matter whether he is a Protectionist, an incidental Protectionist, or a Free-Trader, must vote against it. He must get against the resolution every person who is in favor of a policy of retaliation against the United States, and every man who thinks we should pursue a policy of conciliation as advocated by the honorable member for North Norfolk, who made such an able speech. The honorable gentleman has so ingeniously contrived his motion that, excepting himself and the seconder, I do not know where he is going to get support. A good many years ago there was a great friend of mine in Parliament who was a very active-minded man, and applied himself very attentively to the legislation of the country. The beginning of every Session he introduced a great number of Bills, and he fought for them bravely. He discussed them eloquently and powerfully, fighting the battle against all odds, but the moment he found anybody to join with him he dropped his Bills.

My hon. friend in his resolution has taken very much the same course. He asks us seriously to vote for this motion, and, Sir, the time of this House has been interrupted and taken up by a resolution carefully and ingeniously framed for the purpose of getting the smallest amount of support possible to be given to it. And this, Sir, is done in the interests of his constituents—in the interests of the manufacturers—in the interests of the home industries of this country, and to put down the slaughter market, and keep out the foreigner, and prevent the injurious competition of foreign countries. This, Sir, is done for the sake of relieving the depression in this country, and to restore full time where there is now but three-quarter time, or one-half time, or no time; this is the amendment he proposes as the advocate and supporter of a protective policy.

Mr. Speaker, I think that this motion will be put out of the way and disposed of in the manner in which it deserves; and it is a waste of time in my opinion to discuss under these circumstances the practical question of the necessity of increased taxation, and the best mode of meeting the deficiency which has been declared by the Hon. Minister of Finance to exist; the best means of relieving the prevalent depression—of restoring confidence to the manufacturers, and of developing the industries of the country. I say, it would be a waste of time to discuss these questions in this relation: but we are promised by the hon. member for Montreal West that this matter will again be brought up, and I have no doubt that this will be done during this Session on many occasions. From the east and the west of Canada there will be petition after petition, and remonstrance after remonstrance, laid upon this table from the suffering manufacturers of the Dominion. I am confident that this question will be discussed—, and it must be discussed—as it ought to be, fully and practically; but before we can do so to any advantage, Mr. Speaker, we must first get rid of the motion of my hon. friend from Hamilton.

My hon. friend from Centre Montreal—I do not see him in his place.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Mr. DEVLIN—-I am here, Sir.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I hear his dulcet tones.

My hon. friend from Montreal Centre was kind enough to address me in a very complimentary manner, and in a very insinuating way; but he also showed, that he could speak in quite a different tone.

I heard the threat—the dire threat—that the members from Montreal would go into Opposition; and yet I did not see a change in my hon. friend the Premier's countenance. He did not seem to be very much frightened, notwithstanding the menace that the confidence of the hon. gentleman and the other two members from Montreal would be withdrawn from the Government, and that they would go into Opposition. I thought that I could see a smile—a gentle placid smile pass at the time over the countenance of my hon. friend, who knows his power. My hon. friend from Montreal Centre is like ancient Pistol—he can speak brave words, but like the same ancient Pistol, he can eat the leek. My hon. friend the Premier was quite satisfied, that although the member for Montreal Centre was very brave just now, and although—

“He casts off his friend as
A huntsman his pack,
As he knows with a word
He can whistle them back.”

And that though these brave gentlemen were going to snuff out my hon. friend the Premier, they would give him their confidence, as they had hitherto done. If the Government are never displaced until through the arm or accident of my hon. friend from Montreal, they will remain in office much longer than either the wishes of the Opposition, or the good of the country require.

My hon. friend from Centre Montreal gave me a warning, that unless I accept this offer at once there would be no use in my throwing my net for him. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have caught some queer fish in my time, but I am afraid that my hon. friend—as during the previous Session, when he sat over in that corner—is too loose a fish for me ever to catch.

However, Sir, this subject must come up again, and I hope, when it is

brought forward in a practical form, to be able to present my own views in my own humble way to this House; and although, as was often asserted by my hon. friend the Premier, and my hon. friend the member for Chateauguay, when they sat on this side of the House, it is not part of an Opposition duty to form a policy unless they choose, it is the part of the Opposition to criticise the party in power, show that it is wrong, if they can, and attack and assail it by argument. I yet hope that before this interesting subject is withdrawn from the contemplation of this House on behalf of the Opposition, to enter into it at some detail. In the meanwhile, we will have the vote on my hon. friend's amendment, and I trust to-night; and when this is taken, I suppose that other hon. gentlemen will have the opportunity of proposing other resolutions on this subject.

The members were then called in, and the House divided, with the following result:—

YEAS:

Messieurs

Wood.—3.

Devlin,
Irving,

NAYS:

Messieurs

Applby,
Aylmer,
Baby,
Bain,
Bannatyne,
Barthe,
Béchar, d,
Benoit,
Bernier,
Bertram,
Biggar,
Blackburn,
Blain,
Blake,
Blanchet,
Borden,
Borron,
Bourassa,
Bowell,
Bowman,
Boyer,
Brown,
Buell,
Bunster,
Burk,
Burpee (St. John),
Burpee (Sunbury),
Cameron (Victoria),
Carmichael,
Caron,
Cartwright,
Casey,
Casgrain,
Cauchon,
Laird,
Lajoie,
Landerkin,
Langevin,
Langlois,
Lanthier,
Little,
Macdonald (Cornwall),
Macdonald (Kingston),
Macdonald (Toronto),
McDonald (Cape-Bret.),
MacDonnell (Invern.),
Macdougall (Elgin),
McDougall (Renfrew),
MacKay (Cape-Breton),
McKay (Colchester),
Mackenzie,
Macmillan,
McCallum,
McGreevy,
McGregor,
McIntyre,
McIsaac,
McLeod,
McNab,
McQuade,
Masson,
Metcalfe,
Mills,
Mitchell,
Moffat,
Monteith,
Montplaisir,
Mousseau,

Charlton,
Cheval,
Christie,
Church,
Cimon,
Cockburn,
Coffin,
Colby,
Cook,
Coupal,
Cunningham,
Currier,
Cuthbert,
Davies,
Dawson,
DeCosmos,
Delorme,
Desjardins,
De St. Georges,
DeVeber,
Domville,
Dymond,
Farrow,
Ferguson,
Ferris,
Fiset,
Fleming,
Flesher,
Flynn,
Forbes,
Fraser,
Fréchette,
Galbraith,
Gaudet,
Gibson,
Gill,
Gillies,
Gilmor,
Gordon,
Goudge,
Greenway,
Hagar,
Haggart,
Harwood,
Higinbotham,
Holton,
Horton,
Huntington,
Jones (Halifax),
Jones (Leeds),
Kerr,
Killam,
Kirk,
Norris,
Oliver,
Quimet,
Palmer,
Paterson,
Pelletier,
Perry,
Petter,
Pickard,
Pinsonneault,
Platt,
Plumb,
Pope,
Pouliot,
Pozer,
Ray,
Richard,
Robillard,
Robitaille,
Rochester,
Roscoe,
Ross (Prince-Edward),
Rouleau,
Ryan,
Rymal,
Scatcherd,
Schultz,
Scriver,
Shibley,
Shinclair,
Skinner,
Smith (Peel),
Smith (Selkirk),
Smith (Westmoreland),
Snider,
Stephenson,
Stirton,
St. Jean,
Thibaudeau,
Thompson (Cariboo),
Thompson (Haldim'nd),
Thomson (Welland),
Trow,
Tupper,
Vail,
Wallace (Albert),
Wallace (Norfolk),
White (Hasting),
White (Renfrew),
Workman,
Wright (Ottawa),
Yeo,
Young.—174.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—A motion expressing confidence in the Administration has been moved, and only three members have voted for it, and the Government have then voted want of confidence in themselves, but my hon. friend's course was constitutional of course.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT rose to reply. He said he had not the slightest desire if any other members wished to speak on this question to press it to a vote.

On motion of Mr. Macmillan, the Debate was adjourned, and the House rose at Ten minutes to Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 2, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

After routine,

NEW BILLS.

Mr. BLAIN introduced a Bill entitled an Act to incorporate the Scottish Canadian Loan Company.

Mr. WORKMAN introduced a Bill entitled an Act respecting the Mechanics Bank of Montreal.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Would my hon. friend state what is the object of the Bill?

Mr. WORKMAN—The object is principally for a reduction of the stock in consequence of the loss sustained by the bank.

INSOLVENT BANKS.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT introduced a Bill entitled an Act to make provision for the winding up of Insolvent Banks. He said: I propose to make insolvent banks subject to the 142nd section of the Insolvent Act of 1875, which provides for the winding up of insolvent incorporations, subject to certain modifications. This will not interfere with their resuming payment within a certain number of days. As the law at present exists, creditors have very great difficulty in getting practical control of the assets of the bank, which, in point of fact, remains with the shareholders. This Bill will give creditors power to apply to the judge to appoint a receiver or assignee who may deal with the matter. There are certain other provisions of a more technical character.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—I would like to ask whether it applies to banks in trouble already, or banks that may be in trouble in the future?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I may say that we rather think the provisions of this Act will apply to all banks in insolvency now or going into insolvency after the Act becomes law.

THE INDIANS.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD introduced a Bill entitled "An Act respecting the

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

Indians of Canada." He said: The principal object of this Bill is to consolidate the several laws relating to Indians now on the statute books of the Dominion and the old Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. We find that there are three different statutes on the Dominion law books, as well as portions of several Acts that were in operation under the laws of Old Canada, and which are still in operation. It is advisable to have these consolidated in the interests of the Indian population throughout the Dominion, and have it applied to all the Provinces. Several amendments of various kinds are introduced. The principal amendment relates to the enfranchisement of Indians. Under the present law an Indian who becomes enfranchised only obtains a life interest in the land set apart for him, and his children have no control over it after his death. The present Act proposes that his children can control the land after his death by will from him. The operation of this it is considered will be an inducement for the Indians to ask for enfranchisement. Hitherto the inducement has been so small that very few of the Indians have asked for the privilege. This Bill proposes to go further; any Indian who is sober and industrious can go to one of the agents appointed for the purpose, to see whether he is qualified for the franchise or not; if qualified he receives a ticket for land, and after three years he is entitled to receive a patent for it which will give him absolute control of the portion allotted to him for his own use during his lifetime, and after that it will be controlled by whoever it is willed to. It is thought that this will encourage them to improve their land, and have a tendency to train them for a more civilized life. It is also intended that after they have obtained the patent for their land, if they wish to go on further and get possession of their share of the invested funds of the land, they can make application accordingly, and after three years further they will be entitled to a distribution of the funds; thus after six years of good behaviour they will receive their land and their share of the moneys in the hands of the Government, and will cease in every respect to be Indians

according to the acceptance of the laws of Canada relating to Indians. We will then have nothing more to do with their affairs, except as ordinary subjects of Her Majesty.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The Bill is a very important one. It affects the interests of the Indians who are especially under the guardianship of the Crown and of Parliament. From the statement of the hon. gentleman, I have a great deal of doubt whether it would be well to give every Indian, when he becomes 21 years of age, the right of absolute disposal of his lands. I am afraid it would introduce into this country a system by which land-sharks could get hold of their estates. However, we will have a better opportunity of discussing the question on the second reading.

I may take this occasion to say, I think it is hardly fair for the Government to take up other days besides their own to introduce their Bills. I did not object to it before, but as the paper is now so full of measures in the hands of private members, it is only fair that we should have a little time.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE DEBATES.

Mr. MASSON—It will be observed, by referring to the Orders of the Day, that I have followed the course which appears most satisfactory to the Premier, and in accordance with your views, with regard to the question of privilege relating to the translation of the Debates into French. Up to this moment we have not seen the first number in French. I have followed your ruling and given notice; I now move that the second report of the Committee on the printing and reporting of the Debates of Parliament be concurred in.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman's motion is on the order paper.

Mr. MASSON said he had acted on the suggestion of the Premier in the first place, but Mr. Speaker had ruled that two days notice must be given before the question could be brought up. Now the Hon. Minister of Justice remarked it must be taken up in its course. He (Mr. Masson) contended that it should be moved at once, because if taken up in its order it would

not be reached before the end of the Session, and the Debates would not be translated. If the hon. gentleman was right, notice should have been given in the same way when the first report was dealt with. May furnished instances in which *quasi* questions of privilege had been given priority.

On Feb. 16th, 1836, the consideration of a petition relating to a corrupt agreement in the Carlow election stood 9th on the orders of the day, but was taken up before all the notices of motion. On June 5th, 1837, a similar precedence was given in the matter of a petition relating to the printers of the House. On April 26th, 1844, a question of breach of privilege stood the 11th order of the day, and was taken first. He contended, therefore, from the facts and precedents that his motion had priority.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said these very precedents showed that the motion could not be referred to until the orders of the day were reached. He (Mr. Blake) would then be prepared to reply to the hon. gentleman's arguments.

Mr. MASSON contended it was a question of privilege, and claimed that he had a right to move it at once.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had been quoted as saying the motion could be made a matter of privilege. What he did say was, that it might, perhaps, be mentioned as a matter of privilege, but not that it could be introduced as a motion. The only ground on which it could be brought up as a question of privilege would be urgency. Now, he understood the first sheets of the translation would be placed in the hands of members to-morrow.

Mr. BOWELL—I cannot understand how it is possible that the translation of the speeches can be delivered to members of this House to-morrow, unless some person or persons, the Government or the Chairman of the Committee, or some one else, have assumed a power to which they have no right under the circumstances. The report adopted by this House places the translation in the hands of the Committee, and states further, that if any assistance be required to enable the officers of the House to do the work in question, this is to be given

under the supervision and the instructions of the Committees. So that no persons have power from this House—unless it has been assumed by the Government or the Chairman of the Committee without authority—to translate these debates.

In answer to the Hon. Mr. Blake Mr. BOWELL said the officers of the House has not given the requisite authority.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—So the hon. gentleman stated this morning.

Mr. BOWELL—I beg your pardon.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman said that if any additional assistance was needed, the Committee was to take action.

Mr. BOWELL—I did say so; but if any additional translators have been employed, an authority has been assumed for which no right was given.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am not aware that any additional employes have been engaged.

Mr. BOWELL—I have reason to believe that they number three or four, and the best reason is, one came and, with reference to a speech I made, questioned me regarding the mode of rendering certain of my expressions. I will read the report of the Committee to be found on page 48 of the Votes and Proceedings:—

“That, for the French edition, the said speeches be immediately translated into French on the same principle as the Votes and Proceedings of the House. For which purpose it is recommended that the official translators of the House be utilized, and when necessary such extra assistance as may be required will be granted under the supervision of the Committee.”

And the Committee has never met to consider this question.

Mr. SPEAKER remarked that there was no precedent for the system followed in this relation, as the English House of Commons did not employ official reporters. His own impression was, that the House having ordered an Official Report, and appointed a Committee to superintend it, any member having reason to complain in this

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regard might fairly say he did so on the ground of privilege, to some extent. His opinion was that this was a matter of such importance and urgency, and partook so much, at all events, of the nature of privilege, that precedence should be given to it when the notice of motion where it stood was reached.

CROSSING OF NAVIGABLE WATERS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I beg leave introduce a Bill making better provision for crossing navigable waters by railway and other road companies incorporated under Provincial Acts.

Considerable inconvenience has been caused by the lack of such legislation as is proposed, as special Acts from the Parliament of Canada have had to be procured for this purpose; and it appears to the Government that such procedure is hardly requisite, and that under proper restrictions, as contained in this Bill, an easier mode of facilitating the operations of Provincial companies may be carried into effect. The Bill proposes, when a railway or other road company is lawfully incorporated by a Provincial Act, and it is necessary that such line should be taken across or along navigable water, sections 54, 55, 56, and 58 of the Railway Act shall apply. A clause is added requiring any company desirous of constructing any work under this Act, to give notice for six weeks in a local newspaper; the plan must be submitted to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, and it must be authorized by the Governor-in-Council.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Does the Bill apply to existing companies?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It will extend to all Companies at present formed, or to be incorporated. It imposes no restriction on any companies whatever, but it gives permission to those incorporated under Provincial Acts to cross navigable waters under certain conditions.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Bill will remove an existing anomaly, placing it in the power of companies to cross navigable streams under arrangements provided by law.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac)—Would this apply to the Northern Colonization Railway at present?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—If this railway is empowered to construct its line, this Act will not interfere with it in the slightest degree; if not, then the company will be able to obtain such power under its provisions.

Mr. DOMVILLE—In the event of corporations, such as cities, not wishing to have railways crossing navigable streams, would this Act enable the companies to carry their roads across without the consent of such cities and corporations? A year ago a Bill was introduced to permit a road to be carried across the St. John's River at a navigable point, interfering with the rights of owners of wharves in the vicinity; it was thrown out, but it gave me a great deal of trouble.

Mr. WORKMAN—I would also ask if it would cover an application to be made in this House for the construction of the Royal Albert Bridge at Montreal? I have already received a great number of letters in opposition to the scheme; but of course as the Bill is not yet submitted I have not said anything.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I do not know whether the Royal Albert Bridge is to be built as part of a local railway; if not, the Bill has nothing to do with it. The provisions, I hope, are sufficiently guarded to prevent any such injustice as that to which the hon. member for King's County, (N.B.), refers, as notice must be given in a local newspaper of any such intention. I do not think that there is any likelihood of any injustice being committed.

MONEY IN THE HANDS OF FINANCIAL AGENTS.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked whether the Government will lay on the Table of the House a statement of the amounts of money belonging to Canada in the hands of the financial agents, or the banks in Canada or their agencies in England, on the 15th day of June last, and at the present time respectively; specifying the amounts that were bearing no interest and the rate of interest on all the other amounts respectively?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I don't want to take objection at this moment to the mode in which the question is put; but I may observe that it seems to be at the risk of some inconvenience if questions of this kind are put for purposes which had better be reached by a motion in the ordinary sense. I shall, however, have no objection to bringing down this information, and will add to it other facts pertinent to the subject which are not called for here.

SALE OF PUBLIC PROPERTY.

Mr. FRECHETTE enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to sell any portion of the public property set apart for military purposes in the the County of Lévis?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We have no immediate intention of selling any portion of the lands in question. I don't know what has induced my hon. friend to ask the question. If we find it in the public interest to sell any portion we shall do so in the usual way.

TERMINUS OF QUEBEC RAILWAY.

Mr. MASSON enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to adopt any means to assure the construction of a line of Railway to connect Portage du Fort, the proposed terminus of the projected Quebec Government Railway, with the subsidized portion of the Canada Central Railway?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government had a memorial transmitted to them from the authorities at Quebec on this subject, but we have not had it formally before us. I can only say to my hon. friend that the Government of course are disposed to regard favourably anything in that direction.

BEACH LOTS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked whether the Government is aware of the fact that the Government of the Province of Quebec is issuing letters patent granting to private individuals rights of property in beach lots on the St. Lawrence between the lines of high and low water, and even beyond the line of low water in the navigable waters of the St. Lawrence and the sea-ports thereof; and if so, whether the

the Government acknowledges the right of the Government of Quebec so to act?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I may say that the Government have some information and correspondence on the subject, but I am not in a position to state what they may do in respect thereto. I will suggest to my hon. friend that he had better move for correspondence and papers, which I shall have no objection to bringing down to the House when Government may be prepared to state what they are prepared to do.

EXTRADITION OF CRIMINALS.

Mr. DYMOND enquired whether any, and if any, what steps have been taken by the Government towards enlarging the scope of the existing provisions for the extradition of criminals as between Canada and the United States?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Steps have been taken by the Government towards that end. I suppose they are in the nature of correspondence, which, if asked for, there will be no objection to submitting.

GRANT TO RAILWAYS OF QUEBEC.

Mr. CIMON asked whether it is the intention of the Government to ask this House to agree to a grant to aid the Railways of the Province of Quebec?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to ask for an appropriation to aid railroads in any of the Provinces.

THE BOATS BETWEEN QUEBEC AND LEVIS.

Mr. ROULEAU asked whether it is the intention of the Government to pass such a law as will prevent the boats, which cross during the winter between Quebec and Levis, from breaking the ice bridge which forms there every year?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to propose any such law.

THE IRON STATION AT HALIFAX.

Mr. DOMVILLE enquired—Was the iron station now at Halifax awaiting erection purchased privately or by public tender, and from whom?

Mr. CASGRAIN.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not observe the question until this moment. The contract was by tender, but I don't recollect the names of the tenderers or contractor.

Mr. DOMVILLE—Then I will let the question remain on the paper.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Very well.

SNOW SHEDS ON THE INTERCOLONIAL.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked whether the Government have authorized the General Superintendent of Government Railways to place iron snow sheds on the Intercolonial Railway in the place of the wooden ones now existing; if so, has the contract been awarded, and to whom; also was it by private bargain or public tender?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There are no iron sheds in existence that I am aware of.

Mr. DOMVILLE—That is not the question. I asked whether the Government have authorized their substitution for wooden ones?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The thing has never been discussed at all.

THE TRANSLATION OF DEBATES.

Mr. MASSON moved that the report of the Select Committee on reporting the debates of the House, be now concurred in. The hon. gentleman said: I wish to say to my hon. friend, the Premier, that I would be very sorry he should remain under the impression that I had wilfully misrepresented anything he said. In the *Hansard* I find the hon. gentleman said: "The hon. Mr. Mackenzie said this matter was brought up as a matter of privilege, but it would be better to wait until the chairman of the Committee came." I think if it is possible to bring it up as a question of privilege, it is equally correct to bring it up as proposed.

Mr. DELORME—I beg to move as an amendment—"That the House add here to the mode of translation proposed by the first report of the Committee, and that the Committee be instructed to secure such assistance as may be necessary to ensure the prompt execution of the work."

Mr. MASSON questioned whether the amendment was in order.

Mr. BOWELL—Is it not simply a negative to the proposition made by the member for Terrebonne ?

Mr. SPEAKER—If it goes beyond the original report, of course it is out of order.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It does go beyond that.

Mr. BOWELL—In what way ?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It gives instructions to the Committee.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—May I ask if there are any instructions to the Committee by the House ? The House concurred in a former report of the Committee suggesting the mode in which the work should be done. To secure the requisite assistance is the same thing; they are both mere negatives.

Mr. BOWELL—Full power is given by this House to the Committee to employ extra translators if desired, according to the instructions.

Mr. SPEAKER—Will the hon. gentleman read the last line ?

Mr. BOWELL—"For which purpose it is recommended the official translator of the House be utilized, and when necessary"—that is, if necessary in the opinion of the Committee—"such extra assistance as may be required will be granted under the supervision of the Committee."

Mr. SPEAKER—By whom ?

Mr. BOWELL—By the Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER—To whom is it granted by this House ?

Mr. BOWELL—The power is granted by this House to the Committee. This house has adopted the report, and had the Committee not decided to change the mode of having the translation made, they would have proceeded at once under the power given here to give to the translator of the House such assistance as may be required.

Mr. SPEAKER—Would they be authorized by concurrence in this report to employ additional translators without the passage of some such resolution as has been submitted.

Mr. BOWELL—Yes; and had the Committee given instructions to the Clerk to secure such assistants, he would have paid them. He has refused

to do that in the past, because they were not employed by the Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER—It is open to the construction that the additional assistance will be granted by this House. It is very strange if on a report of this kind the Committee should be empowered to employ additional translation.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is plain that the words "For which purpose it is recommended that the official translators of the House be utilized, and that such extra assistance as may be required will be granted," mean that it is to be granted by the House under the supervision of the Committee.

Mr. BOWELL—Oh no !

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The passage will bear no other reading.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The House may have the power to employ assistance; the House now orders the Committee to do it.

Mr. BOWELL—The course which has been pursued in this matter is one which, I think, is a direct reflection upon the action of the Committee, and it is taking out of their hands that which was conferred by the resolution which appointed them. The original motion was made for the appointment of this Committee on the 14th of February. The next day, so urgent was it that the French members should have the reports of their speeches in French, the Committee met and appointed the President of the Council as Chairman. It was decided to utilize the translators of the House, with some additional assistance, to secure more accurate translation of the debates than we had of those of last Session. On the same day, upon which that report was adopted the President of the Council, as chairman of that Committee, presented it to the House on the 17th without giving any notice of his intention to do so, and the House adopted the report without discussion. Immediately after it was adopted the difficulty presented itself to the minds of the Committee and to the Chairman that it would interfere with the regular work of translating the proceedings of the House if this additional labour were imposed on the translators. They, however, agreed to try to enter

into arrangements with the translators to perform this labour as extra work, by allowing them so many additional hands, and by detaching one of the gentlemen, in whom they had confidence, from the staff of the House. The President of the Council took exception to this mode on the ground that if the translators were to work during the night and on Sundays to keep pace with the printing of the debates, it was not only wrong in principle, but it was one to which he had a decided objection. He said it looked like a job, and he was not prepared to lend himself to it. If they could perform this work without any interference with their regular labours, he would be quite willing to allow them to do it, but that granting extra pay for extra work to those who had plenty to do for the House already, was wrong, and he opposed it. At the next Committee meeting, on the 22nd, we thought the best mode was to give the work out by tender to some responsible person who had thorough knowledge of French and English, and practical experience in translating. Having come to this conclusion, some names were suggested, among others that of a gentleman who afterwards agreed to take the work—Mr. Descelles. No one on the Committee spoke in higher terms of the honesty, integrity and ability of Mr. Descelles than the President of the Council.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE called the attention of Mr. Speaker to the fact that the hon. member for Hastings was out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. gentleman could not refer to proceedings that had taken place in Committee.

Mr. BOWELL—Perhaps I may tell the reasons why the Committee changed their opinion and made a second report. It is quite evident that the members of the Government—particularly those who have taken the matter out of the hands of the Committee—are desirous that the facts shall not be known either to the House or the country. That report was adopted, but instead of its being presented to the House on the day of its

adoption by the Committee, it was carried in the pocket of the Chairman for two days, and it was not presented to the House. But the President of the Council again called the Committee together to endeavour to persuade them but they decided not to change their report. The reason that was given for the course they pursued by those who had this matter in charge, was outside pressure that was brought upon certain members. No sooner was it ascertained that this resolution was placed in the hands of Mr. Descelles than he was besieged by applications for positions on the staff, and by members who wished to provide places for friends; but when he ascertained that they had no experience in the translation of the English language into French, he could not consent to do it. He was still pressed, however, and then objection was taken to the mode of translation.

The facts reduce themselves simply to this, that the Government supporters became annoyed at losing a certain amount of patronage by this work being given out to a translator that they said was in opposition to them in politics, and connected with a newspaper which they asserted was continually abusing them and their party; therefore, he had no right to the contract. That may be the principle on which the Government act in giving out contracts, but I question whether it is a right course to pursue in the administration of the affairs of the country.

The President of the Council brought in the report and allowed it to remain on the Table until it was taken up by the hon. member for Terrebonne, who has been frustrated in every attempt he has made to bring it before the House. If the amendment before us should be adopted it will add materially to the expense of the translation, and what I fear more than anything else, the expense will be so great it will have the effect of destroying the official reports altogether. One translator, whose salary is \$1,600, will have to be detached from the staff, and he expects extra pay for the labor he has to perform. He tells me he will require from three to four extra translators to whom he will have to pay at least \$5 per day. Basing the computation on

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the time taken for translating the Confederation debates and last year's *Hansard*, this would give \$1,400, to which must be added half a year's salary of the translator. This would give \$2,500, and a proof reader and reviser would bring the cost up to between three and four thousand dollars. The translation of the Confederation debates at \$1.30 per page, which is five cents more than Mr. Decelles' offer, cost \$1,050.50; the translation of last year's *Handsard* cost \$1,501.25. The House can easily see why the Committee changed their report. I have good reason to believe certain members besieged the Government, and I know they besieged the Chairman of the Committee, to endeavour if possible to set this report aside, on the principle that they had no confidence in a translator who was connected with a newspaper in opposition to the Government and to them. If this be a good reason for setting aside a report which was unanimously agreed to by the Committee, surely the same argument might and should apply to Mr. Burgess, the editor of the Reports.

Everyone knows that he owns and edits a journal in this city, and when an opportunity presents itself he does not hesitate to express his opinion of the course pursued by members in this House. I hold that is right and proper, and something with which we as members of Parliament have nothing to do. He has as good a right to criticise and condemn members of the Opposition, so long as he keeps within the law, as any other newspaper man in this country. On the other hand, if it is right and proper that he should be the reporter of the debates in this House, and also editor of a Ministerial journal, surely it is just as logical to declare that Mr. Decelles, being an employé of the *Minerve*, has as good a right to take a contract from Parliament for the performance of a similar work. But it is contended that it is not so because exception has been taken to Mr. Decelles, while none has been taken to Mr. Burgess. That is a fallacy which is neither honest nor right. It is a reflection on the honesty of the reporters which is not deserved. I speak from my experience, having been on the Committee ever since this

House decided to have official reports, when I say that Mr. Burgess has, to the best of his ability and upon every occasion, done all that he could to give an honest and faithful official report of the doings of this House. While I admit that, I believe Mr. Decelles, though he may be connected with the *Minerve*, would act as honestly in the discharge of his duties as Mr. Burgess. If I had any reason to doubt that, my doubts were set aside by the high encomiums paid to Mr. Decelles by the President of the Council himself. These are the reasons why I oppose the motion which has been placed in your hands. I believe it would add at least 50 per cent. to the expense of this translation, which then would not be done any better than it would be if the contract were carried out. We know from the recommendations we have received that Mr. Decelles is not only competent to do the work, but possesses also an honesty of purpose and pride in his profession which will induce him to do it faithfully and correctly. There can be only two reasons why he is refused this contract; either the Ministerial supporters want the patronage for friends, some of whom are totally incapable of doing the work, or they are determined that no one whose political views are opposed to theirs shall receive a contract. I believe both of these reasons have actuated many hon. members. We find some of them have gone to the contractor under the impression that the additional assistance is to be paid for out of the funds of the country, and insisted on placing inexperienced young men on his staff at a certain amount per day. It is time, therefore, to sustain the action of the Committee when they are endeavouring to carry out the instructions given them by the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman draws a parallel between the contractor for the reporting and this person whom the Committee propose to employ as a contractor now. There is no parallel.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Why?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—In the first place, public tenders were issued ask-

ing for proposals for reporting the debates. The lowest tender was accepted, which was that of Mr. Burgess, long before he owned the paper with which he is connected. The Committee, according to the hon. gentleman opposite, has made a private arrangement with Mr. Decelles.

Mr. BOWELL—The Clerk of the Printing Committee was instructed to receive proposals from as many translators as he could.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The arrangement is private so far as the House is concerned. The offers have not been reported to the House. From the very first I have taken the ground that the translators of the House should do this work, and the printers of the House should do the printing, so as to have it under the control of the Committee as far as possible. I do not see why the work of translating should not be done as cheaply one way as the other, and I am confident it can. I am informed that an offer to do the work for 90 cents per page was refused by the Committee.

Mr. BOWELL—It is true, and the President of the Council will explain why.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman asserts that it is the principle of this Government to give contracts to political favourites. I defy him or any member of this House to show that favouritism has been extended to political friends, and I challenge him to make good his assertion.

The Committee decided upon a mode of effecting this translation, and we approved of it. I have not the slightest doubt of their good faith, but they must understand when they submit a report diametrically opposed to their first one, it will be criticized. I do not see that the hon. member for Hastings should revile the House for the course they take. Surely they have a right to an opinion on the matter as well as the hon. gentleman. I think the proposition of the amendment is quite reasonable.

Mr. BOWELL—Has the hon. gentleman made enquiries as to the cost?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I know a little about printing and reporting, and I have no doubt the translating can be done as cheaply by one system as the other.

Mr. MASSON—If I am well informed the reason why the offer of 90 cents was refused was because the President of the Council would not give the work to an Irishman.

When questions of interior economy are under consideration the political creed of a gentleman should not be considered, and this course was followed when my right hon. friend the member for Kingston was at the head of the Government. At that time an editor of a paper called *L'Ordre*, which was very bitter against the Administration, was appointed a supernumerary translator; and not only so, but a few weeks afterwards a permanent officer of the House, establishing the principle which I have mentioned. The gentleman in question negotiated with the President of the Council himself; and, if I am well informed, he acted most fairly. He understood, as well as the President of the Council, that politics should not be introduced into questions of interior management. He said boldly, fairly and honestly: "I have the contract; you have given it; and I have a right to choose such men as I like for my employés." He might have chosen men of his own political faith, as was within his right, but he would not do it; while he would not submit to dictation as to the men he intended to engage, from persons outside of this House. He said: "I will do better than that; the press is well represented in the gallery, and I will choose men among the editors and correspondents of the different newspapers who are capable of assisting me in making an excellent translation." He accordingly selected among the Liberals the editor of *L'Evenement*, Quebec, and the correspondents of the *National* and *Bien Public*, Montreal, and two Conservative journalists.

An Hon. Member—That is a coalition

Mr. MASSON—No; that is fair play. Such was the arrangement effected with the President of the Council, with the knowledge of

all the members of the Committee, and the motion for the employment of Mr. Decelles was moved by Mr. Bechar. But hon. members have found that their political friends would have all the patronage; and in this regard I must really compliment my hon. friends on the Ministerial Benches from the Province of Quebec. They have given way repeatedly when important matters have been brought before the House, nevertheless, I observe that they at last perceive they must show their independence. They do not desire to submit, regarding the question of patronage, to the President of the Council, and they have made it a *sine qua non* that this report should not be approved. They knew that they could not induce this House to cancel a contract honestly and fairly made at the request of the Committee, and they declared that they would change the whole system of patronage in this relation. I would be astonished if the unworthy attempt made were sanctioned by this House, for I hope we will rise above the level of party spirit. I notice that my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier smiles at this, but I know that he is incapable of doing such a thing. I appeal—not to the hon. gentlemen who are endeavoring to force the President of the Council to change his decision, but to the other hon. members; and I ask them whether it would be proper to take the step which is urged, simply because some hon. gentlemen cannot secure the patronage to which they lay pretensions.

Mr. YOUNG—I extremely regret that any difficulties should have arisen in the Committee, because it is quite evident that if politics are to be introduced into such matters, this report can only exist for a very short time. Indeed, as far as I can ascertain, the trouble is not due to the causes represented by hon. gentlemen opposite; and I do think that they should not have taken their present course in this regard. The real cause is well known.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—What is it?

Mr. YOUNG—I will tell the hon. gentleman. It is this: The gentleman in question is an active writer, employed on the staff of a leading

French paper, while the feeling existing between political parties in the Province of Quebec is very bitter, and certain members felt that it would not be fair that the translation of the debates of this House should be entrusted to a gentleman who is in such bitter opposition to them. This is the only reason. I think that the objection taken is very sound. In the case of Mr. Burgess, I do not think that the circumstances are parallel, for—as I have already told the member for North Hastings—Mr. Burgess scarcely reports himself, while little of the report passes through his hands. I have no doubt that the reporters endeavour to do strict justice in all cases, and I have no reason to believe that Mr. Decelles is other than a very honourable man; but still the difficulty I have mentioned exists. If our friends on the other side of the House objected to Mr. Burgess on account of his connection with a newspaper, and doubted his intention to do them justice and treat them fairly—as I told the hon. member for Hastings—I would feel that this would form a proper ground for objection. The only way will be to leave the matter in the hands of the translators of the House as was first agreed. I have no doubt that they will act impartially. Certain members of the Committee forced their opinion upon it against the wishes of the minority.

Mr. BOWELL—The report was adopted unanimously, and upon the recommendation of the Hon. President of the Council.

Mr. YOUNG—I dare not mention what took place at the second meeting of the Committee, and the hon. gentleman knows that the position taken was different at this meeting. I trust that nothing will be done to interfere with the publication of the Reports, which, I am sure, hon. members fully appreciate. I regret very much that the plan proposed to the House, in the first place by myself, the hon. member for Cumberland, and other hon. members, was not strictly followed.

Mr. DESJARDINS—The only objection my hon. friend from Waterloo seems to have to the action of the Committee is that he does not consider Messrs. Decelles and Burgess as occu

pying similar positions; but the circumstances, to my mind, are exactly the same, as the translations were to be submitted to members. Moreover, Mr. Decelles was to have merely the supervision of the work, the majority of his assistants being chosen, as the hon. member for Terrebonne has mentioned, from among the political friends of the Government. At the beginning of the Session the President of the Council appeared to be the leader of his party in the Province of Quebec; but I think that to-day we have, more than ever before, reason to enquire who is the real leader of the Ministerial party in Lower Canada. The step that was taken by the President of the Council was viewed with disfavor by his political friends; they denounced the effort he made to act impartially. He took the initiative in this matter, and assured himself of the services of a gentleman who could faithfully and satisfactorily translate the debates, and previous to submitting the question to the Committee, the hon. gentleman saw Mr. Decelles and ascertained that his services could be secured. I also believe that he intimated to this gentleman the price he should obtain under the contract.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—No! no!

Mr. DESJARDINS—The reason why the Committee unanimously adopted the report submitted to the House, was therein indicated:—The inconvenience which would result, if the work was entrusted to gentlemen already over-burdened, and the necessity existing for seeing that no ordinary duties were neglected in its performance or the translations inconveniently deferred.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I rise to a point of order. My hon. friend from Hochelaga is not making much progress, and I am afraid that a great deal of time will be lost while he is giving a history of the transactions of the Committee.

Mr. DESJARDINS—Not at all.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I understand that he is recapitulating arrangements made by the Committee.

Mr. DESJARDINS—Decidedly.

Mr. DESJARDINS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—What the Hon. President of the Council and the Committee have done.

Mr. SPEAKER—This would be clearly out of order.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The matter before the House relates to the report of the Committee and does not concern the regularity, or irregularity, the formality, or informality of its transactions.

Mr. DESJARDINS—This is a question which I consider merits the attention of the House. The Committee was appointed, I suppose, because the House had confidence in the impartiality of its members, and when its second report was adopted it did not at once fall under the flood of indignation which appears a few hours afterwards by accident to have poured from hon. gentleman opposite. On the contrary, the Committee's action was approved, even by Ministerialists. When we saw one after another coming and proposing to the contractor, or hon. members who were supposed to have some influence with him, a crowd of applicants anxious to offer their services to their country for a consideration, of course matters at once changed. A certain portion of the hon. gentlemen became indignant, because the contractor did not wholly follow their suggestions, and they waxed warm, owing to the fact that the President of the Council had dared to recommend a gentleman who had the misfortune to be employed on the staff of a journal like the *Minerve*. It is to be regretted that this feeling was not previously shown and immediately after the selection, in order to conceal their motives, which were clearly explained by the hon. member for Terrebonne. They believed that they were being robbed of a certain sum of money which legitimately belonged to the Ministerial Party. They have not enjoyed Ministerial favours a long time, and they are not at all certain that they will long have such opportunity. At present, three hundred pages of the English *Hansard* have been published and distributed among members; and had this difficulty not arisen, and had action been immediately taken in the way the President of the Council

desired, without delay, one hundred and twenty pages would have been translated, printed and circulated. The difficulty raised does no credit to the Ministerial majority. In any case, whatever may be the decision of the House, it will tend to throw discredit upon the Committee—I can give other interpretation to any action that may be taken.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I have seen party pressure applied many times in this House, but I never before saw it applied for the purpose of defeating the unanimous report of a Committee composed of members of both sides of the House. Mr. Decelles' capability cannot be disputed by any person in this House. It cannot be disputed, because the Hon. President of the Council has represented him as eminently qualified to perform his duties, and there is no hon. gentleman in this House more capable of giving an opinion of Mr. Decelles' qualifications for the work. His capability has been admitted as beyond question; the only ground alleged against him is that he is connected with a French newspaper politically opposed to the Government of the day. When the House remembers that the whole of this work of reporting our debates has been entrusted by gentlemen on both sides of the House to one of the strongest political partizans to be found in this country, to the hands of the gentleman who edits the Government organ in this city, and who deals in the severest terms with the actions and expressions of gentlemen who oppose the Government; when it is considered that no members of the House ever objected to have the whole reporting of the debates committed to such a gentleman, I say it is amazing that any member can be found who would venture to ask this House to vote down the report of the Committee on the ground that a gentleman who is to serve under that reporter is connected with a French newspaper opposed to the Government. I cannot believe it possible that independent gentlemen on either side of the House can fail to feel that nothing is more unreasonable than to ask them to vote against this report, when it has been shown that the offer which it recommends will save

a large amount of money, and the work could not be done on more favourable terms. I referred to Mr. Burgess as a political partizan, but I am bound to say that his character as a reporter, in discharge of the duty with which he is entrusted, makes him superior to taking any advantage of the position which he occupies, or to doing anything but give, with most perfect fairness, the reports of the speeches of the hon. gentlemen of this House. Surely the Government do not say they want the reporting to be in the hands of a political partizan, and they will not employ any person under him who is not a political partizan of the Government.

Mr. PALMER—The principal thing that governs me in this matter is the question of expense. I would like to hear the views of the President of the Council as to what induced him to enter into that contract.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—I am free to confess I find some difficulty in this case. I want some light, and other members want some light on this matter. When the hon. member from Terrebonne brought it before the House it presented itself to me in this way: The hon. gentleman found fault that the Reports had not been delivered to the French speaking members in the French language, and that appeared to me so exceedingly reasonable that I would vote that they should have them in French. On the other hand, I find an amendment moved from the Government side of the House by gentlemen speaking the same language and resisting this. The difficulty with me is to find a reason for voting against this report, as I understand Mr. Decelles was unanimously appointed by the Committee.

Mr. MASSON—The contract was awarded to Mr. Decelles, and instructions were given to the Clerk of the House to sign the contract with him.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Committee simply recommended that the tender be accepted; they had no right to award it at all until the House approved of it, and now the amendment embodies the view that the House should have charge of this and not the contractor.

Mr. BOWELL—Before the objections were taken, with the consent of the President of the Council, the Clerk of the House was authorized to enter into a contract with Mr. Decelles.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I greatly commiserate the Premier in the position in which he is placed. He is exactly in the position that I have been placed in some time ago by the peculiar action of the member for Quebec. I cannot at all venture to add to the argument of my friend from Cumberland, in his answer to the speech of the hon. member for South Waterloo. I cannot perceive the difference between Mr. Burgess and Mr. Decelles. They are both good reporters, and both have strong political proclivities. Mr. Burgess is connected with one of the newspapers which support the Government; in fact the confidential press of the Government, and yet it never occurred to the members on this side of the House to enter into such ignoble warfare against Mr. Burgess, because he was opposed, strongly opposed to us in politics, and sometimes expressed his views in criticizing our actions in language which, if used on the floor of this House, would be considered exceedingly unparliamentary. Yet, when he got the contract we never thought of attacking him.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—He was not connected with the paper at that time.

Mr. BOWELL—He occupied the same position on the *Times* at that time as Mr. Decelles now occupies on the *Minerve*. He was editor of the paper of which he is now proprietor.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It has never occurred to us to grumble or complain about Mr. Burgess, or to talk of cancelling his contract because he was editor of the *Times*; and I am exceedingly sorry that that course has been pursued with reference to Mr. Decelles. As far as he is concerned, however, I think he is well out of it. It is quite certain that he would be worried all the time, that he would not get fair play; and that the contract would be a ruinous one to him. But what surprised me was the conduct of the President of the Council. I do not deal with the Committee at all, but

only with the hon. gentleman as a member, by what is said in the House. It is stated here that he was in charge of a report which was unanimously adopted, and it was his duty to lay it before the House; but he kept it in his pocket two days contrary to his duty as Chairman of the Committee.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—That is not the fact.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Well, how long did the hon. gentleman keep it?

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—Go on; don't be in a hurry.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Perhaps it was forty-seven hours and three-quarters. That was not respectful to the Committee, and by so acting the hon. gentleman forgot his duty to the Committee and this House. What is the reason? There is something behind this. My hon. friend is always energetic in performing his duties; I have known him a long time, and no one understands his duties better than he. If he sinned in this instance it was not from ignorance, because he knew it was his duty to lay that report before the first meeting of this House. But the hon. gentleman kept the report in his pocket two days after the House met. If he had moved it in its place the House would have adopted it unanimously. But in the meantime it was not denied that Mr. Decelles had got the contract, or had been promised it so far as the Committee could promise. It is alleged that certain members of this House went to Mr. Decelles and said—my hon. friend stated it on his own responsibility—"You must employ so-and-so, and give them so much, \$4 a day." Mr. Decelles, however, said "I won't do it; I am responsible for this work, and I will engage my own people;" and because he could not be induced to purchase the support of those hon. gentlemen, pressure was brought to bear upon the Hon. President of the Council which, no doubt, he greatly regrets. It puts this House in rather an inglorious position, and is doing a great injustice to Mr. Decelles, who is in effect punished for his politics, and punished because he happens to be a Conservative.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Mr. DEVLIN—I am surprised at the effort made on the part of the Opposition to impugn the motives of the members on this side of the House. During the whole time they were in office those who were opposed to them had no chance of receiving any employment. If you look at the various Government offices in existence at Ottawa to-day, you will not find one that is not filled with partisans of the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, and I believe I am correct in stating that not one has ever been removed. Although the hon. gentleman tells this House that the person in whose behalf he has spoken was punished for partizanship, I think he is mistaken. The record of the Government in this respect is above suspicion. The Ministry have on more than one occasion incurred the censure of their friends for neglecting the interest of those who have supported them in times past; and looking at the thing fairly and squarely they should prefer their friends to those who stand opposed to them. That is my doctrine. Whenever I am called upon to give a vote I shall always record it in favour of my friends in preference to my opponents. I shall, therefore, support the position taken by the House on this question.

Mr. BLAIN—The position taken by both sides of this House is not a proper one. I tried to point out that no man should be put in a position where there is the possibility of a conflict between his feelings and duties; and I have no hesitation in saying, now, that he who reports the debates of the House ought not to be employed; and that this man, who controls a Conservative paper, ought not to have this contract. If we desire to keep those people as they ought to be kept—men of independence, men who will follow any walk of duty that may be before them—we ought not to put them in a double position of that kind. Both sides of the House are now attempting to shield partizans at the expense of the Government. I think, Sir, that both these gentlemen ought to be dismissed.

Mr. DELORME—I think a wrong idea has been formed on this question. Motives have been imputed upon the

other side that are not borne out by the circumstances. Where is the responsibility? The contract for translating last session was not well filled indeed, so indifferently that members determined there should be a change this year. A number of us decided to place the work in the hands of the French translators who are responsible to this House. This was the real reason which induced the change.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—I hope the President of the Council will not resist the appeal made to him. I receive nearly every day letters from my constituents and friends asking me to send them copies of the Report. I could only reply, "I have no French copies." The President of the Council is responsible for this delay. There is something suspicious about this thing. One day Mr. Decelles is the best man the Committee could choose. Even a good Irishman is put aside when he offers to do it for ninety cents, on the principle, I suppose, that "No Irish need apply." I would like to know why Mr. Decelles has so changed from pure gold to lead. I have every confidence in the reporter of the House, who is the editor and owner of a Ministerial newspaper, and it is admitted that Mr. Decelles has the intelligence, education, honesty and industry required for the translation of the debates. Perhaps the hon. member for L'Islet can tell us why the French population of Quebec are deprived so long of reports of our debates in their own language. I appeal strongly to the President of the Council to give us some explanations.

The members were then called in, and the amendment was carried on the following division:—

YEAS:

Messieurs.

Archibald,	Higinbotham,
Aylmer,	Holton,
Bain,	Herton,
Barthe,	Huntington,
Bernier,	Jetté,
Bertram,	Jones (Halifax),
Bigger,	Killam,
Blackburn,	Kirk,
Blair,	Lafamme,
Blake,	Laird,
Borden,	Lajoie,
Borron,	Underkin,
Bourassa,	Langlois,
Bowman,	Macdougall (Elgin),
Boyer,	McDougall (Renfrew),

Brouse,	MacKay (Cape-Breton)
Burk,	Mackenzie,
Burpee (St John),	McCraney,
Carmichael,	McGregor,
Cartwright,	McLeod,
Casey,	McNab,
Casgrain,	Metcalfe,
Cauchon,	Mills,
Charlton,	Norris,
Cheval,	Oliver,
Christie,	Paterson,
Church,	Pelletier,
Cockburn,	Perry,
Cook,	Pettes,
Davies,	Pickard,
Dawson,	Poser,
Delorme,	Richard,
De St. Georges,	Robillard,
Devlin,	Ross (Prince-Edward),
Dymond,	Scatcherd,
Ferris,	Scriven,
Fiset,	Skinner,
Fleming,	Smith (Peel),
Flynn,	Smith (Selkirk),
Forbes,	Smith (Westmoreland),
Fréchette,	Snider
Galbraith,	Stirton,
Gibson,	Thibaudau,
Gillmor,	Trow,
Gordon,	Vail,
Goudge,	Workman,
Hagar,	Yeo,
Hall,	Young—95

NAYS :

Messieurs.

Baby,	McDougall (Three Riv.),
Bannatyne,	McKay (Colchester),
Blanchet,	Macmillan,
Bowell,	McCallum,
Cameron (Cardwell),	McQuade,
Cameron (Victoria),	Masson,
Caron,	Mitchell,
Cimon,	Moffat,
Colby,	Monteith,
Coupal,	Montplaisir,
Currier,	Mousseau,
Uthbert,	Ouimet,
Desjardins,	Palmer,
Dewdney,	Pinsonneault,
Domville,	Platt,
Farrow,	Plumb,
Ferguson,	Pope,
Flesher,	Robinson,
Fraser,	Robitaille,
Gaudet,	Rochester,
Gill,	Roscoe,
Haggart,	Rouleau,
Harwood,	Short,
Hurteau,	Stephenson,
Jones (Leeds),	Thompson (Cariboo),
Kirkpatrick,	Tupper,
Langevin,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Lanthier,	White (Hastings),
Little,	White (Renfrew),
Macdonald (Kingston),	Wood,
Macdonald (Toronto),	Wright (Ottawa),
Macdonald (Cape-Bret.)	Wright (Pontiac).—64.

It being Six o'clock the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

DAMAGE TO LAND BY THE GRAND RIVER.

Mr. McCALLUM resumed the adjourned debate on his proposed motion for an Order of the House for correspondence on the subject of damages caused to lands along the Grand River by raising the water in the upper level of the Welland Canal. He said: The motion placed in your hands is in reference to a grievance of the people I have the honour to represent in this House. They have suffered largely by the negligence of the Government in this matter, particularly those farmers and property-holders in the townships of Moulton, Dun and Canborough, in Monk, as well as those living in the townships of South and North Cayuga, in Haldimand. They suffer by having a large portion of their farms covered with water during the summer months, and by having their roads injured, their bridges washed away, and being put to a great deal of inconvenience in other ways. The Corporation of the village of Dunville has also suffered in this respect, having been put to the expense of building an embankment along the Grand River for a long distance, to keep the water out of the town. In 1870 or 1871 the Government, through neglect in not having sufficient waste wires to carry off the water, caused a great deal of damage in the town by the rapid rise of the water. The loss was heavy, and the people applied to the Government from time to time for compensation, but got none. Last year the Government sent surveyors and valuers to value and report upon the extent of the loss, and I do not see any good reason, nor have I heard any expressed, why these people should not have received their money long ago. Some people say that the settlement of this matter was kept back for political purposes, but I do not charge the Government with doing it with that object, although it has done duty at the election in favour of the Government candidate. It has been argued by supporters of the hon. gentleman opposite, that if the people wanted to get justice in the matter of land damages, they must support the Government candidate. I know it had an influence on the elec-

tion favourable to the Ministerial candidate, but not sufficient to send him to this House. But I do charge the Government with negligence and indifference in this matter; and I am surprised that I do not see a sum placed in the estimates for the payment of these damages. I do not charge them with doing wrong in raising the water in the Grand River, or in this reservoir, as it was necessary for the purpose of supplying the Welland Canal with water for manufacturing as well as navigation. But while I approve of what they did in that regard, I cannot admit that they were justified in doing an injustice to a few individuals for the benefit of the public without offering some compensation. I trust they will grant an arbitration in this matter, in order to remove the just grievances of the people.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government would take the necessary steps to ascertain the amount of damage, if any, and the matter would be dealt with at the proper time and in the proper manner.

Mr. McCALLUM said the sooner this grievance was removed the better. The people were as law-abiding as any in the country, but he would not be responsible for the result if this injustice were continued. There was also a grievance against the late Government. In 1870 or 1871 a large amount of damage was caused in Dunnville by an overflow of the river. He wanted the Government to grant an arbitration to those people to see what damage they had sustained.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman had no business to constitute himself champion of these people at all. He accused the Government of injustice, though he knew the late Ministry, whom he supported so zealously, had declined to pay these people damages. The dam was never raised by this Government and they should not have been accused of injustice. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had taken particular steps to have a survey made to establish water levels and then sent valuers to determine the losses of property holders. Maps were prepared and a sum would be appropriated as soon as possible for paying the damages.

Mr. McCALLUM said in the spring of 1874 this Government had raised the water in the Grand River from 15 inches to two feet higher than before because the supply in the Welland Canal was insufficient, and yet the Premier asserted that nothing of the kind had been done under his administration.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he did not rise to take part in this debate, but to enquire what the Premier meant by saying the hon. member for Monk had no right to constitute himself the champion of these people. It was the duty of any hon. gentleman in this House to champion the humblest individual in the Dominion, from one end to the other, whenever an injustice in his judgment was done him. The hon. gentleman's statement was rather too broad.

After some further discussion the motion was carried.

WATER NAVIGATION.

Mr. PERRY renewed his motion that an Address be presented to His Excellency, for a statement showing what steps have been taken by the Government touching the opening up of steam communication, in the winter season, between Prince Edward Island and the mainland, in accordance with the terms of Union between Prince Edward Island, and the Dominion of Canada; also all correspondence and copies of contracts with different parties, with the view of effecting the same.

The motion was carried.

PUBLIC BILLS.

The following Bills were read the second time and referred to appropriate standing Committees:—

Mr. WOOD—To amend the Act 37 Vict., chap. 51, intitled "An Act to authorize the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion."

Mr. CHARLTON—To amend the Act 38 Vict., chap. 42, respecting the transportation of cattle by railway or other mode of conveyance within the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. FORBES—To amend the Act to make better provision, extending to the whole Dominion of Canada, respecting the inspection of certain staple articles of Canadian Produce.

LICENSING OF ENGINEERS.

Mr. COOK moved the second reading of the Bill to provide for the examination and licensing of persons employed as Engineers elsewhere than on steamboats.

Mr. SPEAKER—The Bill affects trade and commerce, and my impression is it should be introduced by resolution in Committee of the Whole. Last Session a Bill on the same subject, introduced by the hon. member, was ruled out for that reason.

Mr. COOK—You refer to another Bill. The object of this measure is to get a competent class of men. I do not see why it is not in order. It would have the effect of improving this class of engineers.

It will also have the effect of creating a revenue; I find from the returns, that such has been derived yearly from steamboat inspection. In 1870, \$5,122.11; 1871, \$2,048.96; 1872, \$3,210.43; 1874, \$5,311.61; and 1875, \$2,800.12. We do not hear of accidents on steamboats, but a paper is scarcely taken up that does not contain information that a boiler has exploded in some factory or mill, large numbers of people being killed. Two years ago an explosion occurred in a factory at Pieton, and it was proved conclusively to have been due to the incapacity of the engineer. Mr. Platt, at the time wrote congratulating me on the introduction of a similar Bill, and hoped that it would not be withdrawn, as it was a necessary measure. Not only lives are endangered, but a great amount of property is destroyed; the lives of the people so exposed should be protected, and I trust that the Government will not be hostile to the Bill.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—If the views of my hon. friend could be carried out, the effect, I do not doubt, would be beneficial in many instances; but there is a broad distinction to be drawn between the class of engineers charged with the care of steamboats, containing perhaps one thousand passengers, and those who are simply proprietors of a shingle machine worked by themselves in some remote part of the country. It is equally certain that we could not reach all the persons

mentioned in our legislation; it would impose a very heavy duty on Government officials, a larger staff would be required, and a tax would become necessary. I may at once inform my hon. friend that the Government are not prepared to adopt his views, because they believe that they could not possibly carry them out, and because it would not be well or wise to do so if they could, to the extent the hon. gentleman proposes. He cannot, moreover, as a private member, introduce a Bill which would levy a tax on any portion of Her Majesty's subjects, or dispose of public moneys so obtained; and I think, that having explained his views, he should be satisfied and withdraw the measure.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I am sorry to hear the hon. Premier make this statement, for I think that it is necessary to have skilled engineers in mills and factories as on steamboats. In many mills from one to three hundred people are employed, and legislation in the direction proposed is very advisable.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I took the ground that this was a matter regarding which we cannot competently legislate, but one which I think belongs to the Provincial Legislatures.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I am not prepared to say that it is not constitutional; but if we cannot take such action the Local Governments should adopt some measure in this connection.

Mr. MILLS—The hon. gentleman will notice in the second section of the British North American Act that such legislation appertains to the Provincial Parliaments.

Mr. COOK—Do steamboat inspectors come under the control of the Local Legislatures?

Mr. MILLS—No; for that is a matter connected with navigation, but the engineer of a saw-mill has nothing to do with commerce.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—I regret the position taken by the Premier. A few years ago an accident happened in Quebec, owing to the explosion of a donkey engine, and last summer a man was killed there, I believe, in consequence of a similar mishap. The hon.

Mr. FORBES.

member for Bothwell will, perhaps, be able to say whether donkey engines are controlled by the Dominion or Local Legislature. Probably by the former, because they are employed on vessels and docks. Legislation preventing accidents would protect the public, and hence would be very desirable.

Mr. COOK—I must say I was very much surprised on hearing the remarks that have fallen from the Premier.

Mr. SPEAKER—Does the hon. member allow the matter to stand and be taken under consideration.

Mr. COOK—I wish to give vent to a few remarks regarding the discussion that has already taken place.

I am very much surprised at the attitude of the Premier. If he is not aware that there are larger establishments than shingle mills in this country, where steam engines are used, requiring the services of competent engineers, I will inform him on the subject. Mills exist where from 150 to 200 men are engaged, and a very large number are employed in other factories. I imagine the Premier will recollect that last year he had the boilers in this building inspected by the Chairman of the Board of Inspectors. It was then discovered that they were very rusty, and if they had been subjected to a heavy pressure the consequences might have been disastrous, while the House was in Session. These facts are incontrovertible, and under these circumstances, and when the Government finds it necessary to employ in asylums and other public buildings engineers furnished with certificates, I do not see why this should not be generally required. I hope that the technical objection taken will be dropped, and that the measure will be allowed to become law. The tax would be light and a revenue would be created.

Mr. COCKBURN—The law proposed would be a hardship upon many small establishments. I have been requested by parties throughout the country to state that they are not prepared for such a regulation, which should be deferred until the public is educated up to the proper point. If the Bill is not withdrawn I must vote against it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think the hon. gentleman from North Simcoe did not understand the latter portion of my remarks. I doubted whether this House was competent to deal with this subject. I do not at present think that we can do so. I moreover questioned the policy of going so far as the hon. gentleman proposes, even if it were within our power.

Mr. COOK—Under the circumstances I will leave the matter over for further consideration and may bring it up again.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD—I think my hon. friend who introduced this Bill must see that there is no use in keeping it on the paper. The Hon. First Minister says he opposes it in the first place on the ground that this House has no jurisdiction, and in the second place, that if the House had jurisdiction it ought not to pass the Bill. Under such circumstances it seems hopeless to keep it on the paper. I am inclined to concur with the view taken by the hon. member for Bothwell, that this is a matter for local legislation.

Mr. ROCHESTER—If the Premier has decided correctly, that this House has no jurisdiction, I should say nothing more about it. There is, however, a great deal to be said in favour of the measure, and I think it will be well to let it remain on the paper.

Mr. McDOUGALL (Renfrew) moved the adjournment of the debate. The motion was carried.

THE NATIONAL EXCHANGE CO.

On motion of Mr. Scatcherd, the Bill to incorporate the National Exchange Co., was read the second time, and referred to the Select Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.

ASSISTANT INSPECTORS OF PENITENTIARIES.

The House then went into Committee on Bill No. 2—An Act to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia. (Resolution reported from Committee of the Whole on Friday, 25th February, referred).

Mr. Scatcherd took the Chair.

The Committee rose and reported

the Bill, which was read the third time and passed.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

The House went into Committee on Bill No. 3—An Act to make provision for Collection and Registration of the Criminal Statistics of Canada. (Resolutions reported from Committee of Whole on Friday, 25th February, referred).

Mr. Scatcherd took the Chair.

DUTY ON TEA.

The Committee rose and reported.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved an Address to his Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence or communications since the 1st day of January, 1874, between the Government of Canada or any of the Departments or officers thereof and Merchants and other parties, if any there be, relating to the changes in the duties on tea, and asking for or relating to compensation resulting from such changes, together with a statement in detail of all duties refunded on teas, with the names of the parties to whom the refund was made.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—There is no objection to the first part of the resolution, but there is no correspondence.

The motion was carried.

PIER AT BAIE ST. PAUL.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that his Excellency will cause to be laid before this Honourable House:

1st. Copy of the contract between the Government and Mr. Adolphe Gagnon, for the construction of a pier or piers at Baie St. Paul;

2nd. Copies of the correspondence between the Government and the said Adolphe Gagnon and others in connection with such contract.

3rd. Copies of all claims or accounts presented by the said Adolphe Gagnon, or by any other person in his name, for indemnity in this case;

4th. Copies of all Orders in Council or Departmental Orders referring this claim or this account to the Official Arbitrators;

5th. Copies of the award of the said

Mr. ROCHESTER.

Arbitrators and the papers accompanying it, and of all Orders in Council or Departmental orders giving effect to each award.

The motion was carried.

QUEBEC CITADEL.

Mr. CARON moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for: 1st. Copies of all contracts between the Government and any person or company for the execution of work at the Citadel of Quebec in 1874 and 1875; 2nd. Copies of all arrangements, made with a contractor or contractors, or with a superintendent or overseer, or superintendents or overseers, for the execution of any portion of the said works; 3rd. Copies of the pay lists, showing the sum paid to each overseer, superintendent, workman, &c., for the execution of such work, the number of workmen, overseers, and superintendents, employed each week, and the total cost of such work during the year ending the 31st December, 1874, and the total cost for the following year.

The motion was carried.

DISALLOWANCE OF PROVINCIAL STATUTES.

Mr. MILLS moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for all correspondence with the Colonial Secretary on the subject of the exercise of the power of disallowance of the Provincial Statutes. In doing so he said:—

I need say but very little in reference to this motion. It will be remembered we had this subject up last Session for discussion. The late Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberly, on one occasion directed the Governor General to exercise the power of disallowance regardless of the advice of his Ministers. I think that the general opinion expressed in the House last Session was that the advice was bad advice and unconstitutional. I think an hon. gentleman who moved a resolution respecting it last year withdrew it because it was then under consideration between the Government and the Colonial Office. I now move for the correspondence.

The motion was carried.

INSPECTOR OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
FOR CHARLEVOIX.

Hon. Mr. **LANGÉVIN** moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of the commission appointing Mr. Henry Simard. Inspector of Weights and Measures for the Electoral District of Charlevoix — and of the oath taken by him as such Inspector, and of the date of such oath.

Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE**—There has been no commission, and there was no oath as far as we know.

Hon. Mr. **LANGÉVIN**—It appeared in the *Official Gazette*, but I will withdraw my motion.

MONTREAL CUSTOM HOUSE SUPERANNUATIONS.

Hon. Mr. **TUPPER** moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for a Return of the names and ages of all employes of the Montreal Custom House who have been superannuated within the last two years, with causes of such superannuation; names of all persons who have been taken into the Public Service during the same period in connection with the Montreal Custom House, whether as permanent employes or as supernumeraries, and the salary paid to each, and for what period, and showing whether they are still employed.

The motion was carried.

SIX NATION INDIANS.

Mr. **PATERSON** moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all correspondence which has taken place between the Council of the Six Nation Indians and the Indian Department, with reference to the payment of accrued interest moneys which belong to them and which have been added to their general fund; and also for a statement showing the amount of said interest moneys.

He said: I may remark that the Hon. Minister of the Interior is not in his place, but some of his colleagues may give the information. The motion refers to a matter with which I am somewhat conversant. I may mention that the correspondence is of this nature: The Six Nation Indians have \$300,000

invested by the Government. During the past thirty years there have been large sums of money, by way of accrued interest, which have been paid to the Government, and which, instead of having been paid to the Indians as they are entitled to, have been merged in their general fund. They have contracted debts with merchants, and they now desire to pay these debts. They have memorialized the Government asking that the amount of accrued interest be paid them in order to do so. I have taken this opportunity of pressing the matter upon the notice of the Government, in order that they shall concede what is just and right, bearing in mind the fact that the Indians are asking for their own money, not the public money. They do not ask that the general fund should be trenched upon in the least, but they ask for the accrued interest, to enable them to pay their debts as honest men. The amount they require is about \$75,000; they feel persuaded that there is that amount of money due them, but it is not known exactly. I have asked for a statement of this accrued interest, but it will necessitate a great deal of trouble to the Department. I will say on behalf of the Indians that they will be perfectly satisfied if their request for \$75,000 is granted. I would ask that the Minister of the Interior should have the statement furnished as soon as possible, so that I may be in a position to convey back some answer to them on my return from the House.

Hon. Mr. **BLAKE**—My hon. friend, the Minister of the Interior, has no objection to the adoption of the motion with this alteration: "together with an approximate statement," instead of "statement." The hon. gentleman will observe that there is great difficulty in making out the accrued account, and for the present an approximate statement will answer.

The motion was carried.

DREDGING THE MIRAMICHI RIVER.

Hon. Mr. **MITCHELL** moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of instructions given to the officer in charge of the steam dredge employed clearing the bar at the entrance of the Miramichi River,

with all reports from the officer in charge or parties under him, as to the amount of work done in that locality; stating the number of bars removed, and the character of the material; the depth to which the channel has been deepened, and the width thereof; the length of the cutting or dredging yet to be done; also stating the contemplated depth and width to which the Government propose to improve said channel; the number of days during which such vessel has been actually at work; also copies of the report or reports of the engineers or other officers, on which such improvements are based, and the depth of water which it is proposed to obtain; also the amount already expended on such work, with an estimate of the amount required to complete it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have no objection to the information as far as we can furnish it.

The motion was carried.

EMPLOYÉS OF MONTREAL CUSTOM HOUSE.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved an address to His Excellency the Governor General for a Return of the names and ages of all employés of the Montreal Custom House who have been superannuated within the last two years, with causes of such superannuation; names of all persons who have been taken into the Public Service during the same period in connection with the Montreal Custom House, whether as permanent employés or as supernumeraries, the salary paid to each, and for what period, and showing whether they are still employed.

The motion was carried.

THE STEEL RAILS PURCHASE.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a return of copies of all correspondence relating to the contracts entered into by the Government of Canada, or any Department thereof, for the purchase of Steel Rails in the year 1874, including correspondence, if any, with parties before the advertisement for tenders; copies of all the advertisements and names of newspapers in which they were published,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

with date of first insertion in each of them; all correspondence on the subject of further delay in the time of receiving tenders; copies of all advertisements postponing the time for receiving tenders, with the name of newspapers in which such notice was published; copies of all tenders received for the supply of steel rails with all correspondence in relation to them and names of persons by whom or through whom such tenders were submitted or made; all correspondence with any of the parties tendering, as to the quantity of rails to be supplied by them; copies of all contracts entered into and of all correspondence relating to them; copies of contracts for the transport of steel rails from Montreal to the different parts of the Dominion, with any changes made in such contracts and correspondence relating to such changes at the time the contracts were entered into, with a statement of the dates of payment of all moneys on such contracts, the present location of the rails and all charges for transport or storage of the same.

The motion was carried.

PACIFIC RAILWAY AND TELEGRAPH.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement showing the amount which the Government of Canada have agreed to pay or have already paid under each contract passed between the Government and any individual or company for the execution of any portion of the work on the Pacific Railway or the line of telegraph, or of any other work in relation to the said railway; also the total amount of such different sums.

The motion was carried.

ST. LAWRENCE CANALS.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement showing the amount which the Government of Canada have agreed to pay or have already paid under each contract passed between the Government and any individual or company for the execution of any portion of the works required for the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals, including the Welland and Lachine Canals, since the re-

port of the last Commission appointed to examine the question, also the total amount of such different sums.

The motion was carried.

MAILS AT FATHER POINT.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for a return of copies of the circulars sent to ship-building firms for the construction of a steam tender to transport mails from Father Point to the ocean steamers; all correspondence with any parties in relation to the same, and a statement of the names of all parties or firms to whom such circulars were sent with the tenders received; the date of the acceptance of Messrs. Cantins' tender, and a copy of the contract entered into with them.

The motion was carried.

MR. SHEA'S CLAIM.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved that the return of correspondence between the Government and the Hon. Ambrose Shea, laid on the table of this House, be referred to a Select Committee, consisting of Messrs. Caron, Workman, Blain, Brouse and the mover. The hon. gentleman said: I do not intend to detain the House further than to say that the object of this Committee is to examine into and report to the House, the claim which Hon. Mr. Shea prefers against the Government for moneys expended by him in procuring and forwarding labour to this Dominion at the time when the construction of the Intercolonial Railway was first undertaken. He claims that from an understanding with the Commissioners he was induced to spend a very considerable sum of money for the purpose of so cheapening the labour as to enable the contracts to be performed for anything like the sum for which they were originally undertaken. The object of the Committee is to hear what evidence can be produced in this relation, and to make a report to the House of the testimony to be given, with such suggestions as the Committee may have in their power to offer. The Hon. First Minister, I believe, has no objection to the Committee.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE--As the hon. gentleman has correctly stated, I

have agreed to the appointment of this Committee. I did so with a great deal of reluctance, as it is one of those very dangerous Committees, which are entrusted to a certain extent with looking into personal grievances which involve the payment of money by the country. Occasions, however, arise now and then--there have been several since I entered Parliament--which seem to justify at least some investigation. In agreeing to this Committee I have not committed myself to any promise to abide by the report they may make, but from the evidence which the hon. gentleman has laid before me of what took place between members of the late Government and officials connected with the Intercolonial Railway, I think it is but justice to him to allow the enquiry to take place, the Government reserving the right to do with this matter as the public interests demand. I deem this explanation due to the House, because it is one of those extraordinary occasions on which Government may feel it requisite to depart from the exact routine observable in the disposition of public moneys.

The motion was carried.

DISMISSAL OF MR. COLLET.

Mr. FRECHETTE moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all correspondence and documents relating to the dismissal of Mr. Collet as Postmaster of St. Henry, in the County of Lévis.

The motion was carried.

FISHING LICENSES IN ONTARIO.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK moved for an Order of the House for a return of all licenses to fish with hoop and trap nets issued during 1875 for the Province of Ontario; all petitions and communications to and with the Minister or the Department of Marine and Fisheries in favour of or opposing the use of such nets; and reports, &c., showing the effect of the system of fishing with hoop and trap nets on the quantity of fish in the waters where such nets are used.

The motion was carried.

IMPORTS OF GYPSUM.

Mr. GOUDGE--I beg to move that an Address be presented to His Excellency

the Governor General for a return of all gypsum or plaster of paris imported from the United States into Canada, giving the ports or places whence imported, as also the ports in Canada where entered; the quantity entered in crude state; that entered as ground for purposes of manure; that entered as ground for purposes of manufacture; that entered as calcined plaster; also at what prices entered; the rate of duty upon each class, and the amount of duty collected from the same.

The motion was carried.

MILITIAMEN OF 1812.

Mr. ROULEAU—I beg to move that an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement showing the names, occupations and places of residence of the persons who made application as militiamen of 1812 for the pension granted to such militiamen, and who have not obtained such pension, with the reasons for the refusal thereof.

The motion was carried.

TORONTO HARBOUR.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—I beg to move that an Order of the House do issue for copies of instructions issued by the Public Works Department to any engineer regarding the survey of Toronto Harbour; also copies of all reports made to the Government, showing the present state of the Harbour or suggesting additional works to preserve it from destruction.

The motion was carried.

REMISSION OF DUTIES UPON TEA.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I beg to move for an Order of the House for a return of all remissions or refunds of duties on tea at the ports of Montreal and Halifax during the past year: specifying the duties of such remission or refunds; the parties to whom made; with all correspondence, minutes of Treasury Board, and Orders in Council thereon; also the names of parties from whom bonds were taken for the duties on such tea, in cases where the same were finally remitted.

The motion was carried.

Mr. GOUDGE

FISHERY LICENSES.

Mr. BABY—I move that an order of the House do issue for all papers and correspondence between the Department of Marine and Fisheries and L. J. Loranger, Esq., Fishery Overseer, or any other person, in relation to licenses granted or refused to parties wishing to fish in the lakes comprised within the limits of the Counties of Terrebonne, Montcalm, Joliette and Berthier; and of all instructions given to the said L. J. Loranger; and also for a statement showing the names of all persons to whom such licenses have been granted, and on what conditions they were so granted.

The motion was carried.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. SCHULTZ—I move that an Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, for a statement showing imports during the fiscal year 1874-75 into the North-West Territories through ports on the Hudson and James Bay together with exports from the same; names of, and remuneration paid to persons employed by the Government at the said ports, together with instructions furnished them by the Government and reports made by them to the Custom's Department.

My object is to elicit information on a point of great interest to the Province of Manitoba—an indirect interest, perhaps, at present, since the boundary is being established between the North-West Territories and Ontario. The Provincial Legislature have shown their disposition to request, and the Dominion Government an inclination to grant the extension of the eastern boundary to the Province of Ontario; therefore all information which can be given without prejudice to the arbitration in progress I very much desire to obtain.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It will not be convenient to bring down some recent correspondence with the arbitrators appointed by the two Governments; and there is nothing else, I think, of any particular interest to the hon. gentleman or the district he particularly represents, in this connection,

making it desirable to bring down incomplete correspondence. Former papers which were published, and the report of the Commissioners of the two Governments, are already before the public, and I think it would be better if the hon. gentleman should withdraw his motion for the present.

Mr. SCHULTZ—If the legal points in question are in print I would like to obtain a copy; though this matter is not included in the motion, I would like to have all the information possible.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—I understand that a very interesting report has been made by an eminent gentleman who has investigated the subject; it is in print.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That report will be distributed.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—That is what I suggest—that it should be distributed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It will be. The motion was withdrawn.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY WORKS AT RIMOUSKI.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I move for an Order of the House to issue for copies of all correspondence which may have been had between private individuals or corporations and the Government of Canada in relation to the offices, workshops and works of the Intercolonial Railway at Rimouski.

The motion was carried.

The House adjourned at thirty-five minutes past Nine p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 3rd.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Mr. RYMAL moved that the time for receiving petitions for Private Bills be extended ten days.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought it would be well there should be a thorough understanding in the House that while they consented to this motion

there should be no further extension. If the new rules should be finally adopted by the House, they would make it impossible to have even this extension for the future.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD quite agreed with this view. At the same time the hands of Parliament could not be tied by a rule. He thought, however, the understanding after this extension should be that an exceptionally strong case must be made out before an appeal could be made to the House for the introduction of a Private Bill after the proper time had expired.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

The following Bills were introduced and read the first time:—

Mr. WOOD—To extend the time for the commencement and completion of the Great Western and Lake Ontario Shore Railway, and for other purposes.

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria)—To incorporate the Mutual Insurance Company of Canada.

Mr. WOOD—To extend the time for the commencement and completion of the Canada and Detroit River Bridge, and for other purposes.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—To authorize the shareholders of the Permanent Building and Savings Society to change the name of said Society.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON (on behalf of Mr. Workman)—To amend the Act incorporating the Credit Foncier du Bas Canada.

Also,—To amend the Act incorporating the Canada Shipping Co.

Also,—To incorporate the Trust Company of Canada.

Mr. SCATCHERD (on behalf of Mr. Thomson of Welland)—To amend the Act incorporating the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company.

Mr. YOUNG—To make certain amendments to the Charter of the Canada Landed Credit Company.

Mr. IRVING—Act respecting the capital of the Great Western Railway Company, and for the capitalization of certain charges and liabilities.

Mr. JETTE—To incorporate the Royal Albert Bridge Company.

Also,—To amend the Act incorporating the Canada Gas Lighting Company.

CASK MARKS.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—I move that on Tuesday next the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:

That it is expedient to extend the Acts 36 Victoria Chapter 47, respecting Weights and Measures, and the Act 38 Victoria Chapter 36, respecting the marking of casks containing merchantable liquids with their respective capacity, and the Act 36 Victoria Chapter 48, to provide for the inspection of Gas and Gas Meters, to the Province of Prince Edward Island, including in such extension the powers given to the Governor in Council to make tariffs of fees for services performed in carrying the said Acts into effect; and to repeal such Acts of the Legislature of the said Province as may be inconsistent with the said Acts; Such extension to take place from and after a time to be named in the Bill to be introduced for the purposes aforesaid.

The motion was carried.

DOMINION LANDS ACT.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—I move that on Tuesday next the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider certain resolutions providing for the amendment of the Dominion Lands Act, with the object of transferring highways in the Province vested in the Dominion Administration, to the Local Government.

The motion was carried.

MANITOBA SUBSIDY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I move the House will on Tuesday next resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider the following Resolution:

That under the circumstances appearing in the Minute of Council of 26th October, 1875, upon the Finances of Manitoba, laid before the House, it is expedient that Canada should pay as a temporary annual grant to that Province the sum of \$26,746.96 yearly by semi-annual instalments, being the amount necessary in order to raise its revenue derivable from Canada to \$90,000. Such grant to commence from the 1st day of July, 1875, and to continue until the close of the year 1881.

The motion was carried.

PRECEDENCE OF GOVERNMENT MEASURES.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that during the remainder of the Session Government measures shall have precedence on Thursdays.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I hope that my hon. friend will not press this motion at a period so early in the Session, as it would have the effect of

Mr. JETTE.

depriving in a measure independent members, who take an interest in the general administration of affairs, from contributing their fair quota. If I remember aright, my hon. friend moved an adjournment at six o'clock last Monday, and I do not doubt that he had important matters to which he was compelled to give attention elsewhere; and on two other occasions during the Session, hon. members generally had pressing engagements, while the House did not sit on Wednesday. I think that the hon. gentleman will allow us another week or ten days at all events. Our Sessions are all short now-a-days, and the circumstances are not the same as before Confederation, when they continued for three months and sometimes three and one-quarter or four.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will do this; I will not ask for the first Thursday after six o'clock. I am desirous of having some of our measures sent to the other branch of the Legislature as soon as possible; and this might have been accomplished last night, had not the hon. gentleman rather objected to proceeding with certain Bills. Our only desire is to facilitate the progress of business, and to endeavour to afford every possible accommodation to independent members having measures before the House.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It so happens that this arrangement will not suit independent members, for I understand that after six o'clock notices of motion cannot be proceeded with while public Bills and orders are few in number, and there are a great many notices of motion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will then take the evening, and give up the afternoon.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—This reminds me of the story of the huntsman and the Indian; the former said—"I take the deer and you take the turkey; or I take the turkey and you take the deer." There is too much of the turkey about this proposition. If the whole of next Thursday were given us it would be better.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I will not press for the first Thursday but take the second.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We have all but one object—to despatch business as quickly as possible. I regret that the Government did not introduce three or four Bills in the Upper House, as the latter might have thus been kept out of mischief, for it is said that Satan finds mischief for idle hands to do.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I shall change the motion to read Thursday after next.

The motion, as altered, was carried.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—With regard to the period of the year for making returns, in connection with the Bill making provision for the collection and registration of criminal statistics in Canada, I feel that the time I suggested on the occasion of its introduction would be the most convenient on the whole. The year proposed is the natural year, and two months from the end of this period, the returns would be brought in, necessitating the postponement of their presentation to the House until the Session in the following year. Apart from this circumstance, the year adopted in this relation in the largest Province of the Dominion terminates on the 30th of September, and I have concluded to propose to the House the alteration of the Bill to this effect. With that view, I move that it be not now read the third time, but that the House go into Committee to make the necessary change.

The motion being carried, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the Bill, Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

The Committee rose and reported, and the Bill as amended was read the third time and passed.

Debate on the Budget.

The adjourned debate on the motion of Mr. Cartwright, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go again into Committee of Supply," was then resumed.

Mr. YOUNG—The discussion, Mr. Speaker, of the question of the Budget and the financial position of the country—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I rise to a point of order. The motion of the Hon.

Finance Minister was met by an amendment that you do not now leave the Chair. That amendment, after a full discussion, has been negatived, and I hold that under the rules of the House the motion must now be put—that no further debate can take place on the original motion.

Mr. SPEAKER—The House has not resolved that I do now leave the Chair. That question is still before the House, and hon. gentlemen who have not yet spoken on this question are in order.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Let me suggest the point, Mr. Speaker. The motion that you do not now leave the Chair has been negatived. But this question is a peculiar one. In any other case a motion being made, and an amendment moved and negatived, it is competent to make any other motion; but it is not competent now to make any other motion. The question has been decided by the House in the negative. It is not competent for any other motion to be made, and consequently the effect of that motion is that you do now leave the Chair. I do not want, however, to demur to the decision.

Mr. SPEAKER—I am satisfied that the House did not pass a certain amendment, but it has not yet resolved that I leave the Chair. In the English practice, questions are put in a very different way indeed, and in a very much more convenient form than here. After it has been resolved that these words stand part of the question, no further debate or action of the House can be permitted, except by a direct vote on the question. Nevertheless, hon. members are permitted to speak on almost every relevant subject. I think the question that I now leave the Chair is open to debate, and hon. members who have not already spoken on that question have the right to speak.

Mr. YOUNG—The discussion upon the Budget and the financial position of the country generally has wandered away from that topic to the question of Free Trade and Protection as our fiscal policy. Having paid some little attention to that question, and feeling that it is assuming a position of great importance throughout Canada and has a direct leaning on its future prosperity, I desire to give expression to

certain conclusions that I have arrived at with regard to it.

The difficulty of discussing the question in this House is that we have no positive definition of what gentlemen mean by free trade and protection. We have certain gentlemen rising, like my hon. friend for North Norfolk, in his clever speech the other day, and arguing in favour of protection, yet closing with expressing their belief that 17½ per cent. duty was sufficient protection under the present circumstances of the country. Again, we have other gentlemen who call themselves Free Traders who reached the conclusion that they would not object to having even 20 per cent. put on certain classes of articles. Therefore one difficulty in discussing this subject on the floor of Parliament is that gentlemen do not start from the same point—that we have not the definition of what is really meant by those two principles.

The writings of such men as Smith, Ricardo, and Mills—

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD--Smith never saw a steam engine.

Mr. YOUNG—That may be true. I say that the writings of those gentlemen have been generally accepted throughout the world—that, provided all countries would adopt freedom of trade, the system is best adapted to promote the wealth of a country. For my part I hold that, however true those principles may be in themselves, you cannot apply them to all countries without taking into consideration the geographical, political and other circumstances of the particular country to which they are about to be applied. On this question, as I trust on most other questions, I am no theorist. I prefer to look at it from a practical point of view; and regarding the position of Canada, situated as we are, alongside the United States, and geographically and politically, to a certain extent, connected with that country, I think that the best fiscal policy for the Dominion is neither absolute free trade nor absolute protection. So far as free-trade, pure and simple, is concerned, the engagements of the country, the demands of the public credit render such a policy as that impossible; and

Mr. YOUNG.

I am prepared to say, for one, after such consideration as I have been able to give this matter, that I do not believe free-trade, pure and simple, would be desirable. On the other hand, I take the ground, and hold it most strongly, that a policy of absolute protection—of high protective duties—would inflict the most fatal blow on our interests that could be inflicted.

An Hon. Member—No one asks for that.

Mr. YOUNG—Wait until I come to that point—I will refer to it. The Hon. Minister of Finance, in the exceedingly able speech he made in introducing the Budget, exhibited to us the exact financial position of the country at the present moment. He told us that next year he could not calculate on a revenue of more than about \$23,000,000; whereas last year our expenditure was close upon \$24,000,000. It therefore became necessary that some action should be taken by the Government to equalize the revenue and expenditure, for anybody can see that a deficit under present circumstances would be a most unfortunate thing.

After full consideration of this question, the Government arrived at the conclusion that the true course for them to take in the interests of the whole country was to retrench the public expenditure and reduce the amount that would have to be raised. They might have increased taxation, but they decided that the true solution of the matter was to enter on a system of economy. The leader of the Opposition said he was surprised, and though the hon. member for Cumberland did not say so, it was apparent he felt surprised at the policy of the Government, and had come to the House prepared to censure them for again increasing taxation and inserting the thin end of the protection wedge. When I arrived here my impression was that an increase of taxation would be necessary, and I was prepared to say, looking at the importance of our manufacturing interests and the depression which undoubtedly exists among them, to approve of the principle on which our Governments have acted for the past twenty years being carried out, and that, in adjusting the tariff, inci-

dental protection should be given to our manufactures. I was prepared even to go a little farther. I would not have objected to a proposition to make a small increase, say two and a half per cent. on those classes of exchangeable manufactures which pass between Canada and the United States, although I admit there were great difficulties in the way of carrying out such a policy. But when it is now openly avowed that we should depart from the principle of incidental protection, and we are asked to tax the whole community for the benefit of a few, the question assumes a different shape, and one dangerous to the best interests of the country.

Mr. WOOD—Nobody asks that in the House.

Mr. YOUNG—I will give my hon. friend a little light on that point just now. We had a short time ago a meeting of manufacturers in Toronto. I believe my hon. friends from Hamilton were present, and we know a large portion of that meeting advocated the adoption of a retaliatory policy against the United States. It might be injurious to say all that might be urged on that point, and therefore I shall not do so. But if a retaliatory policy were taken up in the same spirit in the United States, a most disastrous blow might be inflicted upon our agricultural interests.

I hold here a speech delivered by Mr. Adam Brown, of Hamilton, a gentleman for whom I have personally very great respect. He has taken a very prominent part in this agitation, and may be said to be the mouthpiece of the Protectionists. He said at the meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade:—"Let us seek to carry out a national policy here, which will make our country a secure place for capitalists; not a policy to be tinkered with every day. I abominate the word 'incidental.' It may be protection of a sort—on to-day and off to-morrow." It is very clear, from the fact that this question is assuming a new phase, that many are now prepared to go beyond the reasonable encouragement of a revenue tariff, and are bent on forcing on the country the suicidal protective policy of the United

States—are prepared, in fact, to go the whole hog, bristles and all. Mr. Brown objected very strongly two years before to any change being made in the sugar duties, so it may be said he wishes us to swallow the policy of the United States, unsweetened even by a little home-made sugar. Before I leave the point with regard to economy, allow me to say I am not surprised that the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition expressed astonishment at the action of the Government. I was surprised myself. I have watched political affairs in this country closely since 1854, when the right hon. gentleman went into power, and this is the first time I have known a single Administration honestly endeavour to carry out a policy of retrenchment in every branch of the public service. I ask any hon. gentlemen to point to a single instance in which it was before attempted to be done. It is impossible to do it. From Confederation till these gentlemen went out of power, their course was a continual round of extravagance. They began with an expenditure, for the ordinary administration of affairs, of \$13,000,000, and ended during their last year with an outlay of nearly \$24,000,000, having that year increased it over \$4,000,000. No wonder that they were surprised to find the Government honestly endeavouring to economize the expenses of the country.

Up to revenue requirements, I for one have no objection to incidental encouragement to our manufactures, but when we are asked to enter upon protection for protection's sake, when we are asked to set aside the policy under which Canada has achieved the proud position in which she stands to-day, and to follow the course which had reduced the United States to a state of chronic commercial crisis, we are asked to do that which would put us not only in antagonism to the commercial policy of the Empire, but result in most serious consequences. If we adopt the high protective system of that country—and that is where we would undoubtedly be landed if we adopted the principle—we will take a course which, in my humble opinion, will be injurious to every great interest in this country. We have in Canada six great inter-

ests—the lumbering, importing, shipping, farming, manufacturing and trading, in which I include all traders. The lumber, importing and trading interests could not possibly be benefited by a protective policy, and when through its operation our shipbuilders were compelled to pay more for the iron, steel, copper and cordage which go into their vessels, instead of being the third or fourth maritime power in the world, we would fall to the ninth or tenth. Look at the effect it would have on the agricultural interest of this country. Say what we may, there can be no doubt that interest is the real foundation of Canada's prosperity. The effect of a policy like this would be that the farmer would have to pay more for every implement he uses, more for all the clothing he and his family require, and more in the shape of taxation. It would reduce the value of every bushel of grain, every animal, every pound of butter and cheese and every dozen of eggs the farmer raised. (Hear, hear.) Hon. gentlemen may say "hear, hear," but I refer them to the history and experience of the United States to prove the position I take in this matter. In many parts of that country, to-day, farmers are unable to make any profit out of their land, because under a system of legalized robbery their money has been legislated into the pockets of other classes of the community. An illustration of this is furnished by Hon. David Wells, of the United States, a gentleman who is one of the highest authorities in the world on this question. I believe I am correct in stating he went into the Treasury Department of the United States a Protectionist, and from the facts he learned there came to the conclusion that as a commercial policy protection was ruinous. In consequence of the large amount of duty on salt in the United States, imposed for the benefit of the Onondaga Company in New York State, Mr. Wells shows that the western farmer has to give two bushels of spring wheat to buy one barrel of salt; whereas, if there had been no duty, or only a moderate one, he could have bought that barrel of salt for one bushel of wheat. The farmer was therefore

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forced to give one bushel of wheat as a present to the salt maker. So it is with nearly every article the farmer consumes, and I am prepared to show if we in this country adopt that principle we cannot help going further, and you will find that many of the farmers of Canada will be scarcely able to make more than a bare subsistence. If they are rendered less prosperous, if their purchasing power be decreased, the markets for our manufactures will be largely destroyed—it will be found we have destroyed the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Now, Sir, I approach the point in my argument where I propose to consider the effect of a high protective policy, such as exists in the United States, upon the manufacturing interests of this country; and it is my opinion, and has been for many years, founded upon my observation and experience, that no policy could be devised which would be in the end more fatal to these interests generally than that I have mentioned.

My hon. friend from Hamilton alluded the other day to the fact, that an important manufacturing interest existed in my own town and neighbourhood, and I am proud to say that Galt has more manufactures for its size than probably any other town in the Dominion; and further, that my Riding, as is shown by the statistics contained in the late census, turned out more manufactures than any other Riding in the Dominion with the exception of those embracing large cities. I shall not retort with respect to certain remarks made by the senior member for Hamilton in the course of his speech, but I wish to say to the hon. gentleman I am never afraid, here or elsewhere, to state my views on this or any other question; and if the time should ever come when I am unable on the floor of this House to advocate what my judgment and conscience assure me is right and for the good of Canada, I shall cease to have any desire to remain in public life.

I would refer for a moment to the benefits conferred by manufactures on a country. Some hon. gentlemen believe that manufactures of any class, and whether profitable in themselves or not, must be a benefit to the com-

munity. I dissent from that opinion. I consider that they are an advantage—as is the case with any other interest—only when they can be carried on with profit, and show a surplus between revenue and expenditure. I go further, and assert that if any branch of industry cannot be conducted in Canada with the incidental protection of a revenue tariff, one of two things is perfectly clear; either we do not possess the natural facilities necessary to its success, or the individuals engaged in that department of trade have not the requisite capital and skill. If the former be true, no one will gain by the existence of such an industry; and if the latter is correct—and we know that this is the case in many instances to-day—it is too much to tax the whole community in order that incompetent persons may be kept in an unprofitable calling. I regret, as much as any one, that our manufactures should be in such a depressed condition as they are at present, but other interests occupy a similar position—such as the mercantile and lumbering interests, &c. I maintain, however, that taking the last ten or twelve years into consideration, our manufactures have developed as rapidly and as largely, and have been as successful as any other great interest in this country. All manufacturers do not, by any means, hold that a high protective tariff would be beneficial to their interests; a large proportion have never demanded more than reasonable encouragement, and I must say that I have been extremely surprised to find that many of the men who have come to this House to insist the most vehemently upon the adoption of the American system, have been citizens of Montreal who have, during the last ten or fifteen years, made large fortunes. What would be the effect if the advice of these gentlemen were followed? In a very few years we would have colossal establishments built up in Montreal and neighbourhood, which would crush out by their immense competition the smaller manufactures in Ontario and other sections of the country. This has been largely the result in the United States, and it would be the same here.

If we are to adopt a high protective system, we cannot confine it to particu-

lar industries: we must extend it to all; and in that case everybody would be exactly in the position they previously occupied.

It is quite clear, for instance, that the iron industry must come under this head, and I hold that the arguments in favour of such a course are stronger with regard to this interest than with reference to many others. The coal interest must also be protected under such circumstances; in a very short time our taxes would be increased, working men could no longer live on their present wages; and in a very few years our manufacturers would find that there would be such an increase in the cost of production that they would be far less capable of competing with the manufacturers of Great Britain and the United States than they are at the present time under a revenue tariff. If the principle be once adopted—that the Government must be responsible for the success of certain industries—then, I contend, as soon as they again become unprosperous, further taxation would have to be imposed.

The hon. members for Hamilton have said that nobody demands extreme protection, and have admitted that such a policy has been elsewhere most disastrous; but I maintain that when we depart from a revenue tariff and adopt protection as the principle of our fiscal legislation, we will have started upon an inclined plane, and cannot logically arrest our course short of absolute prohibition. In a short time, when further depression occurred, more protection would be demanded, and the principle being admitted, the demand could not be resisted. I accordingly believe that such a policy in the end would be disastrous to our manufacturers themselves. If prohibitory duties were adopted, would they restore prosperity to many of our manufactures now depressed? I answer No! for the very simple reason that their want of prosperity is to-day due to over-production within our own country. I take as an instance the boot and shoe trade. I know that the annual production in this article, in Montreal alone, is estimated at over ten millions of dollars; and in the census of 1871, the produc-

tion of the whole Dominion was estimated to exceed in value sixteen millions; while the boots and shoes imported last year into every Province were only worth \$241,000. Under these circumstances, does any one believe that a new protective duty would render this industry prosperous? Not at all; because not foreign competition, but over-production, is the cause of the existing depression. The same statement holds good with regard to the coarse woollens we produce. I admit that if we adopted a policy generally of the kind mentioned, industries, in connection with which we do not supply our own market, might be stimulated for a time; but in the course of four or five years undue profits would attract so much capital and labour into these branches of trade, that over-production would ensue, our limited market would be speedily glutted, and we would have ten-fold more depression than exists at the present time. This is the case at present with reference to the lumbering interest. For a number of years the persons engaged in this business realized extraordinary profits, inducing many others who were ignorant of its workings to enter into it, and the market became completely overstocked. So it would be with other industries in the course of a few years if a high protective policy were adopted. Instead of American and British manufacturers occasionally making of Canada a slaughter market, we would then have wholesale slaughtering in our own country and at our own doors. In the case of the United States, the action of such a policy requires a longer period to produce such results. Their own market including more than forty millions of people. But in Canada, having only four millions of population, the results would appear more speedily; and my firm conviction is that such a system would in the end inflict a serious blow upon the interests of our manufacturers themselves. If a general system of protection ever could have produced good results, it would have done so in the United States; but I hold that never since that country has existed has its manufacturing industries been reduced to a lower position than is the case to-day. In this relation I would

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read a brief extract from a speech made by Mr. Wells at the Cobden Club Dinner in England, two years ago. He said: "Thus the total value of the exports of the United States increased in the twelve years, from 1860 to 1872 inclusive, \$176,000,000, or from \$373,000,000 to \$549,000,000; but of this increase, all but about \$6,000,000 is referable to the following six items: — Bread-stuffs, coin and bullion, provisions, leaf tobacco, petroleum and lumber products, three-fourths of the value of which represent the gifts of God, and the other one-fourth, labour of the most unskilled and poorest-paid description. And of the other six millions increase of exports, which might be supposed to represent the products of high wages and skilled industry, it is only sufficient to say that fully one-fourth stands to the credit of the single article of sewing machines. During this period of protective paper-money influence, moreover, the flag of the American commercial marine has been almost swept from the ocean, as is shown by the fact that while in 1860 seventy-one per cent. of the total foreign trade of the United States was carried in American bottoms, in 1868 the proportion had fallen to forty-four per cent. and for 1873 will not be in excess of twenty-eight per cent."

So, Sir, we have a statement which no one can deny, that this policy has largely destroyed the foreign trade of the United States, and has protected their splendid mercantile marine almost entirely off the face of the ocean.

But we need not confine ourselves to Mr. Wells, and I hope the house will pardon me for reading another short extract which bears directly upon this point—that is, the effect of such a system upon manufacturers themselves. If it could be shown that by such a system as has been spoken of we could largely increase the prosperity of our manufacturers and of the people of Canada generally, everybody would agree to it at once; but the fact is that the ultimate result would be injurious to all classes. What I propose reading is an extract from that very able

paper referred to by the Hon. Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech. In another article recently published, the *Chicago Tribune*, one of the most respectable and clever papers to be found on this continent, the writer traces the results of this protective system upon manufacturers in the following language:—

"The Canadians have had an opportunity to observe the workings of protection in this country, and, despite the melancholy and pitiable story, some of them have now got hold of the delusion and are pressing its adoption. Just as the American manufacturers, as a class, are about demanding relief from the weight of protection, the Canadians are demanding that the load be placed on them. Had it been given, there would, of course, have been a profit on the goods on hand to the extent of the increase of tax, less the decline in consumption. In the meantime, there would have been a general advance along the whole line of items entering into the list of production equal to the increased tariff. Labor, the cost of machinery, raw material, rents, commissions, and the innumerable list of expenses which go to make up the cost of production, would be increased, so that the goods produced after the tariff would leave the producer no more margin of profit under the protection than he had before the protection was voted him, and he would find that consumption had declined proportionately with the increase of prices. What then? Why, there must be a further increase of the tariff, more protection, in order to enable the producers to sell their second crop. The same condition of things would prevail after the second advance in the price of goods; all Canada would be on a strike for increase of wages, and the cost of everything would go up until the second vote of protection would utterly fail to cover the cost of production, and even *Yankee goods would be selling cheaper in Canada than they would be produced for in any part of the Dominion*. A further increase of protection would become a necessity, and in time a fourth, fifth, sixth and even a seventh increase would be required to prevent Canadian manufactures from stopping. By this time the prices of everything in Canada would become appalling; on many things the tax would of necessity range from 90 to 120 per cent, on others 70 to 90, and thus down to 40 per cent. Consumption would fall off from one-fourth to one-half, and in some lines of goods production would cease. The capacity to produce would exceed the demand, and, in order to equalize production and consumption, the mills, furnaces, shops and mines would have to close for two days in a week; then one week in four; then one month in three; then two and three months at a time; and then only be worked spasmodically. Then the protected "labour" of Canada, instead of continuous employment, would have but one day's work of four, and be months at a time without a dollar of wages; the savings in the

banks would be consumed by the unemployed; idleness, with its attendant consequences, would take the place of industry and thrift; poverty, and want, and destitution would recruit the alms houses, the hospitals, and the brothels; and the more adventurous and daring would perambulate the country enforcing support as tramps. We have in no way drawn upon the imagination. We have given but a faint sketch of the actual facts as they have existed and now exist in this country."

These are the words of one of the ablest and most respectable papers in the United States; and I ask you if the picture the writer draws of the manufacturing interests of the United States under protection is not one to make our manufacturers recoil from absolute protection, and be content with such protection as they receive under a revenue tariff?

The member for North Norfolk admitted that protection has destroyed the foreign trade and ocean shipping of the United States, but he requested us to look at their domestic trade. Well, that trade is large, but I maintain that it would have been much larger if the Americans had a larger foreign and shipping trade. And if any more powerful argument is wanted to show the injurious effects of protection on the Americans, it is to be found in the fact that that great country, with its great national resources and abundance of raw material, is unable in most branches of manufacture to export to other countries. Before I conclude my desultory remarks, I desire to refer to one other point—that is the effect of a high protective tariff upon the mechanics and workingmen. I advert to this more particularly because my hon. friend from Montreal Centre has drawn a sad picture of the the number of men out of employment in that city. In the United States to-day, taking the relative amount of population into consideration, you will find far more distress and more men out of employment than in this country; and I am prepared to show conclusively to this House, from statistics that cannot be gainsaid, that our mechanics and workingmen will get a better result from their labour under the system of incidental protection we have, than their fellows do across the lines under the American system. I hold in my hand evidence to sup-

port that view—a statement which was made by Mr. Moore, a gentleman connected with the American Government, at the request of the Hon. Mr. Wells, showing the result of the labour of a certain number of mechanics in the United States, in 1873, compared with what the labour of those men would purchase under the moderate system in vogue in 1860.

The first table shows the annual consumption of 12 commodities by a family consisting of two adults and two children, and the cost of the same in 1860 and 1873, respectively, in the city of New York. The commodities taken to make the comparison are fresh beef, mutton, corned beef, butter, rice, milk, coffee, tea, sugar, molasses, coal and rent. What is the result? In 1860 this family could have lived in New York city and bought a certain number of these articles for \$181, but in 1873 to purchase the very same articles would cost \$347; there had been an increase in the price of not less than 92 per cent. during the space of thirteen years.

The second table shows the relative wages of eight leading industries in 1860 and 1873. He has taken for the purpose the cabinet-maker, cooper, carpenter, painter, shoemaker, tailor, tanner and tinsmith. In 1860 the labour of these eight men for one day, amounted to \$13.58; in 1873 to \$21.75—an increase of only 60 per cent.

The third table shows the number of days these men would have to work to purchase the commodities referred to in 1860 as compared with 1873. The cabinet maker in 1860 would have to labour 103 days 9¼ hours; in 1873, under the higher wages, 126 days 2 hours; the cooper in 1860, 110 days 2 hours, in 1873, 126 days 2 hours. I shall not quote the whole, but give the general result, which is that to purchase the aggregate amount of these necessaries of life this family would consume in 1860 under a moderate tariff these eight men would have to work 859 days 5 hours, but in 1873 with higher wages, under their high protective tariff, they would have to work 1,027 days 3½ hours. While the cost of the 12 articles had increased to 92 per cent. in 1873, the increase in

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the result of labour was only 60 per cent.

I desire to urge these facts upon the mechanics and labouring men of this country. We have springing up in our large cities and towns a most intelligent class of operatives, and I commend these statistics to their consideration. They prove that while under a protective tariff they might receive higher wages, the result of their labour would be less than under the present system. My opinion is, and has been for a long time, that the true policy for us is the one our Government has been pursuing for at least 25 years—that is, a revenue tariff so framed as incidentally to encourage manufactures; and it is my firm opinion, after a full consideration of this matter, and looking at it I trust as a true friend of the manufacturers, that in five years after the adoption of a high protective tariff every great industry in Canada would be injuriously affected.

Our lumbermen would find their profits decreased by the increased cost of production. Our importers would be injured because our foreign trade would not increase if it did not absolutely decline. So far as our traders in the town and villages are concerned, they would find their expenses so increased that they would be unable to make as good profits as they do at the present time. It would strike a fatal blow at our agricultural interests. Our ship-owners would find the cost of the materials entering into their vessels increased, and Canada would fall, as I have already said, from the third or fourth to the ninth or tenth maritime power. Even the manufacturers, if we adopt the high protective system of the United States, would find that while we might build up a few colossal establishments, the greater number of them would, in consequence of over-production in a limited market, find themselves in a worse condition than under present circumstances. I do not believe we can become a great manufacturing people, or Canada ever attain a strong and powerful position, if we undertake to build a high tariff wall around the country and practically declare non-intercourse with the world. What our manufacturers want is a larger market, and the only way to se-

cure that is by keeping for Canada the proud distinction of being one of the cheapest countries in the civilized world to live in. We want to attract population to fill up our waste lands, to settle our magnificent North-West Territories with millions of industrious and prosperous people. I have no objection to every legitimate encouragement being given to the manufacturers. The true way to protect them is to give them the raw materials at the lowest possible cost. I desire that they should have low taxes and cheap living—that they should be able to produce their manufactures cheaply. If we pursue this policy, by the end of the present century I hope we will be manufacturing not only for nine or ten millions of Canadians, but even sending some of our goods to the West Indies, South America and many other countries.

I will only add, in conclusion, that what I have endeavoured to point out, however feebly, is, in my opinion, the only true national policy for Canada, the only one which is fair and just to all classes—the one which will most rapidly increase the national wealth—and the only one which will make us a great manufacturing as we are already a great agricultural and maritime people.

Mr. BUNSTER—The hon. Leader of the Government said he expected to hear from British Columbia on this occasion. Well, she does not give a silent vote on important questions. In my opinion, for years back Canada has not been legislating in her own interest, but rather in the interest of the neighboring Republic. We have not taken into consideration the advantages that the United States have gained under a high protective tariff.

Will any hon. gentleman tell me they have not thriven under that tariff? We find the goods which they have been exporting and are now sending to other countries are still protected. We find them competing with British manufacturers in the markets of the world, and even in England herself. Then it is high time that we should protect our own industries and keep our people at home.

The manufacturers say the agriculturists do not want protection. I deny

that. It is as much needed for one class as the other, and they should join hands to obtain it. I do not believe in class legislation. The neighbouring Republic has a population of 40,000,000, while we have only some 4,000,000.

There has been too much politics, too much party strife in the Dominion for the good of the nation; our great and magnificent interests have been totally neglected, including the grand project of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Had that enterprise been followed up in a proper national spirit, instead of allowing politics to interfere with it, if the Government of the day had taken hold of it in the interests of the Dominion, we would not now see the depression that prevails throughout Canada. On the Pacific coast we have not felt this depression yet, but we certainly have felt keen disappointment at the delay in building the Railway and at the manner in which the Government have run down the project and deteriorated their own credit in the London market, which is banker for the world. Had the Pacific Railway been pushed forward as it should have been, instead of finding the people discontented and applying to the Mayor of Montreal for work or bread, there would have been plenty of work for all who were willing to be employed. When the Hon. Finance Minister in his speech tells us that he has a surplus of eleven millions of dollars on hand, and not a blow struck on the Pacific Railway, it is neither creditable to himself nor to the country when it is known that he borrowed the money on the strength of building the railway across the continent. British Columbia is accused of being unreasonable, but I defy the hon. members of this House to prove that she is unreasonable. She has never yet asked for better terms as other Provinces have done; all she asks is for the terms she was guaranteed when she entered the Union. But the Government are not satisfied with breaking these terms, they must run down the credit and resources of the country, which only requires to be developed to prove that it is as fine a Province as Ontario or Quebec. It is no inducement for immigrants to come in and settle with us, to run down

our Province. If the Government do not intend to carry out their promise, we in British Columbia can afford to bide our time. Four or five years have passed since Confederation, and little or nothing has yet been done, except surveys, and the sending out of a few rails, which are now lying rusty and unemployed. The money borrowed by the Hon. Finance Minister, although obtained to build the Pacific Railway, is being employed in improving the Ontario Canals. It was not for that British Columbia came into the Confederation. I say any Government who leave politics out of the question can see in \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land resources enough to build the Pacific Railway without increasing the taxation of the people one dollar. If the railway were built, in place of having a population of four millions, as we now have, in four years we would have six millions, and in ten years we will have a population of twenty millions. Then the manufacturers will not have to come to this House crying for protection, as they will have market enough for what they will have to sell. We have an example of railway enterprise in the United States, when two young men obtained stock enough to build the Union Pacific after the old heads on Wall street had scouted the idea as a wild enterprise. Canadians, too, will have to rely on the young heads to build our Pacific Railway, as the old ones do not appear to have sufficient faith in the future of the country.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin)—The question, as I understand it from my limited experience in Parliament, is one that resolves itself into whether there shall be a change in the fiscal policy of the Government or not; and I think the House will pardon me as a young member for undertaking to occupy a portion of their time in expressing an opinion on it. The subject of the fiscal policy is one in which every member of this House has an interest. From the year 1866 to 1874 there was a fiscal policy adopted under which the country prospered in a great degree. The general *ad valorem* duty was 15 per cent., and during that time gentlemen on the Opposition benches will agree with me that the country was abundantly prosperous; that we were

not only able to meet our engagements, but to enter into new ones; and that the policy was one of a most successful character. In 1874 there was a slight change, not a change in the basis of the policy which had governed the country, but an increase in the import duties for the purpose of meeting public engagements. Those who were charged with the administration of the affairs of the country previous to that time had undertaken large public works; they had undertaken engagements which they considered the country had ability to meet. But it was found, when the gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury Benches assumed power, that it was necessary to increase the duties in order to meet these engagements. In the increase of these duties protection was afforded to a certain extent to the manufactures of the country. Hard times, which periodically visit all nations, and which cannot be averted by any legislation, came to Canada, and the Government should not be held responsible for it. The hard times came upon us, and I suppose it is considered proper for any party that may be in opposition to make as much as possible of them to bring disrepute upon the Government of the day and make them unpopular. But let us consider the causes that have brought about this depression. We are closely connected with the trade of the United States, in consequence of being such near neighbours, and we are to a certain extent affected by the condition of their trade. We sell and buy there, and the depressed condition of their trade, in my judgment, is one of the causes that now affects us. In 1873 the United States experienced for the first time a considerable degree of financial depression. Hard times broke on them. They were purchasing lumber in Western Ontario, but they were obliged to retreat and cut down their purchases. The consequence was that the market, as far as lumber was concerned, was reduced. Then there was another reason. In Ontario, particularly, for a number of years there was a considerable amount of public works carried on, which caused the expenditure of a large amount of money. Enterprises of all kinds were stimulated, and men who were engag-

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ed in business, feeling the effect of the good times, became more reckless in their financial engagements, so that when this depression occurred on the other side of the water times became more stringent here, general depression and tightness ensued, and capitalists buttoned their purses and refused to invest their money, fearing they might lose it.

I believe that there is an immense amount of money in this country at present locked up in the banks or the purses of individuals, who would invest it, if they thought they could do so with safety, and would be certain of return. A great degree of substantial wealth exists amongst us, and the condition of affairs cannot be compared with the state of things in 1857-S. Then this wealth had no existence, at least comparatively speaking. Inflation had prevailed to a great degree; when the collapse came the country was unsound, and the usual result followed. This is not the case to-day; and I can speak with considerable confidence in this regard. At this particular juncture, however, it is asked that the fiscal policy—under which we have greatly prospered, undertaking important public works, and making extensive engagements, which I am happy to say have been met promptly and punctually—should be entirely changed, and another adopted in its stead. This reminds me of a remark made by the late President of the United States: "It is unwise for a man while crossing a river to swap horses." It is conceded on both sides of the House that these hard times will be of short duration, and I think that under these circumstances it would be unwise to change our fiscal policy merely to meet a temporary emergency. If increased duties were adopted on many articles, would a larger demand be created? This is not pretended, and it is known that only a certain number of customers for these articles exists in this country, and that only a certain quantity can be manufactured with profit.

I am prepared to say that I entirely agree with my hon. friend from South Waterloo—who uttered a truly patriotic sentiment, which I believe both sides of the House will endorse—when he said that if our public engagements

required increased taxation, the people of this country would be ready to meet it; but I understand from the tenor of the Speech from the Throne, and the able speech of the Finance Minister, that this is not necessary. I will boldly make this statement, based not upon my own knowledge, but upon the speeches of hon. members in this relation—no two of the hon. gentlemen who advocated increased protection can agree in detail upon a re-adjustment of the tariff, such as would be acceptable to the entire body of Protectionists. They tell us that our manufacturing industries are languishing, that our factories are being closed; that this is due to the fact that the duties are not advanced, and that they only require 2, 2½ or 3 per cent. of increase; but I put it to you, Sir, and to this House, if an advance to this extent were only made, would it be sufficient to make manufacturing lucrative and profitable?

An Hon. Member—Yes!

Mr. MACDOUGALL --- I do not think so. The statement is either incorrect, or if not, the conclusion drawn must naturally be as I have indicated. Besides, if the tariff be arranged as these Protectionists desire, the revenue will be necessarily reduced; and as we learn from the Finance Minister that a certain sum must be raised to meet financial exigencies, either increased duties must be levied on articles imported into this country, or direct taxation must follow. I do not believe that the latter system would be acceptable to the people of this country. The hon. member for Montreal Centre the other night made an eloquent and pathetic appeal to this House, picturing the distress which exists in Montreal, but I ask whether our fiscal policy is to be changed on account of local causes? If this precedent were adopted, changes would be yearly required; and if our feelings were to carry us away in this relation, this would be the case after such an appeal as has been addressed to this House; but where would such a system of legislation stop? It would indeed be singularly and notably dangerous to the general welfare of the community at large.

Some of the hon. gentlemen have said we should treat a matter of that kind

by special legislation. I am not prepared to say how far that principle should be carried, but I think if I had to choose between the two I should rather give special assistance than change the fiscal policy of the country for a purely local difficulty. We know it as a fact, and I challenge contradiction, that the hard times experienced in 1875 were during the months of June and July; and we are told that the manufactories in Montreal have only recently closed. It is a singular coincidence that some of them closed just at the time of the opening of this Parliament, when we were beginning to tide over the trouble; and that we hear of those great difficulties just before the Finance Minister comes down to this House with his policy. Able men than myself at drawing conclusions will address the House this evening, and I will leave it to them to explain the riddle why those manufacturing establishments closed just before the assembling of Parliament.

With regard to the subject of protection, I shall undertake to say a few words. It has been discussed here already and will, doubtless, be discussed again. It has occupied the best minds of England, France, the United States, and also of this country. I am not going to lecture the House upon a subject they understand better than I do, but I shall take the liberty to say that this protection theory is the natural outcome of the balance of trade theory, which, as hon. members know, was thoroughly exploded some years ago. What is protection? It is really the creation of monopolies. And what is this House asked to do? The hon. member for Montreal Centre appealed to the Leader of the Opposition to declare whether he would change the course pursued in Canada for many years. The policy of the right hon. member for Kingston was a revenue policy. Whatever he may have said at his dinners we will excuse. When the member for Montreal Centre made that appeal, I began to think it was scarcely possible under the circumstances the member for Kingston could depart from the course pursued and, so to speak, "write down" what he had done in times past. The member for Montreal Centre asked us

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to adopt a policy which would have the effect of building up a monopoly to benefit certain manufacturing establishments of Montreal, that the country should be taxed in order that certain persons in that city should be able to carry on their business in a profitable way, and as a consideration for being taxed the people should have the satisfaction of knowing that such a policy had made certain persons in Montreal wealthy.

It being Six o'clock, the House took recess, Mr. Macdougall having the floor.

AFTER RECESS.

The following Bills were read the second time:—

To incorporate the Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Co.

To authorize the shareholders of the Union Permanent Building and Savings' Society, to change the name of said Society.

To further amend the St. Lawrence & Ottawa Railway Act.

The Budget.

Mr. MACDOUGALL resumed his speech. He said:—When I was closing my remarks at six o'clock, I was referring to protection and the effect it was likely to produce. I do not propose to discuss that branch of the subject further. During this debate I have heard several hon. members refer to the prosperity of France as an illustration of the advantages of protection. I do not claim to be well acquainted with the commercial history of that nation, but I know there was a time when its policy was strictly protective, and during the existence of that system the machinery and implements used in the country were exceedingly rude. While protection continued that condition of affairs was unchanged, because there was no competition. There was no necessity to manufacture as cheaply as possible, and no inducement for improvement. The results of adopting free-trade are shown in the vast improvement of the country and in its wonderful recuperative powers after the recent struggle with Germany.

Some hon. gentlemen contend that we must have protection. Now, what

does that policy mean? It means the exclusion of trade with foreign countries. Its object is that people shall trade among themselves and have no communication with other nations. That is the principle which those gentlemen would force on this House, and for which they ask the Government to change the whole fiscal policy that has proved to be so successful in this country.

Mr. WOOD—Has any gentleman on this side of the House wished the Government to change their whole fiscal policy?

Mr. MACDOUGALL—I say the hon. gentleman has himself asked for the adoption of an entirely different policy from that enunciated by the Government. The Finance Minister says it is not necessary that we should increase taxation. He says by the policy of retrenchment he proposes to pursue he does not need to add another dollar to the revenue by raising the tariff. Now, I ask if the change which the hon. member for Hamilton wants would not involve the adoption of a different fiscal policy. The Protectionists say we have hard times and they make the most of that cry. I do not believe the people are so badly off as they are represented. The agriculturists are not. Representing a farming community I say they are in a position to help themselves. Hon. gentlemen say they do not want a prohibitory tariff, but there is a temporary distress which they want to relieve by increased taxation for the purpose of enabling the manufacturers to make more money. I ask them to candidly tell me if we should increase the tariff two, three or four per cent., when they will be ready to reduce that tax? Would they specify to me the date when they will be prepared to ask this House for a reduction of the amount they say is necessary to be put on during this time of depression? There is no such intention. If we increased the tariff they would never be ready to reduce it to its present rate. The condition of the United States has been taken as a proof of the desirability of adopting a protective policy. Quite a change has come over many of our people. I remember a time, when

any reference was made either to the Constitution or to the financial condition of the United States, the man who had the boldness to do so was taboored as being disloyal to the Empire.

But, Sir, it suits the purposes of certain members of this House to point to the United States as an instance of the success and prosperity that have attended the adoption of this protective system. That system came into force in the United States in 1866; but I join issue with those hon. gentlemen who state that protection has been the cause of the prosperity of that country. From that time these hon. gentlemen know that that country was agitated by a dreadful revolution, and it was necessary for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of the Republic to issue an irredeemable currency, by means of which every enterprise and business was stimulated to a great degree. During the war there was terrible destruction of life, wealth and property, and the whole condition of the country was disturbed and everything was stimulated into an unhealthy activity. But the condition of the trade of the United States under those circumstances and what it would be in Canada under protection would form be no parallel. Allow me to quote the words of a distinguished statesman of that country—and I am free to confess as a loyal Canadian—they have produced great men in the United States—men who have done a great deal to promote civilization, to instruct the country in the proper principles of legislation and lift up humanity and make it better than it was before. Among these men none stands higher than Daniel Webster. In discussing this very question of the tariff and the very principles enunciated in this debate, at a time when the condition of the United States was very like what that of Canada is at present, with an inconvertible currency, head dressed himself to the Senate.

Mr. PLUMB—I want to ask if there was an inconvertible currency in the United States in 1874?

Mr. MACDOUGALL—I will now quote from the speech of that distinguished statesman, and if there are

any errors in the report, I hope my hon. friend from Niagara will correct me. He says: "Now, Sir, what is the remedy for existing evils? What is the course of policy suited to our actual condition? Certainly it is not our wisdom to adopt any system that may be offered to us without examination, and in the blind hope that whatever changes our condition may improve it. It is better that we should bear the ills we have than fly to those we know not of?" "We are bound to see that there is a fitness and an aptitude in whatever measures may be recommended to relieve the evils that afflict us, and before we adopt a system that professes to make great alterations, it is our duty to look carefully to each leading interest of the community, and see how it may probably be affected by our proposed legislation." These are the words of the distinguished statesman belonging to the party that, from that time down to the present, in the United States have always been favourable to the principle of protection. These are the statements he makes, and I think they are as applicable to the present time as they were applicable to the affairs of the United States at that time. He continues in another part of his speech: "On the general question, Sir, if the doctrine of protection as a general doctrine be not preposterous. Suppose all nations to act upon it, they would be preposterous, then, according to the argument precisely in the proportion in which they abolished intercourse with one another; the less of mutual commerce the better upon this hypothesis."

That is precisely what is asked for in this principle. I know it will be stated that I am putting this argument to the very furthest extreme, but we are not discussing the question of details at this moment. The hon. gentlemen who favour protection are content for a moment to ask the attention of this House to a question of detail. They challenge the House, and those who hold the views I entertain upon the principle of protection. Upon this I join issue, and the ultimate conclusion I arrive at is that the principle of protection is one of entire prohibition

or of non-intercourse with other nations. This a question of great importance; it is a question of such magnitude as has not come before this House since I had the honour of having a seat in it. It is not a question of the present, but of the future; it is one I believe should enable us to rise above party feeling and party proclivities. It is one we should discuss upon its merits and upon its merits only. It is a question of adopting a principle that will be either for the weal or the woe of this country.

Mr. DYMOND—I am quite aware that any one rising to address the House at the period of the debate at which we have arrived taxes very heavily its indulgence, and I am not sure that I would not have postponed the remarks which I intend to make if it had not been for the speech with which the discussion this afternoon was opened. However, I see my hon. friend from South Waterloo is not in his place, and I will take the liberty of postponing for the moment my reference to his remarks. This is a subject which we have to approach from two points of view; we have to approach it not simply as an economical question, in which sense it has mainly been discussed to-day, but also as a great political question, and that, too, not simply as members of this House but as members of a great political party, a party which, I believe, is about to be called upon to adopt and define a line of conduct and policy with regard to it. It cannot be denied that the Government now in power entered upon office under circumstances of great difficulty, and we congratulate ourselves that they have been so far successful in overcoming the difficulties that have confronted them, arising out of the obligations left them by their predecessors. The large revenue and heavy loans they have had to raise have been obtained with little difficulty. But, Sir, we find ourselves at the present moment also confronted with a deficit, and that deficit has to be met in a way which we as members of the Liberal party ought certainly to rejoice over. The old watchwords of that party were "peace, retrenchment and reform." Happily in this country we have nothing to disturb our peace,

Mr. MACDUGALL.

and we have accomplished so many reforms that there is now little for us to do in that direction. And now, Sir, we find ourselves consummating the glorious record, by adopting the glorious policy of retrenchment. I am not now going to charge the members of the late Government with being responsible for that enormous increase to which my hon. friend from Waterloo adverted. I believe that in these matters as a rule Governments are more sinned against than sinning, and it may be well that we who sit on these back benches should experience the absolute necessity of the policy of retrenchment, because it will teach us, at all events, that we have to sustain the Government in carrying out this policy, and in discouraging those who would endeavour to induce them to violate it. The late Government too often yielded to the importunities of friends and supporters, but they have at all events the excuse to urge that, in their day the inflation of the revenue came in as a justification of their liberality. We now find from the responsible Minister of the Crown that he needs no further taxes, and that charged, as he is, above all things with taking care of our credit, he is able at present to announce that we can carry on the affairs of the country for the next twelve months without asking for any increase of taxation. This state of things fully justifies my hon. friend, who has just sat down, in making the remark that those who are coming forward to demand an increase at the present time are doing so exclusively in the interest of protection, and I do not honour the man who comes forward with such a demand, while concealing at the same time the motives by which he is actuated. Reference has been made to my hon. friends from Hamilton time and again; but at least we must admit that they have been honest in their demands. They have openly avowed on the floor of this House, before the Budget was introduced, in the Committee Room and in their speeches on the hustings, that they are Protectionists, and that they ask that we shall inflict taxes on the people of this country, in order that manufacturing—and I suppose other industries—may be fostered

and encouraged. There is a well defined issue between us; they are Liberals or Reformers, and though they are with us on nine points out of ten we must join issue with them squarely on the tenth. I am quite sure my hon. friends at heart do not indulge in the delusion, that nobody wants more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The record is against them; $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase of duties would be a sop to Cerberus, but Cerberus would not be satisfied. Two years ago a body of manufacturers met in the City of Toronto, and I have before me the resolution they passed. It records the various businesses in which they were engaged. I observe that these include every branch of home manufactures from woollen goods down to coffins and clothes wringers; and they demand specifically that on all these articles there should be levied a duty of 25 instead of 15 per cent. with one exception, and this is with regard to paper to be used in the printing of newspapers. I suppose that this exception was also a sop thrown to Cerberus, but Cerberus did not take it.

We have another body acting under a greater sense of responsibility than these little caucases of manufacturers—the Board of Trade. In 1873, being confronted with a resolution in favour of free-trade, the Board passed an amendment declaring in favour of the policy which has been adopted in this country up to the present moment—a revenue tariff giving incidental protection. In 1874 this same Board went a step further, and demanded that the element of protection should be incorporated in the policy of the country. They were not then satisfied that we should proceed on a revenue basis, and they asked for protection, although in a somewhat modified form; but since that time they have advanced, and they now call for a reciprocal policy—a euphonious substitute for a retaliatory policy. They mean that wherever the duties of the United States on our goods amount to a certain sum we should impose the same duties on our side. Another meeting of manufacturers was held very recently in the City of Toronto; and they again asked for a retaliatory policy. I believe that my hon. friends from Hamilton are perfectly honest in

the course they have adopted, but I think that they are no more masters of the situation in the country than they were masters of the situation in this House the other night. They might as well come out at once as wait to be forced against their wills, and ask for 10 or 15 per cent. increase of duties; and I must say that they insult common sense in the face of the facts I have stated in limiting their demand to 2½ per cent. This being the case, and the country being asked to commit itself to a protective policy, the next question is—for what reason is this demand made? In the first place we are told that we must have a national policy. This phrase has been burlesqued, and therefore I am afraid that it will not be received with very great favour in most quarters. What does it mean, if it signifies anything?—A policy formed in the interest not of one part or of another section, but of the whole Dominion to be instrumental in welding us together as one nation, breaking down and not establishing sectional differences and barriers. But what is one of the first things which we are asked to do? To impose that most odious of all imposts—a bread tax on the people of the Maritime Provinces. If there were one thing in this world that would tend to exasperate any free people, it would surely be to tax the bread which they eat; and this is the first request made by these champions of a national policy. It is not only that the bread of the Maritime Provinces is to be taxed. We are all aware that many of their people came very reluctantly into Confederation, and it is possible that even yet there may be in some quarters elements of discontent. We have gained very largely by the accession of these Provinces, for the manufacturers of Toronto, Hamilton and other places find in them some of their best customers. My hon. friend from Hamilton, when he obtained a Committee on this subject two years ago, extracted a great deal of valuable information. Here is the testimony of one witness, Mr. Muir, a gentleman from Montreal, and I am sure that my hon. friend will bear me out when I say that he was one of the most intelligent and frank-spoken men we had before us on that occasion.

Mr. DYMOND.

He does a large business in the clothing trade:—

Q.—Your business has largely increased since that time—(this was since a very few years previously)? A—Yes.

Q.—What are the causes? A—The causes are various; our business increases with the trade of the Dominion, and this has increased largely; but one of the principal elements of the increase has been our getting the Maritime Provinces as a market. Not less than one-third of my own trade is with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Q.—What amount do you transmit to the Maritime Provinces—that is, what amount of business do you do with them annually? A.—I should say not less from \$120,000 to \$150,000.

Now, when we are asked to levy from 5 to 10 per cent. increased duties, we are asked to tax the people of the Maritime Provinces for the benefit of other sections of the country, and this is the national policy which is to weld us together into one great nation, and break down the distinctions between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario or Quebec.

There is another reason alleged in favour of the adoption of a protectionist policy. It is said that the Americans invade us with their goods. I hesitate very much before criticising, even in the slightest degree, the speech which has been so justly complimented on all sides of the hon. member for North Norfolk. I do not think that he is very far out of the right way, but he stated, I think, that protection to home manufactures was very desirable as a check upon the prices of the foreign importers. I will just reverse that proposition, and say that I think the foreign importers are a very salutary check upon the home manufacturers; and after all what is the amount of injury that the latter receive? I have selected from returns lately brought down a few of our leading articles of manufacture. The first is agricultural implements—the smaller articles, I presume, such as spades, shovels and the implements generally used in farm work, and I find that we manufactured in 1871 \$2,685,393 worth, or at the rate of 77 cents per head of our population, and in the

year 1875, a period of inflation, when this country was being made, according to all accounts, a slaughter market by the Americans, the importations of these implements amounted exactly to four cents per head. Of boots and shoes we manufactured in 1871 to the value of \$16,133,638, or at the rate of \$4.63 per head, and our imports in that year, when we were suffering from the causes to which such frequent reference has been made, amounted to seven cents per head; of cabinet furniture, in 1871, we manufactured \$3,500,000 worth, or at the rate of \$1.03 per head, and our imports just averaged nine cents per head; of machinery of all kinds, paying duty, we manufactured \$7,325,531 worth, or at the rate of \$2.10 per head, and our imports of machinery not paying duty, in 1875 amounted to only twenty-five cents per head; of carriages of all sorts we manufactured in 1871 to the value of \$4,849,239, or at the rate of \$1.40 per head, and our imports in 1875 of that important article of manufacture amounted to just three cents per head; of saddlery and harness we manufactured about \$2,500,000 worth, or at the rate of 70 cents per head, and our imports averaged the enormous sum of two cents per head; of clothing, in 1871 we manufactured \$9,300,000 worth, or at the rate of \$2.64 per head, and in 1875 we imported at the rate of 24 cents per head; our tanners manufactured something over \$9,000,000 worth of material in 1871, or at the rate of \$2.64 per head, and we imported at the rate of 24 cents per head in 1875; of woollen goods, including blankets, flannels and tweeds, we manufactured in 1871 \$5,000,000 worth, or at the rate of \$1.58 per head, and we imported in 1875, when it is said our markets were flooded with foreign goods, at the rate of 36 cents per head.

This is the upshot of all this outcry, and I think that we cannot help seeing the weakness of our opponents' position when they claim that we should impose a protective policy in this country in the face of such figures as those to which I have just referred.

Another reason is given for the imposition of a protective tariff. It is

represented that the Americans refuse to admit our manufactures at the same rates as those that we levy upon theirs. This opens up the whole question of free-trade. Allusion has been made to the case of France in 1860. I can well remember what an outcry there was in Great Britain in consequence of the concessions—as they were called—which were made to the Emperor of the French, for while the latter was only willing to stipulate for the reduction of the tariff to such a point that it would be no longer prohibitory to our goods, we, in a great number of cases, admitted these goods free, and we were told that we were consequently making a sacrifice. The answer of the Government and the people of England was that whenever we could admit goods free our people were the gainers by the transaction, no matter from whence they came, as this must cheapen the necessaries of life and thereby give the people a large amount of money to spend, not only for foreign productions but for home-manufactures.

To the proposition to adopt a retaliatory policy very grave objections exist. It would be not only dangerous but very undignified. It is extremely absurd of anybody to boast or threaten unless he can fulfil his threat or his boast, and it is idle for us, on the floor of this House, to say that we can adopt a policy altogether independent of the United States. It is useless to be mealy-mouthed about this matter, or to assert that we can compel the United States to adopt our views when they have forty millions of people and we have but four. I believe, too, that it is not generally considered good policy to quarrel with one of your best customers; and the United States last year imported from Canada something like \$23,000,000 or \$24,000,000 worth of goods, of which \$8,000,000 were agricultural produce, and this out of \$77,000,000 of our total exports at a period of very considerable depression. Another objection may be fairly raised—especially by those who, like myself, represent agricultural constituencies—and that is, whether the large body of consumers be taxed in the interest of one class? I am aware that I must not refer to what has

passed in debate in this House during the present Session, but I have heard somewhere the doctrine laid down that the farmers were not consumers, but simply producers; and I once saw an hon. gentleman, who by the way is not a farmer, call attention to his own home-spun habiliments in order to show the primitive manner in which people live in the district from whence he comes. There may possibly be in some parts of the country—somewhere, perhaps, on the banks of the St. Lawrence—a primitive race—a race who clothe themselves as our first parents did after their ejection from Eden—a people who use flint-headed agricultural implements, who don't raise anything but a few scanty ears of maize, and live by the proceeds of the chase. There may be some such people, say, about Gananoque, but they are not to be found in any other part of the country. At any rate, go into the old Home district with which I am best acquainted, and you will find the farmers there have attained a higher degree of civilization; that they are men of education and of taste; that they generally live in handsome brick houses, constructed with all the fittings a high state of civilization requires. They use cooking stoves, which are an article of manufacture. They use furniture, which is also, I believe, an article of manufacture. They are in the habit sometimes of dressing in broadcloth. Indeed, we shall not have to go far from where I speak to find an Ontario farmer who is seen in broadcloth on many occasions, and not a little of it either.

Hon. Gentlemen—Name, name.

Mr. DYMOND—Not to know him would be to argue one's self unknown. I will go further. You will hardly go into a farm house in the county a part of which I represent—and I know my hon. friends from Ontario? Peel and elsewhere, will bear me out—without finding some costly musical instrument, a handsome organ or a piano costing several hundred dollars. These two are products of home or foreign manufacture. It cannot be shown by any argument that any form of protection would be of the slightest advantage to these men. Yet you want to

tax every article of furniture in their houses, every piece of clothing they wear; in fact, everything except the food they raise upon their own farms. In the name of these men, Sir, and in the name of the agricultural constituencies in whose behalf so many of us on this side have the right to speak, as well as in the name of our friends from the Maritime Provinces, I protest against the proposition to do anything which, for purely protective purposes, will place fresh burdens upon their shoulders. When did they come whining like paupers to your gate? When did they come to this House to ask for anything to strengthen their strong right arms in achieving the fruits of honest industry? You can hardly go among them and listen to the stories many of them can tell of their hard wrestlings and their once rugged lot without emotion—without hearing a tale of struggles and suffering that has about it all the elements of romance. It was not by asking the aid of legislation that they exalted from the earth her tribute and from the wilderness a home, and literally made the desert to blossom as the rose; it was not by appealing to legislation that they made Canada as great as she is to-day, that they have made our people so strong that they can meet one of the severest crises in our history, if not without anxiety at least without alarm.

We are told, too, we must have protection here because of its great success in the United States. I am not going to follow the example of some of my hon. friends by reading long passages from the speeches and opinions of eminent statesmen. When my hon. friend from Waterloo referred to Mr. Wells I heard something like a jeering laugh on the other side of the House. His opinions may be taken for what they are worth. Any hon. gentleman in this House is just as entitled to hold and express his own opinions as Mr. Wells; but if we want facts and the statements of a highly conscientious man—a man who, beyond most other public men, is accustomed to the compilation of figures and facts—we may go with all confidence to Mr. David Wells, and there are few men living at the present time who have so large a

Mr. DYMOND.

fund of information upon those subjects with which he is acquainted, or on whom you can rely with more confidence than upon than gentleman.

Now, with regard to the American mercantile marine, my hon. friend from North Norfolk remarked that the destruction of the American shipping was a consequence of the war. The war did rather less damage to the navy than the hon. gentleman, perhaps, believes. More than ten years have elapsed since that war terminated; eleven years will have passed by in a few weeks since Richmond fell, soon after which peace was restored to the Union. What is protection asked for if not to foster what are called infant industries, or to aid the recuperative power that is found in the resources of a country? What is the condition of the American mercantile marine to-day? It is in a state of depression; so weak that I believe not a single letter is carried across the ocean in an American ship. There is a country with the finest resources for shipbuilding in the whole world, with ample supplies of timber and of iron, and with a sea coast lined with admirable facilities for shipping, and yet, such have been the blighting effects of protection as recorded by Mr. Wells and other American writers, that their mercantile navy is practically destroyed, and American commerce is virtually swept from the seas.

Another great industry, the manufacture of woollens, may also be instanced. During the war, when cotton was very dear and so scarce that it was almost impossible to obtain it, wool, of course, came into the market. There was an enormous demand for wool, manufactories sprang up and an exceedingly profitable business was done. But the moment the war was over the trade in woollen goods to a certain extent collapsed. There had been over-production; there was a cessation of demand from the army, and the Government threw a quantity of the surplus stock into the market. The result of this was a great outcry. Farmers went to Washington to obtain relief. A convention was held, and it was proposed to levy, and Congress did levy a protective duty of something like 120 to 150 per cent.; and yet

such is the state of the woollen trade at this moment that not only has the magnificent breed of sheep dwindled away, but the mills are being literally sold at sacrifice prices, at less than twenty-five per cent. of their cost, because the trade has been crushed out of existence by protection.

I come next to silks. In the United States there is a duty of 60 per cent. on silk manufactured goods, the raw material being admitted free. But, notwithstanding this, the manufacturers are clamouring for an increase of duty in order to protect their trade from destruction.

Well, if we may look to America to see what has been the effect upon its commerce of a protective policy—and I am not one of those who are ashamed to look to her for an example, for if there is one country in the world besides Great Britain that may be worthily imitated, it is the United States in a great many passages of their history—we may surely turn to England to learn what have been the effects of free trade. We are certainly just as much entitled to take a lesson from Free-Trade England as from Protectionist America. If ever there was a class of men in this world who might fairly cry out against free trade—if ever there was a class to whom free trade threatened destruction, it was the farmers of England at the time the corn laws were repealed. The case of our Canadian farmers affords no parallel to theirs. They knew nothing of land which they could call their own or of the light taxation we enjoy here. A large proportion of them were tenants-at-will, liable to be thrown out of their farms by their landlords at short notice. A large number of them were in debt, and a spirit of despondency brooded over the whole land. I will read a short passage from the work of a very able writer to show the state of Great Britain in 1841, previous to the time Sir Robert Peel commenced his fiscal reforms:—"The period of Sir R. Peel's accession to office was one of greater depression than our industrial interests had ever before experienced. The State seemed precipitately falling to decay;

“it was as though the very spirit of death paralyzed all the movements of capital; we stood like some ancestral oak, arrested in the mid-career of spring-tide vegetation by some fatal shock, and from whose branches the vital sap is suddenly withdrawn. Never again may such a dismal time darken the path of Old England! The distress which was then endured by the nation sounds more like the wild creation of a tragic fancy than a recital of sober facts.”

But what was the result, even to the farmers, of the corn laws being repealed? From 1831 to 1840, under protective laws, the average consumption of foreign wheat in Great Britain was 900,000 quarters, of the value of £2,520,000 sterling. From 1841 to 1850, partial free-trade having been in operation up to 1849, the average consumption had increased to 2,600,000 quarters, of the value of £6,890,000. From 1851 to 1860 the average consumption had increased to 5,000,000 quarters, of the value £13,500,000. In the eight years, from 1854 to 1861, there was consumed in Great Britain £122,000,000 worth of foreign wheat, equal to \$75,000,000 worth in our money, on an annual average. Yet, notwithstanding this, from 1843 to 1860, the assessment on agricultural lands had increased from £42,127,419 in the former to £42,994,947 in the latter year. The valuations of farmers' profits also increased enormously, and such was the effect of this—the raw material of industry, the first necessary of life, being cheapened to the great body of the people—that notwithstanding these great importations of breadstuffs, the price of wheat actually increased. From 1841 to 1850 the price of wheat was £2 13s. 3½d. per quarter, from 1851 to 1860 it was £2 14s. 7½d. per quarter. In Great Britain the estimated area of cultivated land in 1827 was 34,014,000 acres. In 1868 it had increased to 45,832,000. In 1874 it had increased to 47,143,000 acres. The number of horses, cattle and sheep had increased in similiar proportion. There was just this result perceivable. Instead of almost exclusively growing wheat there was more pasture farming.

Mr. DYMOND.

The intelligence of the farmer has called into activity. You will find by looking at the statistics a much larger number of shepherds employed by farmers in 1871 than in 1861. The increase from 1851 to 1871 was from 12,500 to 22,323; and the number of persons engaged in tending agricultural machinery—another very important indication of the progress of the farming community—had also doubled in the same period. Then, again, when we turn from the experience of the agriculturists to the records of the great volume of trade, in order to ascertain what the effect of free-trade has been upon the commercial community, we find a very similar result. The British exports of 1822 were £36,968,964; in 1842, under twenty years of protection, they had only increased about £11,000,000; but in 1853, during a period of partial free-trade, they had more than doubled. They had grown to £93,357,306; and in 1873 they had reached the enormous volume of £300,000,000, of which £250,000,000 were the produce of Great Britain herself, £50,000,000 being the produce of other countries to which she acted as factor. We have thus, on the one hand, the distressed and, in many cases, ruined industries of the United States as the consequence of protection, and we have on the other hand the magnificent exhibit of Free-Trade England, to which I have just taken the liberty of calling attention.

Now, I said if my hon. friend from South Waterloo came in I would venture to make one or two remarks on the speech he delivered this evening, and which was, to a large extent, an echo of other speeches he has made on the same subject. I can venture to take liberties with my hon. friend; we can afford to differ a little on this side. We are numerous enough to do so safely, and our very name of Reformers shows we are progressive, and must therefore at times differ. But my hon. friend has progressed backwards. The hon. member from East Elgin has not the reputation of being a joker, or the House would have discovered the fine irony underlying the reference he made to the member for South Waterloo this afternoon. Looking at the position in which we

are placed at this moment, when we are bracing ourselves for a struggle with protection, I venture to say the speech of my hon. friend was about as objectionable as any that could have fallen from his lips. When he conceded one point he conceded all, and once on that inclined plane to which somebody alluded, when he begins to slip there is no knowing where he will go to. I don't believe my hon. friend is going to pursue that course. He has been carried away by the outcry around him, and has been led into the belief that under certain circumstances he should do that which Mr. Wells, whom he quotes, says is to the last degree pernicious. We are bracing ourselves for a struggle in which, as a party, we have to choose sides. I am not sorry that the time has come when we are to have a square issue on this question. I care not what Government may be inconvenienced, or what Ministry may rise or fall, so long as the truth remains—that on this side of the House we are the party of free-trade in the sense in which free-trade is understood in this country. We have on the present occasion adopted that principle as our policy. Our opponents, so far as they have expressed themselves, have taken sides against us. We have not heard the important speech which is to be delivered some day by the right hon. member for Kingston. I shall listen, as we all do, to his utterances with the most profound attention and respect. But we have his opinions as expressed elsewhere, and in spite of the good character the hon. member for East Elgin gives him, I believe he is at heart a Protectionist. I believe he once said that my hon. friend the Premier's courage, like Bob Acres', would ooze out of his finger ends. But who is the Bob Acres here to-day? Who has shown on this question a want of courage? The right hon. gentleman has shrunk from taking a decided stand on this question. It is he who is playing the part of Bob Acres, if he will excuse me for saying so. At Kingston on the 10th of January, 1874, the hon. gentleman wanted votes, as he has often done, and he made a speech in which he alluded to things in general, and this question of free-

trade and protection in particular. He said—alluding to the late Government: "We should have been forced to re-adjust the tariff to assist the industries of Canada, so as to enable them to compete with the home market; and the farmers must be protected also so that they would not have to depend on the fact of a good crop or a bad crop." The right hon. gentleman was not only going to protect the manufacturers, he was also going to do what no one had ever attempted before since the world began—ensure the farmers riches whether they had good crops or bad crops. The right hon. gentleman also made a speech at Cooksville last January. We are sometimes told that on such occasions he is not in sober earnest; but we were not there to know whether on that occasion he was joking or not, and we must therefore hold him to his words as they were spoken. He said:—"The next principle is that in the arrangement of our tariff; we will consult the interests of Canada altogether. We will endeavour, without unduly burdening the agricultural portion of our population, so to adjust the tariff as to encourage our manufacturers, and to protect them from the enormous capital that is collected in England and the United States." So at intervals of two years the right hon. gentleman declared himself to be prepared, as he had done in 1872, when he was scurrying around the country rallying his followers, to be an advocate of protection. In fact, he declared himself to be that which the Government have at this moment pronounced themselves not to be—prepared to lay on taxes, not for purposes of revenue, but to benefit a certain class or certain classes of the community. He was doing that which my hon. friends from Hamilton have asked us to do, and what my hon. friend from Waterloo in an incautious moment professed he was almost ready to do—that is, to be willing to adjust the tariff in the interests of the manufacturers. When I heard my hon. friend from Cumberland the other night say he was neither a Free-Trader nor a Protectionist, and then heard the course taken by the hon. member from South Waterloo, I thought it looked very like a coalition. Although the

hon. member for Waterloo feels the most intense repugnance for every other principle advocated by the hon. member for Cumberland, on this one they seem to be agreed. I hope my hon. friend will receive the warning thus honestly given him, that he is in bad company and runs the risk of forfeiting that brilliant reputation he has won and in the ranks of the Reform party up to the present time. But, Sir, I believe that by this question being presented as a clear political and party issue, we shall, when the hour comes, all fall into line. I believe that Montreal at no distant day will cast off her mourning apparel. We shall find Hamilton, sitting clothed and in her right mind. I have great hopes for North Norfolk; there will be a strengthening of the knees in South Waterloo, and even Lincoln may see light. That being the case, I for one most fearlessly await that struggle. I am told that we should be banished from public life if we talk of free-trade; but I think the people of this country are a great deal wiser than we give them credit for being. All the wisdom of the Dominion is not on the floor of this Parliament. If the Government had given way to the extent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as they were asked to do, they would simply have weakened the position they now hold and have done no good, even from a protectionist point of view, to any man, woman or child in the community. If I had thought we could have done anything that would have relieved the distress in the country, no one would have yielded more readily, but I defy any one to show the good that would have resulted from a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase. If we are to have protection let us have it fairly and squarely; prove to us on the floor of Parliament that the country would be better with a protective tariff and we would have to bow to your arguments, but till we have stronger proof than the mere peddling appeals made to us on this question have supplied, we will have to take our stand as we have taken it to day. We have fought great battles in the past; we have been the party of free institutions; we have been the party of a free press, we have been the party of free education. A gallant wing of our party is even at this moment

Mr. DYMOND.

struggling for the principle of free thought and free speech in one of the Provinces of this Dominion, and the time is coming when we must inscribe "Free-Trade" on our banner—that is free-trade in the sense of laying on the shoulders of the people no other burthens than the exigencies of the public service may require.

Mr. APPLEBY—Perhaps there is no political question which has received more prominence lately than protection and since Parliament have assembled here the advocates of that system have taken advantage of every opportunity that has presented itself to propound their peculiar views and flood the House with the arguments at their disposal. Anyone who has watched the progress of affairs in this country for some time past must have seen that protection and free-trade must enter strongly into the politics of the Dominion, and there will be a definite line drawn between political parties on this question. If there were any doubt as to what the opinions of the Government are on protection that doubt has been settled by the Budget Speech of the Government. Being a Free-Trader myself, I have to offer my congratulations on the policy that they have declared and I think it will be received with approbation from all parts of the Dominion. Political parties have been required from time to time to lay down a platform, the Reform party has laid theirs down as economy and free-trade, and I think the country will respond to that sentiment. A number of persons seem to have a great idea of the power of Parliament to legislate prosperity for a country, and I think if we keep on in this strain we will almost believe it ourselves. A great many in advocating the doctrine of protection seem to think that Parliament can legislate prosperity; but the wealth of a country is hewn out by the honest industry of the people. Every man in a free country is actuated and impelled by his natural instinct to work out and acquire prosperity, and the credit of that is our national wealth. I am myself a Free-Trader of the most radical type, and I hold it the duty of Free-Traders to avow their principles, and not be content with the present condi-

tion of things.

That we intend to take no steps backward, but will use every effort to gradually reach that period when tariffs and custom houses shall be unknown.

Although [free trade, pure and simple, and its incident, direct taxation for revenue purposes are not practicable at the present day, and may not be for some years to come, still, I repeat that we should seek to render them practicable, hoping finally to see no restrictions upon commerce, and our revenues collected in a manly straightforward manner—in the words of an English writer—"When our revenues are henceforth to be drawn "not from oppressive imposts on industry, wrapped in puerile concealments, but from assessments openly and honestly levied, and voluntarily acquiesced in as the price which a free man pays for benefits conferred."

We have been told by the advocates of protection that the want of a high protective tariff has produced the commercial depression under which this country is at present suffering, and we are at the same time pointed to the United States as an instance of national prosperity under protection.

These gentlemen should remember that this country flourished wonderfully under a 15 per cent. tariff, and it must be apparent that the present distress arises from other causes, as the distress is world wide, and prevails to a much greater extent in the United States than in this country.

Although the people of that country are at present suffering great commercial distress, they have in the past prospered wonderfully, but not by reason of high protection, but in spite of it.

They had the wars of the revolution and 1812, the Mexican war, and the late civil war, and they have prospered in spite of these burdens just as they have prospered in spite of a high protective tariff. If our manufacturers represented the great bulk of the people of the Dominion, if all our hopes of prosperity depended upon their success, we might be inclined to listen to their views, but they represent a very small portion of the country. The great industries of the

Dominion are the farming, lumbering, shipping, fishing and mining, interests none of which is it practicable to protect by legislation.

We are asked, Sir, to create monopolies to lay the great consuming class under contribution to enrich the manufacturing few.

Protection inflicts a double wrong upon consumers; first, they are compelled to pay higher for their manufactured goods than they would under foreign competition; and if foreign manufacturers are excluded from the country, the revenue from that source falls off, and must be made up by an additional tax on those necessaries which are not, and cannot be produced in the country, and which are in common use by all classes, the poor as well as the rich. My opinion is that we have too much legislation, that the people should be let alone; that the first and almost only duty of Government is to see that life, liberty and property are secure, and that the people should be allowed to buy and sell when and where they may without hindrance.

I hope to see the time when Parliament will take their unlawful hands from trade and commerce, that they may be allowed to flow in natural and unrestricted channels.

As an instance of the hindrance to trade, I would mention our Stamp Duty, which I hope the Government will soon see their way clear to repeal.

While I congratulate the Government on their policy, I hope that they will still further pursue a policy of Free Trade, and instead of an increase, that there will be a decrease in the present tariff. I desire to call attention to the article of Kerosene Oil, which can be bought in the United States for 12 cents per gallon, upon which we pay a duty of 15 cents per gallon.

I hope at no distant day that this obnoxious tax may be removed, and a more reasonable tariff imposed instead.

The hon. member for Montreal Centre intimated that the Government were not carrying out their own principles, but were compelled to abandon them by pressure from Maritime members, which pressure he denounced in unsparing terms. At the same time

he threatened the Government with his opposition unless his views were met; what was wrong in others was just the proper thing for the member for Montreal.

It is well known that the Prime Minister is a Free Trader, we have abundant evidence of this from his public speeches. We also know that very great pressure has recently been brought to bear upon him by members of Parliament and influential delegations from Montreal and other manufacturing cities, to induce him to abandon his principles and inaugurate a protection policy. It, therefore, would not be surprising if gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces should wait upon the Government and intimate that they might place the utmost reliance upon their support and assistance in carrying out their principles.

If an absolute free trade policy should be adopted, the fleets of all nations would seek our shores, laden with the commodities of the world; these fleets would not return in ballast, but would carry away every article of our surplus products, affording a steady and convenient market. In concluding my remarks, I may indulge in the hope that the time may come in Canada when such a state of affairs may be brought about when we shall have such a condition of national prosperity as Political Economists have never yet dreamed of.

Mr. ROCHESTER—The hon. member who has just taken his seat represents the County of Carleton, New Brunswick. I have the honour to represent the County of Carleton, Ontario, and I hope the reporters will not make a mistake and attribute the hon. gentleman's sentiments to me, as he claims to be a Free-Trader.

I will allude to a remark that fell from the Finance Minister during his Budget Speech, on the subject of the depression. He said that this was the case in manufacturing and commercial circles; and also, that among all the complaints, he had heard none from the lumber trade. I take it for granted that this statement is true; but I will say that this was not because there was no reason for it, and not because abuses were not connected with this interest which ought to be remedied.

Mr. APPLEBY.

In the first place, as to these abuses, we find that the Michigan lumbermen can take out their timber, bring it through into Canada, use our lakes, rivers and canals, and enjoy all the privileges and rights of Canadian subjects without paying one cent therefor. This, I contend, is an abuse; and not only is this the fact, but the Americans have the benefit of our market. They convey their timber to Quebec, and possess all the advantages to which Canadian lumbermen are entitled, on precisely the same footing as the latter. Then there is the forwarding interest, which is very important, as for a number of years a large quantity of lumber has been sent into the United States, which has been an extensive and excellent market for Canada. I believe that I am correct in saying that in the Treaty of Washington in 1872, it was supposed that equal rights and privileges would be granted to Canadian forwarders in the United States; and I will read a short extract from correspondence, in order to show how the provision in this relation has been carried out. In reply to a letter from one of the forwarders to the Collector of Customs at Plattsburgh, this was written:—
 “I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst., wherein you ask for the following information, viz.:—Whether Canadian barges will be allowed to pass *en route* from Rouse's Point to New York with foreign merchandise in bond? In reply I beg to inform you that the United States laws, as construed (I think misconstrued would have been a better word) by the Treasury Department, prohibit the trade in question, so far as British vessels are concerned. See 2,771, Revised Statutes of the United States, which read as follows: ‘Vessels which are not vessels of the United States shall not be admitted to unload at ports of entry established by by-law, and no such vessel shall be admitted to make entry in any other district than in that one in which she shall be admitted to unload.’”

This is from the Collector of Customs at Plattsburgh. Now, the forwarders went a little further, and one wrote to Washington; he says:—“Not being satisfied with the reply, knowing as

" I did that in 1866 some 70,000,000 feet of Canadian lumber upon British barges was transported from this district to the district of Vermont in bond, because it suited the Government of the United States that year to have it so, I sent to get a copy of the instructions from Washington on the subject, and the official answer I received was as follows:—

" TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

" WASHINGTON, D.C., June 18, 1875.

" I have received your letter of the 4th instant, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Ottawa and Rideau Forwarding Company, stating that he had forwarded a number of his British barges from Ottawa to New York, *via* Lake Champlain, Champlain Canal and the Hudson River, and that he intended continuing that trade, if it be not illegal.

" I will thank you to inform the gentleman that the laws, as construed by this department, prohibit the trade in question, so far as British vessels are concerned. The fact that the vessels mentioned as having gone to New York were British, was over-looked at that port, and they were treated as American. Section 5,771 of the Revised Statutes requires that the vessels in question shall unload at your ports.

" (Signed,) Very respectfully,

" B. H. BRISTOW,

" Secretary.

" To Jacob Parmister,
" Collector, Plattsburgh."

It appears that the general impression has been for years, since the negotiation of that Treaty, at all events, that the difficulty was with the State Governments, that they would not allow our barges to pass through their canals, or grant to Canadians the rights and privileges Americans enjoy in the Dominion, but from this answer it seems that on the contrary, the States have expressed their willingness to allow Canadian barges to pass through all their canals, and that the difficulty lies with the Federal Government. When our boats cross the line they must stop at the first port of entry, enter their cargo, and pay their duty—\$2 in gold per thousand board measure. I suppose that the hon. member for North York will call this reciprocity; and so will I, on one side. The barges enter at the first port of entry, and pass into the interior for perhaps twenty or thirty miles, but not beyond forty miles, because this is not permitted; and this is prevented,

not by the State Governments, but by the Federal Administration. I will just read the 27th article of the Treaty of Washington:—"The Government of Her Britannic Majesty engages to urge upon the Government of the Dominion of Canada to secure to the citizens of the United States the use of the Welland, St. Lawrence and other canals in the Dominion on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion, and the Government of the United States engages that the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall enjoy the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States; and further engages to urge upon the State Governments to secure to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty the use of the several State canals connected with the navigation of the lakes or rivers, traversed by or contiguous to the boundary line between the possessions of the High Contracting Parties, on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States."

I think it is clear that the difficulty lies with the Federal Government. This is an abuse which I consider ought to be remedied; and I imagine it would be if proper representations were made by our Government to the American authorities. It is a great disadvantage to the Canadian lumber trade, as to send lumber to New York in American barges costs from \$6 to \$7, and sometimes \$7.50 per thousand, while our Canadian forwarders would be willing to take it through at \$5 per thousand. We are obliged to pay \$1 in gold in duty, and from \$1.50 to \$2 extra on freight. American bargemen generally own their own barges; they load with coal, and wait for the first opportunity when they can obtain a tow towards Canada; and so they go on, until they reach Montreal or Ottawa. Having discharged their coal, they load with lumber and return. When this treaty was made Canadian forwarding companies purchased plant to compete for the carrying trade, and to-day from 25 to 30 steamers, and from 200 to 300 barges built at the time, are lying at various wharves, rotting. The trade is labouring under a great hardship, and I hope that the Govern-

ment will take this matter in hand. And I cannot see that they will have any great difficulty in effecting a satisfactory arrangement. If the Federal Government of the United States has made this Treaty, and will not carry it out, I think that the country ought to know it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think that the country does know it pretty well.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I am very glad to hear it, Mr. Speaker, and I hope that the Government will endeavour to obtain redress. If the obstacles cannot be removed, then \$2 per thousand feet should be levied on the oak and pine which our American cousins send into the Dominion; and this would be what I would call reciprocity.

I am not prepared with statistics, but I can tell the Hon. Premier that a large quantity of American oak and white pine is sent to the Quebec market; and I am credibly informed that, whereas the only profitable trade that will be transacted during the present year, as far as I can see, will be in deals, Americans are preparing to send a large quantity of them to the Quebec market. If this be the case I think there is the stronger reason why \$2 per thousand should be levied on their lumber coming into Canada, while such a sum is collected on Canadian timber shipped to the United States. I am one of those who are in favour of free-trade, but I cannot endorse the sentiments of my hon friend from North York in this regard, for I hold that a system of free-trade on the one side, and protection on the other, is one that does not suit the interests of this or any other country. The lumber interest is perhaps second to none other in the Dominion, and under these circumstances I think I am perfectly justified in saying that it ought to have the fostering care of the Government and be protected as much as possible.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—If my hon friend would look at page 368 of the Trade Returns, he would find that the entire sawn lumber entered from the United States, was only worth \$141,000, and that on it were paid \$20,000 in duties.

Mr. ROCHESTER.

Mr. ROCHESTER—Have you the figures for square timber?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The square timber entered was valued at \$256,000.

Mr. ROCHESTER—What was paid on it?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The mere cost of transit.

Mr. ROCHESTER—Was duty paid on it?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It was shipped through; and the more of it that comes the better.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I see that lumber and timber of all kinds, round, hewn and not otherwise manufactured, are entered free. I cannot see how the timber mentioned paid duty.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Squared timber is free.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I think the First Minister will agree with me, that this affects our market to a great extent.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not in the least.

Mr. ROCHESTER—Our trade is very largely in squared timber in this part of the country; and the Americans take it to the Quebec market for sale. Their pine is good timber, and I know that last year quite a large quantity of it was sent from Michigan to Quebec.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—So much the better.

Mr. ROCHESTER—I must confess that I must be dull of understanding if this is the case. If the Premier shows that he is right I will admit that I am wrong; but if he or any other hon. gentleman on the floor of this House will prove that it is proper that we should pay duty on timber sent into the United States, while American timber is admitted into Canada free to compete with us in our own market, I would like to hear it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Does not the hon. gentleman see that it supplies a vast amount of trade to our shipping? It is that which induces the Americans to bring the grain from Chicago through our canals, and so increases the shipping trade at Quebec, and acts advantageously to the country.

Mr. ROCHESTER—Does not our lumber going to the United States benefit their carrying trade? It is the same thing.

An Hon. Member—They don't see it.

Mr. ROCHESTER—They don't want to see it. The hon. member for North York stood up as the advocate of the agriculturists in this House, and I think the farmers ought to be obliged for the compliments he paid them. But I cannot see how he can go back to his constituents, and in view of the duty they have to pay to get over the stone wall, tell them it is to their interest to maintain the present system. I think they should have protection, and that it would be the most reasonable thing imaginable for them to have it, especially if the United States will not deal fairly and honestly with us in this matter of reciprocity. I do not agree with the hon. gentleman that the imposition of the same duties as they impose upon our goods is retaliation, and there is no doubt that the United States is experiencing depression as well as Canada. England has suffered in the same way, together with other nations in Europe. But so long as the Americans can put a duty on goods sent in by their neighbours, and escape a like impost when they export to other countries, there is no danger of their becoming bankrupt.

With regard to the lumber interest, which is second in importance, I think it ought to be protected as well as the agricultural industry. The agriculturists raise their corn, wheat, oats and flour, and the lumbermen are the consumers. The one cannot get along without the other. The lumber trade brings in a vast amount of gold into this country, and therefore deserves and ought to have the fostering care of the Government; and I hope that the Ministry will endeavour to find out where the trouble lies with regard to this forwarding business.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The trouble lies very near the hon. gentleman.

Mr. ROCHESTER—My hon. friend must excuse me; I am bad at guessing. With regard to the difference of freight, it would only pay the duty the Americans receive from us. On the other hand, speaking of the coal trade,

the same barges that come here loaded with coal could return with our lumber, and our barges taking lumber to the United States could bring back coal, which by such an arrangement could be landed on our wharves at \$1 per ton less than at present. I don't know how this would suit some of my Lower Province friends, but such would be the result.

I will not detain the house further than to say that I hope this discussion will lead to some benefit to the trade, and that the gentlemen who have enunciated free-trade principles will so change their minds as to grant what is right to all parties. We want nothing more than we ought to have, and which I think it is our duty to demand. If this matter were left to the Local Governments I think there might be trouble in obviating the difficulty, but while it is in the hands of the Federal Government there ought to be no misunderstanding, and our forwarders should be put on the same footing as those of the United States.

Mr. DAVIES—When speaking to the resolution of the hon. member for Bothwell asking for an enquiry into the causes of the commercial depression, I said that although the Province I come from was nearly altogether Free-trade, and that I myself was a Free-trader, yet I recognized the necessity in some instances of fostering manufactures, and that if it could be shown we could fairly give infant manufactures a small degree of protection, I would not oppose it. I listened attentively to the speeches made on both sides, and have come to the conclusion that instead of requiring protection they are already too much protected. The hon. gentlemen from Ontario must not think that protection would be a benefit to them alone, and that there are no people in the Maritime Provinces to whom it would be a boon. In the Province I come from we rely mainly upon agriculture. We also build ships and have our fisheries, but owing to sparse population they are not prosecuted to a large extent. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the bulk of the ships are built for export; we build them and send them to England with a cargo and sell them. There is actually a tax on that industry, which was im-

posed some two years ago. I objected to it at the time, but the hon. member for Yarmouth and other hon. gentlemen took the ground that, as lighthouses and harbours of refuge were constructed for the benefit of owners, that interest should make some return. Our ships, as I have stated, are not built for trading, and it therefore seems to me that no tax should be imposed on our raw materials. The proper way to sustain the lighthouses would be a slight harbour duty.

The hon. member for Hamilton referred to continental Europe and the United States as instances of the beneficial results of protection, but no statistics were given to show that those nations are as prosperous as Free-Trade England, which has prospered to an enormous extent since she inaugurated her present fiscal policy. Wages have advanced 100 per cent. and all classes appear in a good condition. The hon. gentleman also says that no man could be found in the country who would be unwilling to sustain the manufacturers to a certain degree. I think they are already sustained up to that degree. The raw material comes in free, and they have a protective tariff of 17½ per cent.; and if they cannot manufacture with that protection they had better take to farming.

There are also other interests to which protection would be a great boon. The hon. member for Pictou, on the motion for a protective duty on coals made by the hon. member for Cape Breton, pointed out that the tax would come out of the consumers of Ontario, and would be unfair to them. He further showed that the geographical distance is such that it is not our natural market for coal, that the consumers would naturally look to the United States, and that a duty of \$3 a ton would not divert the trade to Ontario.

The hon. member for North York spoke very contemptuously about our coal. We have two kinds of coal—bituminous and steam—the one produced at Sydney being the best. The other kind is not good for house purposes, and I suppose it was that kind the hon. member saw at Toronto. The distance is so great we could not compete with United States coal in the On-

tario markets, and a tax on this article would only be a burden on the consumer without benefiting the Lower Province coal interest. If we attempt to tax coal the people of Ontario have a right to expect a tax on our fisheries, and we would have to give them up to the Americans.

I listened with great interest to the speech of the hon. member for Montreal Centre. He said there had been a combination of Maritime members who forced the Government to abandon a policy of moderate protection. The hon. member for Halifax, as one of the leading supporters of the Government, seemed to know nothing about it. The fact is a few Maritime members—ten of them—met in the lobby. We heard deputations were coming from the manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec, and using pressure on the Government. We thought it was quite right we should go down and wait on the Premier. He kindly received us, and we had a talk with him. As for pressure, we did not dare to use it. We merely said the tariff having been increased, and the depression being temporary we thought at present an increase of duties was not required and would not be acceptable to our constituents. One or two members who are not in the habit of speaking in this House, but have great influence with the party, said they would not support the Ministry on that point. I would not have spoken of this matter if capital had not been of it in the press of Ontario and Quebec. There was no pressure brought to bear on the Government to compel them to abandon an increase of duties.

The hon. member for North Norfolk in a review of the question came to the conclusion that the protection the manufacturers enjoy at present is ample. I think that was a wise conclusion. He also spoke of the way the North conquered the South, and attributed it to the fact that the North had the manufactures, but it must be remembered that the South was crushed by the money it had contributed to the North under the protective system. I think it is unfair a few eastern manufacturers should be bolstered up at the expense of the farmers of the West and South. The hon. member for Toronto Centre took the ground that this slaughter-

Mr. DAVIES.

ing, as he termed it, came from England and not from the United States, and he wishes to put on a discriminatory duty against Great Britain. I, for one, would never agree to it. We owe too much to her to discriminate against her in that way. He also said the ease with which young men got credit in England induced a great many to go into business who should have remained out of it. My experience is they are not so ready to give credit in Great Britain, and that it is quite as easy to get it in the United States. I think, with the hon. member, it is a pity, where we have so much fine land under forest, that men should be attracted to the cities instead of induced to cultivate the soil.

A good deal of the present inflation has been caused by too much banking. I know it is so in my own Province. Men of business find they can make more by investing in bank stock than in business. Banks make 20 per cent., which is more than any legitimate business can earn. From this cause there is too much money invested in banking, and it is given out freely to very many young men who would be much better occupied in other occupations. They get respectable young men to furnish good security, and then advance the money with which they start in business.

Mr. PLUMB—I listened to the able speech of the Finance Minister with deep interest, and I thought I could read between lines an idea which had been changed at the last moment—a disposition to concede to the manufacturers that which they had been loudly asking for; but I have no doubt the exigencies of party at the last moment induced him to change a policy which I think would have been hailed by the country with great satisfaction. I am very gratified, however, to find the tone of the Finance Minister so changed from that of his former Budget Speeches. He gives us now a more hopeful view of the situation.

Causes outside of us have brought the present depressed condition of business upon us, but we are obliged to deal with it quite as closely and with quite as much attention as if we had brought it upon ourselves. In all the arguments that have been addressed to the

House upon free-trade, there have constant assertions that there has been an attempt upon the part of those who maintain opposite views to the Government, to obtain a high protective tariff—a Chinese Wall of protection. I have never heard of any such claim; I have never heard that it was desired to imitate the country on the other side of the border; I am not aware of any such proposition being made. I have heard of nothing more than a small increase in the present tariff asked for, which would not throw any additional burthen on the people. But scarcely a gentleman who has spoken on the other side of the question, has failed to make use of the strongest free-trade arguments, quoting from Mr. Wells and the *Chicago Tribune*. The latter was first quoted by the Finance Minister, and no doubt the circulation of the paper would be largely increased by the importance that has been attached to its articles by the hon. gentleman. It is certain, as far as I know anything of the condition of the country, and the situation in Ontario, that something was expected from the Government—some declaration of policy recognizing an existing trouble, something like holding out the hand of sympathy to the suffering and struggling manufacturers. I know that there has been the greatest possible disappointment felt, and it will make itself manifest to this House from every quarter of that Province. The question of free-trade has been discussed at such length that I hardly think it is necessary to go into it further. The question of protection has also been ably presented. There are strong arguments to be used on each side, but it is difficult to find where absolute free-trade exists. I fail to see that any such policy is adopted by any country, and when it is I have no doubt it will be brought forward as an example to this country by ardent free-trade advocates. I confess myself in favour of a moderate protective policy, which will give us a home demand for our agricultural productions—not based on the fluctuations of foreign markets. I have no hesitation in saying that such a policy as that will make us measurably independent of other countries,

and we will hear very little of "slaughter markets." But, on the contrary, we will soon be at the mercy of foreign manufacturers if the policy of free-trade to be adopted. I was glad to hear the speech of the hon. member for North Norfolk. I fancy a better argument on our side of the question could not be addressed to the House, but I am very sure that the argument did not at all justify the conclusion. The hon. member said he believed that protection to a certain extent, and within certain limits, would be useful. He also said the iron trade of the United States owed its existence to protection, that the success of the manufacturers benefited the agricultural interest by creating a market for a variety of farm products, which, perhaps, might not be in demand under any other state of things, and that he was in favour of an increase in the 17½ per cent. tariff, until at the last moment he was converted by the arguments of the Finance Minister. The hon. member for Halifax thought we owed too great a duty to England to increase our tariff, and he also spoke of the Chinese Wall which was to be erected—which appears to be a favourite figure of speech with the hon. gentlemen who advocate free-trade. He said cities were merely places of exchange, while the hon. member for South Waterloo asserted that cities were great manufacturing places, and if cities were protected they would destroy the manufactures in small communities. Who will decide when two such great "medicine men" disagree? The hon. member for North Ontario brought forward volumes of statistics relative to the manufactures, finances and population of the United States, but what use are those statistics unless you have all the other conditions of the problem to show whether there is a tide of immigration flowing into the country; whether there is an inflated currency or other circumstances without which you can make these statistics support any position. You can prove anything by a Blue Book. The hon. member for South Waterloo said he did not start from the same stand-point as the hon. member for North Norfolk, but he also admitted that free-trade, pure and simple, was impossible; he was prepared

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to add 2½ per cent. to the tariff on articles manufactured in Canada which suffered most severely in competition with similar manufactures of the United States. He said the lumber trade had been killed by protection. I did not understand before that there was any protection upon the lumber trade; I understood there was an export duty on it. If I am wrong the hon. gentleman will correct me. He quoted from the *Chicago Tribune* to show that protection had crippled, and in fact destroyed the manufactures of the United States, and asserted that they could not export anything. In reply to that I have to say that a single manufactory in the United States is now exporting from 10,000 to 15,000 pieces of cotton per week to England, and selling them in a free-trade country. I think that disposes of the argument that the manufactures of a country that has a protective tariff cannot compete with a country where free-trade exists. Nobody here desires to defend the high protective tariff of the United States. The origin of that tariff was the commencement of the war in 1861. The people of New England and Pennsylvania had been struggling for protection, but they had always been kept in check by the free-trade interests of the South. When the Southern members of both Houses seceded from Congress they left a very large majority of the remaining members representing protective interests, and what was known as the Morrill tariff was adopted exclusively in the interests of manufacturers and prohibitory in many particulars. There was one item, for instance, imposing a duty of over 100 per cent. in the screw manufacture by which a few individuals made immense fortunes. That system of high tariffs to a very great degree became the rule of legislation in the United States, and was perpetuated in consequence of the irredeemable currency and the necessity of raising large taxes. It is perfectly true, as asserted, that the collection of that revenue did cost a great deal more than the actual net revenue itself, and gave rise to a great many fraudulent combinations. No one on this side of the House ever dreamed of advocating any such policy in this country.

The whole country on our border is in a state of the greatest prostration, and there are causes which affect this prostration that are not due to the manufacturers or to any single branch of industry. There have been vast expansion, inflation and extravagance, everywhere; immense importations and heavy expenditures on unproductive railways; at this moment more than one-half of the latter in that country are non-productive; and these are the causes rather than any matters connected with the manufacturing industries. The iron interest has been entirely paralyzed, not only in the United States but also in England, and steel rails have fallen since a certain purchase of which we have heard so much, from 20 to 30 and even 40 per cent., and they can now be bought for about £8 per ton. My hon. friend from Waterloo was followed in the debate by the member for East Elgin, in what I may very properly term a strictly partizan speech, and I was surprised to hear his insinuation that a great many manufactories were closed about the time Parliament assembled, and shortly after the meeting of the Board of Trade, as if there had been some preconcerted action in order to coerce this House into the adoption of some measure of relief. I fancy that if the hon. member would examine the balance sheets of those manufactories he would discover a much better reason for the stoppage of their works than the one he has suggested. The hon. member made the astounding and contradictory statement that the policy of my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition was more inclined to free-trade than that of the present Government, because the tariff has been advanced 2½ per cent. since they have taken office. He also made an extraordinary assertion that a tariff for France in the last century was made by Mr. Jefferson, afterwards President of the United States. I am not aware that the latter was ever in France on a mission having relation to the policy of its Government, and it is needless to say that he did not frame its laws.

France, I might further remark, owes the existence of its manufactures largely to its system of protection;

has been enabled to meet the enormous financial burden imposed by the Franco-German war through this policy, coupled with the rigid economy of its people. He quoted Mr. Webster, of the United States, as an exponent of a free-trade policy in 1824; but I am not aware that the latter was ever a Free-Trader. He represented New England and a manufacturing interest for many years, and was opposed in Congress by a great advocate of free-trade, (Mr. Calhoun), and by the Free-Trade party.

My hon. friend from North York made a fervid oration, cracking his whip over the heads of hon. members on the other side of the House, some of whom he seemed to consider a little recalcitrant, and telling them that they must wheel into line because the question lay between free-trade and protection, the gauntlet having been thrown down, and I was not surprised to hear him make that declaration, although, notwithstanding the hon. gentleman's free-trade principles, he is an earnest and zealous supporter of a Government which has increased the tariff, since it came into power; this is a little contradictory, but we are told to expect contradictions on that side of the House. It is none of our funeral, as the phrase goes, and should give us no unhappiness.

I do not doubt at all, and never did question, that with our resources and latent wealth, we will survive this crisis; but I think that the suffering, which has befallen the country might have been greatly alleviated if a different policy had been pursued by the Government.

I have in my hand a paper which has relation to the argument that an increased duty on certain manufactures, would reduce the revenue and add to the burdens of taxation, I consider it a cogent answer to these representations.

"1st. How will an increase of the present duties effect the revenue as regards the special class of cotton goods, manufactured by ourselves, in stopping the importations of similar goods from the United States and England?

"The answer is that more than 70 per cent. of the goods at present made in our cotton mills are unbleached cottons; the importation of a similar

class of goods from England has entirely ceased. The competition — a ruinous one to the Canadian manufacturers, as will be shown further on—is now with the United States solely.

“The Canadian manufacturers, to keep possession of their own market, have reduced their prices to such low rates that the importations by wholesale houses from the United States has almost entirely ceased also. What importation there is at present is mostly by retailers, who buy from the American jobber in New York, Boston, Buffalo and Detroit. The amount of such importations must be very moderate, and their total exclusion cannot therefore affect the revenue to any appreciable extent, and would be much more than compensated for by the increase of the duties upon the goods which we do not ourselves manufacture, the importations of which will not be interfered with by an increase of the duties. This will also apply to the general importations of the country which are governed entirely by the condition of the trade of the country, and not by the rate of duty which may be imposed.

“2nd. How much increase of the present duties the condition of this manufacturing industry requires to ensure its continuance and preserve the capital invested in it, and how it would affect the consumer.

“As already stated the competition is with the United States solely. Cotton manufacturing in that country possesses all the advantages of an old and thoroughly well-established industry, with abundance of trained labor, and having the exclusive possession of their own market, it is now great and prosperous.

“Some of their mills are the largest in the world, running constantly on one class of goods, the cost of production is reduced to a minimum, so much so that very considerable exports of their goods are now being continuously made to England, India and China. American houses such as Messrs. A. T. Steward & Co., and Clafin, who have warehouses in Manchester, keep a stock of those goods on hand for sale. There *bonâ fide* purchases are being continuously made by English merchants. This is not an abnormal condition of American cotton manufacturing; on the contrary, it is their normal con-

dition, to which they are now returning, after having been in an abnormal condition during a long period of the most extraordinary inflation in the history of any nation.

“The premium on gold at present nearly equals our duties and then our market is virtually free to them, while we are shut out from them by duties which are an effectual prohibition.

“The competition, which the Canadian manufacturer has thus to contend with, is a most unequal one.

“The present price at which what are called American Standard unbleached cottons can be imported, is 27 cents per lb. of cloth. The Canadian manufacturer must accept the same, or less sometimes, while the present cost of production to him is more; an increase of the duties of $7\frac{1}{2}$, making the duty 25 per cent. will not do much worse than save him from loss, or at least with the utmost economy in working, enable him to pay a very moderate dividend.

“The increased price, which the consumer would have to pay in consequence of such increase, could only be trifling; it is well known that such goods are generally sold by both the wholesale and retail merchants with little or no profit; and the benefit conferred by a growing manufacturing industry on the country can hardly be over-rated.”

Now a good deal has been said about the slaughter market, and the small quantity of American importations connected with it; it has also been argued that such a quantity could not affect our prices and our manufactures, but I say, that it makes no difference how small the quantity is, while the price is a most material consideration when these goods are offered for sale at a low figure. The Canadian manufacture is bound to meet that price, however small the amount offered for sale may be; and here lies the difficulty, the American imports having, moreover, the advantage of being free from duty, owing to the difference in value between their currency and the gold standard.

The condition of things which existed in the United States for sometime has changed; the price of living is reduced and we have no longer the ad-

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vantages in our trade with them that we once enjoyed, the statement holds good particularly with regard to agricultural products, which they can now sell to us. We cannot compete with them.

I do not think that any arguments in favour of protection, will change the policy adopted by the majority of the hon. members of this House; but I feel that it is my duty to place my views on record respecting this great question which has agitated the entire country. Almost every discussion that has taken place in this House during the present Session, has drifted into this subject in some shape or other, and all this proves the overwhelming interest taken in the issues which are at stake.

These issues are forcing themselves by their pressing importance upon the consideration of the public throughout the country and upon the earnest consideration of every member of this House. They cannot be put aside; but it is not for gentlemen who occupy the Opposition Benches to deal affirmatively with them now.

The responsibility devolves elsewhere, and not upon us. It rests with those who wield the "great majority of this House, and I must say for one that I hardly supposed that any influence could be brought to bear at the eleventh hour to cause a reversal of the policy—if it did cause such a reversal. I am surprised that with the large majority behind them, the Ministry, after having decided upon a policy, should have withdrawn it to the great disappointment of the country and to the great injury of some of the large industries, which I think it the duty of every Government, so far as it can consistently be done, to foster and promote.

Hon. Mr. POPE—Several gentlemen who have spoken on this question have stated that a large portion of their constituents are farmers. I too, Sir, represent an agricultural constituency, and am a farmer myself, and I think I know something about the feelings of the farmers in that section of the country. They have desired reciprocity between Canada and the United States, and have felt that it would serve their interests better than anything else. But they have abandoned that as im-

practicable under existing circumstances. They also entertain the sentiments held by the cities of Montreal and Hamilton in relation to the fiscal policy of the country, because they believe that the establishment of manufactures, with such a tariff as is necessary to protect them, would be to the general interest. It has been satisfactory during the debate to observe the endorsement expressed by the whole Opposition of the policy that has been steadily pursued since 1858. In that year a system of incidental protection, of fostering the industries of the country for revenue purposes was inaugurated. There have been changes in the tariff since then; articles have been removed from the free list; but we continued, and after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty we progressed finely. Our progress, we have been told, during the last ten or fifteen years was greater than any time previous, and that was with the same protection we now have. That is perfectly true. From 1858 dates almost the very commencement of our manufactures. What did the Hon. Sir A. T. Galt tell the House at that time? He said the country was in a most dangerous condition—that we relied upon the agricultural community, but that if we would foster our manufacturers, in case of a bad harvest we would have something else to fall back upon. But I want to refer again to those 10 or 12 years, for I take a great deal of pride in the policy pursued, which we had to fight for and maintain in the face of great opposition. The policy inaugurated in 1858 we continued to 1861, and afterwards we got on very well, these gentlemen say. But why? We have not exactly the same tariff to-day. The war was raging on the other side of the line, and that war served as protection to our manufacturers. While that conflict lasted they did not complain nor ask for anything more; but when the war ceased and they were working back into a normal condition, when labour began to grow cheap and the United States built this Chinese Wall between us, our manufacturers began to cry aloud. And I will tell the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches that they are very

much to blame for the cry heard to-day. They led the manufacturers to believe that some change in the tariff was contemplated. My hon. friend from Norfolk declared that he had come prepared to vote for a higher tariff—that although on the 23rd he felt we ought to have more protection he changed his views on hearing the speech of the Hon. Minister of Finance. That speech must have been a very powerful one, for its result was to satisfy everyone in favour of protection on the other side that they were mistaken. But these gentlemen will find they have not satisfied the country—that the people cannot turn round in these days as they have done. They will soon experience the result of deceiving the country by promising—I have heard it said such a promise was made—greater protection to our manufactures. In view of that hope held out by the hon. gentlemen opposite our manufacturers have held on, kept their factories running, and have gone to the very end of their tether. If they had been told in the first place that no change was contemplated, much of the disappointment and trouble would have been avoided.

If any one in this House made a protection speech, perhaps without fully realizing it, it was the Hon. Finance Minister. Part of that speech had no doubt been prepared for a different object than that for which it was delivered. That part sounded very well. He told us that all his lifetime he had felt that some protection ought to be afforded.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I did not say that.

Hon. Mr. POPE—I think you said that; but I will quote from the speech:

“I do not entirely agree with those gentlemen who maintain that there is no ground for the champions of the protective tariff. I have always myself been of opinion that, in a new country like this, there is considerable force in the argument that it is not well to allow ourselves to depend exclusively upon foreign manufactures, and if we do there is some chance that we may be supplied with the mere refuse of exportations. * * * I am inclined to believe that, under certain

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“circumstances, a revenue tariff may be advantageously imposed, and may afford considerable benefit in overcoming certain temporary obstacles which are invariably in the way of infant manufacturers.”

Well, Sir, I don't know that I have made out my case, but I cannot but believe that when the hon. gentleman spoke thus he felt in his own mind that he had a doubt whether some protection of manufactures was not necessary.

I was going on to say that while the war in the United States was in progress, the high price of labour and cost of production in that country were all we required to protect our industries. But when that war was over we found the Americans sending their goods to our market in spite of ourselves.

Now, I do not complain, and I do not ask for anything more than to be placed on equal terms with them. They are determined to keep us out of their markets; is it fair play that we should allow them such unrestricted access to ours while this state of things continues? I presume our factories may run, but the manufacturing community are greatly disappointed. Notwithstanding the speech of the First Minister in Dundee, the speeches he has made in this country and the intimations given by the Finance Minister have led the manufacturers to believe there would be a certain increase in the tariff, and believing this the announcement in the Budget Speech will be ten times worse on them than if no encouragement had been given.

I would not have risen to speak if I had not wanted to show that the manufacturers under this policy are actually receiving less protection than they did before, because we were placed in a different position. In order to place us in exactly the same position, the tariff must be raised.

I am not prepared to say that to some extent the farmers might not also be protected. For instance, suppose you put a small duty on Indian Corn, you would stimulate the production of coarse grains in this country, and consequently to that extent it would be advantageous to the agriculturist. If the Government had come down with

their first resolution they would have been more likely to retain the confidence of the country than they will by this policy.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the debate had now lasted three days, and if all the hon. gentlemen who desired to speak on the subject had expressed their views, he would take this opportunity to address the House.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER quite agreed with the hon. gentleman, but could not agree to his making a second speech, when he could have done so on the amendment. He would be happy to listen to the hon. gentleman when, under the rule of the House, his speech would be in order.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am more surprised than ever I was in my life to find the hon. gentleman afraid to hear the Finance Minister reply to his speech, and taking advantage of what he conceives to be the rule of the House to prevent him from speaking. In all our practice, during twenty years' experience, I have never known a Finance Minister to be prevented from making a reply to the attacks of the Opposition upon his Budget Speech. I call the attention of the House to the fact that the hon. gentleman is afraid to hear the Finance Minister.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am not afraid to meet any hon. gentleman opposite either in this House or outside of it. I think I have not given any hon. gentleman ground to impute cowardice to me in meeting them whenever or wherever they pleased to discuss public questions. What I do say is this—as the hon. gentleman refused to take the opportunity which, under the rules of the House, he had to meet any statements on this side, while we had a chance to reply to his remarks, I hope he will not press the delivery of his speech at a time when he knows he cannot be answered, but will avail himself of the opportunity that will occur on Tuesday next to make any remarks he pleases.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said the hon. member for Cumberland was, no doubt, right; but he had never known the rule to be enforced. To give the Finance Minister a chance to speak he would move that the debate be adjourned.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I am very sorry indeed that the Hon.

Leader of the Opposition did not allow me the customary and invariable right to reply to their criticisms, and that I have been indebted to the courtesy of the hon. member for Chateaugay for affording me this opportunity to speak. I shall avail myself of it, as it is not my intention to allow the charges of the hon. gentleman to remain unanswered for two or three days longer which was their object.

With respect to the general question of protection or free-trade, no doubt, that will be brought up, and in such a fashion that those hon. gentlemen shall not be able to shirk the issue. They shall have a decided vote one way or the other, that they may depend on, and the hon. member for Cumberland will find neither he nor his right hon. colleague has gained anything by refusing to meet the fair and square issue which the Government has laid before the House and country. The first charge is that the Government were chiefly responsible for the depression which prevails in the country. It is a very easy and a very common trick for demagogues of high and low degree to charge the Government with being responsible for hard times, but fortunately for us and unfortunately for the pair of demagogues opposite—

Several Members—Order! Order!

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—What I have to say is this, if the hon. member for Cumberland had possessed any prudence or delicacy, or any sort of regard for the feelings of the hon. gentleman beside him, that is the very last charge he would have made against the present Government. If the present crisis is fairly due to us; if this or any other Government is responsible for such disasters, what is to be said of the terrible crises which prevailed in Canada from 1855 to 1866, during the time the hon. member for Kingston was responsible for the management of the affairs of this country. I leave the hon. member for Cumberland to settle that with his friend and leader at his leisure. I do not pretend to say the right hon. gentleman was responsible for it. I do not think he was responsible for the inflation resulting from the large expenditures on railways any more than I admit we are responsible for the disasters which have arisen from causes

over which we have no control. The charges of the hon. member for Cumberland are not new to me. For a year past he has been formulating them on the stump and at election meetings in Ontario. I did not deem it worth while to reply to them until we could meet face to face in this House. The hon. gentleman has been good enough to give us a list of the various causes to which the present distress is due. Some of them are of a very remarkable character. The first is the success of the present Government in destroying the measure for constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the first place we can show that most preposterous measure never had any life. It was an addled egg from the commencement. It was impossible for us to do it any injury for it fell still-born. Then the hon. gentleman said the declaration in the Speech from the Throne in 1874 that there would be a deficit in the revenue, powerfully contributed to the present distress, and also injured our credit as was well shown, I suppose, by the success of the Canadian loan floated in the June immediately succeeding. I have had the opinion of English capitalists as to the measures which I brought down on that occasion, and the policy to which this Government had recourse, and that opinion was one of hearty approval of our conduct. The third cause which he was good enough to allege was the letter of Mr. Potter with respect to Canadian securities. I do not believe we were affected by that letter, but it may well have been that the credit of Canada was more or less injured by the unfortunate fact which alone gave force to that communication—that the two great railroads, in which so much English capital was locked up at that time had paid no dividends.

And that fact no doubt had an injurious effect on Canadian securities, though I need hardly say this Government was in no way responsible for it. Another reason advanced was that we had entered into a contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railroad in so many years. How an engagement entered into by us to build two-thirds of that road in fifteen years from date, could have injuriously affected the

credit of the country when we have inherited from our predecessors the legal obligation to build it in ten, part of which time had elapsed, is a matter I leave to that hon. gentleman to explain at his leisure. He was good enough to attack me with respect to a change of policy in 1874, I say there was no change of policy on that occasion. Our policy was to raise an additional \$3,000,000 of revenue and we laid down certain broad lines on which we were to obtain it. We agreed to make the duty $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of $16\frac{2}{3}$, making an alteration to about five-sixths of one per cent., which as it brought more revenue necessarily involved the abandonment of some minor duties. The hon. gentleman from Cumberland has called attention to the fact that I had imposed a tax on shipping materials at a rate of one dollar per ton, which he alleges injuriously affected this industry. During the year 1875 these duties brought us in the sum of \$29,500 the total shipping built in that year, amounting to 150,000 tons so that duty was not equal to one dollar, but to 20 cents. per ton. The hon. gentleman only exaggerated five fold. I am perfectly willing to admit that that is no great exaggeration for him to indulge in; I am glad even to find that foundation of fact for his financial statements. It is a very uncommon thing to find so large a percentage of fact in his statements as twenty cents on the dollar.

The hon. gentleman advanced three charges which might be described as serious, if they were true. First, he stated it was not necessary to impose any more taxes in 1874; Second, that our management of the bank deposits had increased inflation and increased depression; Third, it was not necessary to make either the loan of 1874 or the loan of 1875. If I have misstated the position of the hon. gentleman in these three points, I am open to correction; if not I shall proceed to comment on them. As to the first, I doubt whether, with the exception of the hon. gentleman himself, there is another man in the House who would state that it was not necessary in 1874 to impose further taxation. What were the arguments advanced by the hon. gentleman? He

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argued that the imports of 1874 were so large that it was clear we would have obtained, without additional increases in taxation, sufficient to meet all our engagements. What was the fact? The imports of 1873 were actually \$200,000 more than the imports of 1874. What was the actual revenue for 1873? Mr. Tilly's own estimate for 1873 which was, I believe, substantially correct, was \$21,740,000, to which might be added about \$260,000 for Prince Edward Island, making a total revenue of about twenty-two millions and, as was abundantly shown at the time, the revenue which was received up to the first of April left no doubt that there was not the slightest ground for anticipating more revenue than \$22,000,000 on the 30th of June, 1874, without recourse to additional taxation. The hon. gentleman was good enough to say that the fact that the revenue received under the new tariff for the first half of 1874-75 was clear and sufficient proof of his position. For the special information of the hon. gentleman, I may state that although it is true that the imports for the first half of the financial year, 1874, amounted to \$69,585,000; the imports for the same period, 1873, during which there was no increased tariff, amounted to \$71,068,000, being \$1,482,000 excess on 1874. How, therefore, the fact of the large revenue obtained under the increase of the tariff on a diminished import could prove the assertion that we would obtain sufficient revenue without increase in the tariff, I must leave to my hon. friend to explain to the House. But the hon. gentleman was extremely emphatic as to the iniquity of the Government in the management of bank deposits, not only here but in other places. And the hon. gentleman stated that by our mischievous management of deposits, we had increased inflation and increased the depression. I will read to the House the statement of the total amount of our deposits credited to the banks in Canada during the year 1874-5:—

July	\$9,659,045.
August	7,930,194
September	8,844,841
October	9,983,107
November	9,698,074
December	11,475,608
January	11,595,728

February	9,300,856
March	9,066,184
April	9,784,223
May	9,955,057
June	9,700,903

Now, I will only call the attention of the House to one fact in connection with that matter, that the largest discrepancy remarked there is a sum of, as nearly as possible, \$3,500,000. When we came into office we found that there was a total deposit of \$8,000,000 to the credit of the Government, of which \$4,396,820.08 bore no interest. We found also, on looking back over the preceding year that the deposits in the hands of the late Government had ranged as follows in the year 1872-3:—

October	\$4,660,057 16
November	4,064,257 96
December	4,537,560 54

1873 :—

January	5,710,522 86
February	7,102,753 81
March	7,709,701 33
April	8,145,188 33
May	9,487,575 27
June	9,405,580 97
July	7,760,748 89
August	7,420,192 96
September	6,500,695 79
October	7,685,625 66

Increasing slowly towards the end of the month. I desire to call the attention of the House to these figures. The allegation was this: that we, by our policy in dealing with the banks, increased inflation had increased depression. The fact of the matter is, that there was no inflation whatever after this Government entered office. Before we entered office the tide began to ebb, having in fact attained its maximum height in the year which ended 30th June, 1873. After that time the imports began to decrease, although the accession of Prince Edward Island would seem for a time to conceal it. The anticipation of the tariff of 1874 concealed it still more, but the highest point was reached in the year ending on the 30th of June, 1873. Both relatively and absolutely the fluctuation which took place in deposits was greater the last year, during which these hon. gentlemen were in power, than at any time since we came into office. The highest fluctuation was three and a half millions with us; their highest was nearly five millions and a

half per annum. Although I do not say that the addition or withdrawal of two or three millions of dollars to the deposits seriously affects trade, I consider it was a dangerous thing to add five millions and a half to the deposits of the country during a period of inflation. It is utterly impossible that we could have contributed to that inflation from the simple fact that it had reached its highest point several months before we took office at all. Our deposits were increased, moreover, from two causes which in no way contributed, as far as we were concerned, to any inflation whatever. There was a large expansion of circulation and we were obliged to keep a larger sum at ordinary cash than in other years. In the next place I had agreed to pay off the Seigniorial Indemnity Fund, and I had to bring over an amount of money for that, but so far from contributing to the inflation, it was a direct benefit to the whole community. I borrowed the money at four and a half per cent., and released money on which we were paying six per cent., and added three millions to the permanent capital of the country. So far from these deposits fluctuating arbitrarily, they were unusually steady as compared with the range of deposits under the regime of the hon. gentlemen opposite. This is not the time to enter into a prolonged discussion on the bank policy of the hon. gentleman; but under existing circumstances it will be necessary for this or any other Government to keep very considerable amounts of money on deposit. Public works of great magnitude are being carried on throughout the Dominion, and it is necessary, therefore, to reserve considerable sums at different points. In the next place, as long as we possess a legal tender note system it will be absolutely necessary to have command of considerable funds, in addition to the gold reserve, to meet fluctuations to which we are liable. In the third place, we have a huge expenditure compared with the ordinary expenditure in the redemption of debt and ordinary outlay.

During the year 1874-5 no less than \$42,000,000 in hard cash were required for the objects I alluded to, and payments ranged from three to

five and eight, and in one case to fully twelve million of dollars within the space of a single month. Under these circumstances the Government must reserve three or four millions at least at call, in order to meet these obligations without disturbing more than it is desirable to disturb their deposits with the bankers and without injury to trade. I come now to the allegation that the loans which I effected in 1874 and 1875 were quite unnecessary. I request special attention to this statement and hat it involves. The hon. gentleman from Cumberland—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I might save the hon. gentleman a great deal of trouble by telling him that no such statement was ever made. I said that according to the hon. gentleman's own statement, he obtained in his loan of 1874 a very much larger amount of money than he required, and he gave to the House as a reason for it, that it was unwise to go frequently to the money markets of the world. That was the statement I made, Sir, and I quoted the statement of the hon. member for Montreal West to show that when on the second occasion he put a new loan on the market it was for the purpose of avoiding calling upon the banks for the money he had loaned them.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The allegation is then, first, that I did not require to borrow so large an amount in 1874; and second, that I borrowed money in 1875 too soon.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That is the statement.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I will deal with both those statements. With respect to the loan of 1874, which loan, as the House knows, realized seventeen millions and a half dollars, I have to say with that loan I paid off ten millions of dollars indebtedness, and that I also defrayed charges on public works amounting to seven millions or thereabouts. These two things swallowed up the whole proceeds of the loan, and the payments were made within the year 1874-75. I think the hon. gentleman must have paid very little attention to the public accounts if he maintains that the loan borrowed in 1874-5 was too large and more than the interests of the country

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required. As to the loan of 1875, it is quite true that I antedated that by a few months for reasons I will not now repeat *in extenso*; but to say that that loan was not necessary under the existing circumstances is to show great blindness to the peculiar position in which the country was placed in June and July of last year. The hon. gentleman called the attention of the House to the fact that we had on deposit in Canadian banks and at the London agencies in June, 1875, fifteen millions of dollars—the sum was a little over fourteen millions—but the hon. gentleman, although he ought to have known it; although the fact had been stated again and again, chose to suppress the all-important circumstances that in July, 1875, I was pledged to pay twelve millions of dollars. And when he gave the House to understand that I provided this money in advance of what the country would require, keeping out of sight the payments in July, 1875, the hon. gentleman did his best to convey to the country a false impression of the purpose for which that accumulation was made or intended. He has accused me before, and has repeated the charge that I dealt very harshly and unfairly with the Canadian banks by the circular which I issued in June, 1875. What were the facts? Not only in my Budget Speech of that year had I explained that the whole of the sum borrowed in 1874 would be consumed, and I would be left with nothing beyond our original deposits, but all through March, April and May I had by letter and by personal communication sent warning to the banks that money must be provided after the first of July. To say I was not bound to give these gentlemen notice, or say that I did anything wrong in giving them notice, is to advance a very strange doctrine. I am not bound to provide money for the banks, but I am bound to give them reasonable notice, and that I did. It was absolutely necessary I should know early in June to what extent they could respond to the demand I was about to make, and if they thought the call was likely to prove embarrassing to the trade of the country, and that it would be difficult to supply all the money I required, it

would have been far too late to make any provision to prevent inconvenience if I had not taken this precaution. The actual fact was this:—The moment the banks stated to us that under the circumstances it was likely to incommode them, I made provision to leave them undisturbed, and that contributed greatly towards relieving the distress which prevailed in commercial circles, not from our circular, but from the great wave of commercial distress that passed over England at the same time. On the whole, our banks passed through the ordeal very well; only one or two very badly managed concerns failed. Generally they would have been ready to pay us, but if we had removed these deposits we would have seriously curtailed their power of affording accommodation at that critical period. We therefore did not disturb the banks; the only bank we drew upon to any considerable extent was the Bank of Montreal, which had taken such precautions and made such arrangements that they could supply our wants without curtailing their accommodation to Canadian customers. I believe I am justified in stating that this bank not only supplied us with all we required for our purposes, but brought large sums into Canada from outlying reserves, with which it materially assisted other banks and the Canadian public at large; but, Sir, with regard to the loan itself, it must be remembered that it became apparent in July and August that we were going to lose a very considerable amount of revenue which we had expected to receive; also that the various public works would consume a larger amount of money than might have been anticipated under ordinary circumstances, owing to the reason, which is perfectly well known to all persons acquainted with these matters, that in cheap or hard times, contractors are apt to push forward works much faster than during ordinary seasons, making consequently greater demands than usual on the Treasury.

On the 10th of February of the present year we had in England the sum of about \$13,500,000—\$10,000,000 or \$11,000,000 in cash at interest, and \$2,500,000 ordinary cash; and as I

only borrowed \$12,500,000 in London I ask you to reflect in what position we would have been to discuss the subject placed before us if I had not made the loan I did in November last. We would have had to meet the enormous engagements to which I have alluded, and also many contingencies. We would have had in hand eight or nine hundred thousand dollars against which there were claims, which would have twice swallowed it up if the parties to whom we are indebted chose to present them. I think that single statement will suffice to show the House that I exercised a wise judgment in making that loan in order to fill our Treasury; and that when considered calmly and leisurely it will be found to have been the best policy it was possible for us to pursue.

Now, the House is acquainted with our present position; and I ask hon. members to reflect on what would have been the result had we followed the advice tendered by the hon. gentleman, who would have had no loan made, and no taxes imposed. Had we done so, Sir, for the years 1873-4, we would have had a deficit of not less than \$1,300,000; for the year 1875 a deficit of \$1,700,000, or perhaps more, for by no possibility could the tariff as it then stood have produced more than twenty-two millions; and as to the current year I leave it to the hon. gentleman's own imagination to decide what the deficit under these circumstances, would have been. Briefly our position would have been this:—We would have had three successive deficits and if we had borrowed any money at all, we would have been compelled to exhaust every penny of our English guarantee; our credit would have been practically broken, and we would have had a repetition of the disgraceful condition, in which the country found itself during the year 1866, when Canadian five per cent's were quoted on the London market at 75 and 76 cents on the dollar, and the Canadian Minister of Finance standing in this place, was obliged to rise and tell the House that he was unable to borrow money in London on the credit of Canada at eight per cent. I advise the House to look on this picture, and then on that, to see in what position we would have

been placed by the hon. gentleman's policy, and the position in which we stand owing to the policy we have pursued.

Now, I hardly wish to detain the House at this moment by dealing with a sub-charge made by the hon. gentleman, respecting the Ontario Bank; but, at the sametime, I am afraid that I must trouble the House with the actual facts of the case. I took down the hon. gentleman's figures, and he can correct me if I am wrong; he said that in June the sum of \$660,000 was on deposit, without interest, in that Bank.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I read from the *Gazette*.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The hon. gentleman will excuse me for saying that he did not understand the *Gazette*; if the hon. gentleman had taken the trouble to look at the head of the *Gazette's* columns, he would have seen that certain sums are deposited at call; but it is not necessarily implied that these amounts do not bear interest.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It does.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It does not.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then the hon. gentleman has made a new arrangement with the banks.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—If the hon. gentleman will take the trouble to look at the heading, he will see the words are "not with interest," or "without interest," but "at call," or "not at call."

Now, on the 30th of June, according to the return from the Department, the Ontario Bank had \$376,000, not \$660,000 at ordinary cash and \$340,000 bearing interest. The hon. gentleman has been deceived owing to the simple fact, that he chose to consider that the *Gazette* stated not what it really announced, but what he for political purposes, wished to interpret it as announcing. As for the allegation, that this Institution made \$50,000 profit during that year out of the funds thus placed at its disposal, all I can say is, that if the hon. gentleman can teach any bank how to realize such a sum out of these

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funds, he is certainly hiding his light under a bushel in maintaining his present position. Any bank would gladly, under such circumstances, utilize his services, and give him one-half of the profits if he could inform it how its deposits could be turned to so valuable a purpose.

During the whole of that year, the average amount this bank held nominally in cash, without interest, was about \$360,000; and I beg to state in this respect, on the hon. gentleman's own showing, that money is of no use to a bank unless it knows that it can employ it undisturbed; and accordingly the greater part of that deposit was useless to the Ontario Bank. The reason why it was permitted to have this large balance was simply this: to provide funds for very large expenditures in Manitoba, and at Prince Arthur's Landing, at which point, it is our agent. I presume that every hon. gentleman in this House knows that in these outlying regions, we must provide large funds in excess of the ordinary requirements; and that such deposits can afford very little profits indeed to a bank; but suppose that the hon. gentleman was right, and that the \$360,000, which is the average held during that year, were really available to the Ontario Bank, I would like to know very much in what possible way he would propose to make, with this sum, \$50,000 profit a year; I am quite sure that the respected senator, who presides over this institution, would be still more glad to learn in what manner this could be done, and extremely willing if it could be shown, to make use of the financial abilities of my hon. friend, and obtain his services.

Now, Sir, if the House will examine the figures I gave, showing the total amounts held in the banks by these hon. gentlemen when in office, and the amounts held by us, hon. members will find that whereas the total difference between our highest and lowest deposit was but a little over three millions, the greatest difference between theirs was five and one-half millions, on a much smaller sum originally, or in other words, our total fluctuation did not exceed 35 per cent., while theirs was considerably in excess of 130 per cent, this being the proportion

between four millions of original deposits, and nine and one-half millions, in the course of five or six months.

The hon. gentleman was good enough to compare me to Lord Wellington, when he appeared in the guise of General Distress giving the order—starve!—as being a very fair illustration of our policy; but I will help the hon. gentleman to another illustration. Had I adopted the policy he has implied, although he has not dared to say what his policy is on the question of free trade and protection, — I would have much rather resembled the famous highwayman, “who robbed the rich “and did bestow the money on those “who were poor and low,” with this trifling difference, that I would have robbed the poor and bestowed the money on the rich.

Well, I decline robbing the rich agriculturists and in particular I decline to do it on behalf of the poor and needy manufacturers, who occupy those squalid hovels which adorn the suburbs of Montreal, Hamilton, and every city of the Dominion. I feel as sincere pity and sympathy for the suffering employes, as the hon. gentleman can do; and I say, that if there was any just way of relieving these people, I would not shirk the responsibility of coming down to this House, and proposing such a measure. I do not, however, see that such relief can be extended without inflicting permanent injury on other classes throughout this country. The fact of the matter is this: we cannot help suffering more or less, from the mad financial revel—I can call it by no other name—which prevailed in Canada from 1870 to 1873. From the time of the admission of British Columbia into the confederation until the time of granting “better terms,” there seems to have been no thought in the minds of hon. gentleman opposite as to the manner in which they could best expend the public money, but they rather appeared to have been intent on getting the smallest returns for the largest possible expenditure, and although I would hardly like to impute even to them the design of deliberately laying traps and entanglements for their successors in office, still, I will say, that had they devoted their entire energies during the year previous to their

retirement, to providing such entanglements for the Ministry that followed them they could not have succeeded better than they have done.

These hon. gentlemen inquire how we propose to meet the present crisis. I will tell them; it is not in a spirit of idle bravado, but that while recognizing its full weight and severity, we are prepared to measure the danger, and to take such steps as we believe best calculated in time, with patience and economy, to restore Canada to a state of prosperity. We have clearly shown the House our policy; I have pointed out what we did,—more particularly with reference to matters of administration and bank balances, to prevent mischief without stimulating an inflation, which I repeat, began before we first sat on those benches. To the best of our power we have maintained things on a level and we have given the banks and merchants of the country the opportunity—of which they may or not have availed themselves—of setting their houses in order. For the space of eighteen months, bank balances were left undisturbed, and although we informed them in advance of the necessity of reducing these balances at a certain fixed date, we even then took good care so to regulate the matter, that no banking institution in this country has any honest right to complain of the action of the Government in connection with the withdrawal of the deposits during the months succeeding July 1875.

I do not pretend to say that we can avert misfortunes which proceed from causes over which we have no control; nor that we can produce good results from the folly into which others may rush, but all things taken into consideration, I think that the House will find that we have done all in our power to aid the country without inflicting still more serious burdens than already exist upon the nation; to our policy in this respect we challenge the sharpest criticism of hon. gentlemen opposite, and we await with confidence the verdict of the country.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Mr. Speaker, I do not think that any higher compliment could have been paid to the remarks I ventured to offer to the House,

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on the financial statements contained in the Budget speech of the Hon. Finance Minister, than the temper in which these remarks were received by the Hon. First Minister of the Crown, on the occasion when they were delivered, and by the Hon. Minister of Finance to-night. The Hon. First Minister, in replying to the speech, in the course of which certainly I indulged in no unparliamentary expression, for I had in no respect exceeded the due courtesy of debate, ventured to use terms that were assuredly, if parliamentary, anything but polite. The hon. gentleman undertook to tell me that I did not understand the subject with which I had dealt the specific question of the sugar duties, to which I will again refer before I take my seat, and the Hon. Minister of Finance felt it necessary in that exhibition of passion, to which hon. gentlemen who are strong in the positions they take never have recourse, and never are driven—characterized my right hon. friend and myself as demagogues. I will not retort in kind, Sir, because I am aware, from a great deal of experience in public life, and of observation in and out of this Chamber, that intelligent men, whether in Parliament or outside of it, must come to the conclusion that when an hon. gentleman, engaged in the discussion of public questions, loses his temper, he gives the best evidence to the world that he has a losing cause. I shall not, therefore, imitate the hon. gentleman in that respect, but invite, as briefly as I can, the attention of the House to the feeble attempt the hon. gentleman has made to cover his retreat from the discussion in which we have been concerned. He has undertaken to question in the first place the accuracy of my statement in reference to the injury inflicted upon Canada by the destruction of the scheme for the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway. The hon. gentleman cannot brand that project as preposterous unless he is also prepared to brand the ablest men in his own party in the same manner. The hon. gentleman, who sits through the power this Government has exercised, as Speaker of the Senate, is one of the gentlemen charged with having been engaged in a preposterous scheme;

and the hon. gentleman knows that when the statement was before the country as to the amount of money and public land for which the Government were prepared to ask Parliament, the great body of the leading capitalists in Ontario and Quebec, embracing the ablest financial men in his own party, made a desperate struggle to secure an Act of Parliament by which they could obtain the construction of this work on the terms proposed. I say therefore, that it is not sufficient for hon. gentlemen to say that we were engaged in a preposterous scheme, which had no merits; these were sufficient, however, to require the combined energies of the enemies of the Government in and out of Canada in order to insure its destruction in the money market of the world. They accomplished their object, and when they did so by combined effort, they rode into power over the ruins of their country; and they gave to the people of Canada the best evidence, that there is no measure, however fraught with advantage to this country, which they were not prepared to trample under their feet, provided they could obtain power and office.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman says, that I charged them with being responsible for the hard times; and he alluded to the condition of Canada during the period of a former Administration, to prove that they have nothing to do with them, but I did not state then—nor do I state now—that they were entirely responsible. What I charged these hon. gentlemen with, and in connection with which I gave the House evidence that led me to come to the conclusion which I mentioned, was this:—that instead of having discharged the duties devolving upon them as statesman, with regard to a condition of the country, requiring wise and judicious statesmanship in order to alleviate the existing state of things, they had left no measure untried that was calculated to increase and deepen the distress which existed; this was the charge which I made. I do not say that there are not cycles of prosperity, followed by a severe condition of depression. I gave to the House succinctly the grounds which I believed had intensified this con-

dition, and among them was the destruction of the scheme for the construction of the Pacific Railway, by which this great highway across the continent would be secured, and a \$100,000,000 of foreign capital brought into this country, to cement and knit the Provinces together, a result which would have involved only an expenditure of \$1,500,000 per annum. The hon. gentleman says, I am guilty of an absurdity in stating that they who have reduced the liability of Canada in the construction of this work to the extent of two-thirds of the former liability had imperilled our credit by the course they have taken. Does the hon. gentleman wish to ignore the difference between the scheme of the late Government and that of the present. The former scheme committed the Government to a distinct liability—a liability of \$30,000,000, involving a taxation of \$1,500,000 for interest; while the scheme of the hon. gentleman opposite commits us to an unreserved engagement for the construction of that line of railway in 15 years. The Finance Minister, who is driven to the position of asking intelligent men to contrast these two schemes, forgets there are men of intelligence in this House and out of it, or he would never have ventured such a statement. While in the one case every Canadian felt that the interest of the country was secured; in the other they feel that our good faith is pledged and revenue is mortgaged for an untold and indefinite sum of money to engage in the construction of a work for which the Government has not shown itself better qualified than a private company. Any intelligent man who looks at the engagements made, will see that the one scheme was fraught with advantage to the whole Dominion, while the other is fraught with a danger to our financial position, which must strike terror into the country.

The hon. gentleman says I charged him with having injured the credit of the country by his Budget speech, and by the speech from the throne. I charged him with having shaken the confidence of the people in the sound administration of public affairs, and with having taken a step eminently calculated to bring about precisely the

same condition of affairs as exist to-day. He claimed to have negotiated a loan in England on favorable terms. But that was no answer when we remember that when those statements were falling from his lips, hon. gentlemen on this side repudiated them, and that one of the great organs of England denounced his statement with regard to the deficit as a pretended deficit. The hon. gentleman's statements were not believed, and no more credit was placed in them in England than is placed in them by the hon. members of this House, who know to-night that he stands convicted, out of his own mouth and by his own testimony, of having to-tally miscalculated the position of the country in reference to that matter. Does the hon. gentleman dare to discuss the question as to whether the deficit existed on the 1st July, 1874, in face of figures he himself brought down. I have shown, by every fact from the time the statement was made, it was impossible for the deficit to exist. But what did the House think when the hon. gentleman stated that all that Mr. Tilley could have obtained from his \$127,000,000 imports, was \$22,000,000, and that in order to make ends meet he had to put on \$3,000,000 taxation. I can prove beyond refutation, from the hon. gentleman's figures, that not a dollar was discounted from customs, notwithstanding his statement. He has told us that \$127,000,000 under the old tariff only gave \$22,000,000, and that the 3,000,000 additional taxation was levied for the purpose of raising \$25,000,000, which was the expenditure required. Now, what did he get from his new taxation in 1874-5?—\$24,648,715. The report of the Minister of Inland Revenue showed that the receipts for the first six months were \$645,000 less than the year before, and I dis-counted that on the year of excise for 1874-5. Now, put the amount dis-counted, the amount the Government declared—that their own officer declared—was dis-counted from excise to the amount the hon. gentleman said he got, and we have \$25,393,715, or more than he stated the \$127,000,000 would give; so that with a falling off of the imports amounting to \$7,895,000, with a falling off below that which the hon. Finance Minister estimated, we would

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have got \$25,393,715 in 1874-5. Then in the face of the figures which he laid on the Table himself, dare he venture to say to any intelligent man that a deficit could have existed on the 1st July, 1874? That matter is settled beyond the possibility of controversy.

The hon. member for North York and other members have declared that we have made an issue at last between protection and free-trade—an issue between those who wish increased taxation and those who desire to economise. Does not the house know that these gentlemen who sit there as ardent supporters of the Finance Minister, who now figure in the rôle of Economists, cheered when the hon. gentleman demanded three millions of additional taxation. The gentlemen stand in this position—and all the eloquent speeches they may deliver will never shake public sentiment in relation to it—they stand in the position of backing up the Finance Minister in claiming additional taxation when he did not want a dollar, because it was asked on the ground of a deficiency that year. They stand in the position of sustaining the Government in wringing \$3,000,000 out of the country, and of maintaining them in voting through the House the most extravagant expenditure we have ever known.

Mr. DYMOND—Did the hon. gentleman object to any item?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I did. I stated that the Hon. Finance Minister, for the purpose of creating a deficit, and of obtaining taxation which was not required, had swollen the estimates enormously.

Mr. DYMOND—Did you vote against any appropriation?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentleman, I perceive, feels very uneasy, but he will be more uneasy yet when the statements he submitted to the House are subjected to a little further criticism and examination. I don't wonder at his uneasiness when we contrast his position to night with the position he occupied at the time referred to. The hon. gentleman knows that he and the hon. members behind him supported his Government in voting the extravagant estimates of 1874-5. The largest expenditure ever

made by the late Government, swollen as it was for several months by the hon. gentlemen opposite, was \$23,316,316.75. Now, what did the hon. member for North York vote for this Government to spend—what money did he put at their service to spend the following year? Why, Sir, if he will look at the estimates brought down by the Finance Minister, and the first and second supplementary estimates submitted to the House, he and the other hon. members opposite, whose principles are so elastic they can accommodate themselves to the unnecessary demands of the Government, will find they voted for 1874-5 a total amount of \$26,800,000. Does any person require to be told, then, that the \$3,000,000 additional taxation was not to meet a deficit for 1873-4? The Hon. Finance Minister would require to be sent to a hospital for the insane if he thought so. The Hon. Minister of Justice told the people of Walkerton it was required for the Canadian Pacific Railway, yet without a foot of that road being constructed, the \$3,000,000 have disappeared, and \$2,000,000 more at the back of it. The fact is, having demanded \$26,800,000 for the first year's expenditure, they just put on the \$3,000,000 additional taxes in order to furnish them the money. We told them they could not spend it, and the hon. gentlemen stand convicted of demanding \$3,087,929 more than they could expend. Does the Hon. Finance Minister expect men possessing the least intelligence to place any confidence in the estimates he makes or submits to Parliament, or that anybody outside of it will consider them worthy of perusal? I will not follow the unparliamentary language that you permitted the hon. gentleman to use when he said there was only twenty per cent. of accuracy in my statements, but I will tell the hon. gentleman this—he will be regarded by the country as utterly dishonest or utterly incapable in the statements he makes. I leave him to choose which horn of the dilemma he pleases. The hon. member for North York talks about sustaining a retrenchment Government, other gentlemen have ventured in the innocence of their souls to talk in

the same way. I have proved to the House, and furnished figures to show that in the very items most under control of the Government the hon. gentlemen opposite have lavishly expended of the money voted by their followers, half a million more this year than any Government that preceded them. The first year they got their hands in the treasury of the country they spent over a million more than any Government that preceded them, and yet the hon. gentleman thinks mouthing words about economy and retrenchment will be accepted by the country in the face of these facts and figures. The hon. gentleman may say that refers to past years, but we are to have retrenchment now. I say the estimates on the Table demand \$700,000 more for the half-dozen services I have called attention to than we ever expended on any previous occasion.

The hon. gentleman says the credit of the country was proved by the loan he negotiated. Does he not know that before he could float a bond in London, Sir John Rose, the financial agent of the country, a gentleman whom he eulorized in the highest terms, had to go into the public prints and give a flat refutation to the impression created by that Budget speech of the hon. gentlemen the previous Session.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Does the hon. gentleman say Sir John Rose contradicted my statement?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I do.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Then I have only to say he is stating what is utterly incorrect.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then I ask the hon. gentleman how Sir John Rose, as financial agent of this country, dared to rush into the London prints with a review of the Budget speech of the hon. gentleman, and with the object, as he stated, of explaining away the erroneous impressions that the Budget had created in the public mind? The hon. gentleman expected to be employed to negotiate a loan again, and he knew how impossible that would be unless he could disabuse the minds of the people of England by explaining away the effects of the Budget speech. No person could read

his statement in this House that the Canadian Pacific Railway was an insane undertaking on the part of the late Government, and would leave Canada with a greater debt proportionately than England or the United States—no person could read that and look at the fact that the Government had undertaken to build that road from end to end in fifteen years, without feeling that the character of the country was imperilled and our financial position was utterly unsound.

The hon. gentleman charges me with having misrepresented his tariff, and he ventures here, with the facts only a year old, and hon. members who were present at the time sitting on both sides of this House, to say there was only one change in his tariff. Everyone knows that when it was brought down it met with an examination in this House, and outside of it, with a howl of discontent, with scorn and with contempt by the intelligent people of this country who understand the subject better than the hon. gentleman himself—everyone knows he disappeared and after two or three days returned with a tariff as unlike the first one as day is unlike night. Everyone knows when the hon. gentleman brought down his tariff he spread his wings and was going to leave Mr. Tilley, Sir Francis Hincks, and every Finance Minister who had preceded him, in the shade. He was going to convince the country that they had a heaven-born financier at last, who was going to meet all the exigencies of the times, and boasted of the new principles that would be embodied in this tariff. It was to be a poor man's tariff. It was to levy a tax on luxuries. Everyone knows the hon. gentleman came back in the most humble and contrite spirit, and asked the House to give force by law to his amended tariff, on the ground that it was as near like those of Sir Francis Hincks and Mr. Tilley as he could make it. He says there was only one change in that tariff—from 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ to 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Why, he reduced the tax on shipping materials from one dollar to twenty cents, but it was because he was compelled to do so; and he put a score of things connected with the building of ships back on the free list. One gentleman saved

\$80 on a lot of champagne under his first tariff, and he found himself the laughing stock of the country. Even the Montreal *Herald*, an organ of the Ministry, came out and denounced in unmeasured terms the tariff as utterly ridiculous and false in principle. The hon. gentleman knows he proposed to increase the tax on sugar, and I have a statement under my hand showing he made 30 changes instead of one. Articles he asked to tax he rendered free again. I ask the hon. hon. members for Hamilton if they did not in their last election claim the support of Protectionists, on the ground that they owed the increase of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to this Government, and I ask the Finance Minister if that increase was not due to the hostility his tariff met with when it was introduced in this House? I ask whether the alterations he made in the tariff, levying a tax on raw materials entering into our manufactures did not largely neutralize the effect of the increase of two and a half per cent? So, while there was no principle in this tariff, while the hon. gentleman was floating about, dictated to by Tom, Dick and Harry, as to what the tax should be, he was compelled to claim support for it on the ground he had brought it back as nearly as possible to those of his predecessors. I give his vacillation as one of the causes which shook the confidence of commercial men and everybody else in the ability of the Government to manage public affairs, and contributed in no small degree to the distress which prevails. That distress has been intensified by the hon. gentleman's conduct in relation to this expected tariff. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been borrowed by suffering merchants, at ten per cent. interest, for the purpose of obtaining stocks and taking goods out of bond. They were deluded by the First Minister who, at Halifax, intimated there would be a change in the tariff. They were deluded by the statements of the hon. member for Montreal West, and by the intercourse they had with ministers themselves. The hon. member for Montreal West told the Finance Minister in the House that the conversations he had with gentlemen interested in the tariff

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had sent them away with the impression there was to be an alteration. I say in a time of deep distress, when, as the hon. gentleman says, a commercial tornado was sweeping over the country, they have increased the difficulty by the manner in which they dealt with the question of a tariff a second time, and the position in which they leave it now. A more fatal policy could not be imagined. When no increase was necessary they vote \$3,000,000 for the purpose of building the Pacific Railway. They come now with that money all gone, and a deficit of \$2,000,000 in the revenue, and still they have scarcely begun to build the railway.

If the hon. gentleman is not a master of finance, if he is utterly deficient in what is necessary to form an estimate of the expenditure required for a single year, I compliment him on his success in boxing figures. Instead of giving in the public accounts and the statements laid before the House, a fair and candid exhibit by which a man can, without costing him an hour's labor, compare past expenses with present outlays, he manipulates almost every figure on which he puts his hand. I charged him the other day with having suppressed from the *Canada Gazette*, the information the people are entitled to have—the revenue and the expenditure. The statement for the month of March has not been given yet. That charge, if true (and I ask him to deny it if he can) ought to withdraw from him the confidence of every man who has any independence in his nature, while it remains unanswered. Yet the hon. gentleman who gives to the public information of so entirely deceptive and delusive a character as that, expects this House and country to place reliance in his statements. But we expected to have a statement of revenue and expenditure down to the latest moment possible, to enable the House to contrast it with what has gone before. That is not furnished.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE--Make it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am not in the habit of making such statements. If the hon. gentleman wants them made he has his hon. friend alongside him

who is quite equal to the work. The statement submitted contains the expenditure on certain items down to the 10th of February. When I look over that statement, I find \$333,000 where I knew there should be over a \$1,000,000.

But, Sir, I look at the foot of the page, and I find there a suspense account of over a million of dollars, and what for? Was there any suspense account a year ago? Nothing of the kind, but it is a means by which the Government can conceal from their supporters in this House the deplorable condition to which the country has been brought in this short period by their administration of affairs. I will undertake to say that if he will balance the suspense account, he can do it in an hour—he will add a million to his \$1,148,000 to the deficit which existed on the 10th of February, 1876. The hon. gentleman said a deficit would ruin us; the moment it went abroad that we could not meet the ordinary expenditure of the country, Canada would be in a ruinous position; and he asked us to put three millions additional taxation in his hands, and he would carry us on until we completed the Pacific Railway; but here we are at the end of nine months with a deficit of two millions. I do not expect to make any impression on my hon. friend from North York by my remarks; I expect to find him just as ready to back up the Finance Minister in keeping the revenue as it is, and leave a deficit of two millions or four millions at the end of the year to take care of itself, and the credit of Canada to take care of itself. It is a fatal blow to strike at the credit of Canada, and that after the magnificent record that has been rolled up by the late Administration, who accumulated a surplus of fourteen millions while reducing the taxation of the people and carrying on extensive public improvements. But the hon. gentleman proposes to meet the deficit by curtailing public expenditure; what kind of public expenditure? There are two kinds: one is the expenditure by the Government on themselves and on those who assist them in carrying on the affairs of the country, but instead of curtailing these expendi-

tures they have added \$500,000 to them, and he intends to curtail by cutting down the expenditures on public works. If ever there was a time when public works should be proceeded with it is now at a period when there is a deep depression in the country, and labor can be obtained for 30 or 40 per cent. less than any other time. A wise and prudent Finance Minister would provide for the carrying on of these works at such a time, and thereby increase the revenue and relieve the suffering masses who require assistance. Now I come to the subject of bank obligations. I do not intend to go into the story of the fluctuations in the bank deposits; the hon. gentleman may read a page of figures which no one in this House can understand without an opportunity of examining them, and I have seen too much of the hon. gentleman's figures to accept them without an opportunity of examining them. I asked for a statement which I knew the hon. gentleman could bring down at an hour's notice. I asked for a statement showing the amount of money deposited by the Government in the Canadian banks and their London agencies on the 15th day of June last, and the amount in the banks now. I wanted it in order to prove by his own figures, and not by mine, that he had borrowed money when he did not want it in 1874, of which he had in his hands fifteen millions of the public money on the 15th of June. I pressed the hon. gentleman across the floor of this House to-night for a statement showing the amount of public money in the banks, the banks who hold it, and the interest that was paid, and the amount that was not paying interest, and the statement is not yet forthcoming, for the best of reasons—that it will sustain and support, when it does come, every allegation I have made on this most improper transaction of the Government with the banks of this country. But the hon. gentleman admits that on the 15th of June, 1874, he had \$14,411,850 in his hands; my statement was he asked for more money than he wanted, and obtained less for our debentures than he would have obtained for a smaller lot. The Hon. Minister of Justice, in his speech at Walkerton, said the loan was a magnificent loan, as the Finance Minister got as much for his

loan as our five per cents. would bring in small parcels.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I did make the statement that it was impossible to float a loan of twenty millions at the price that we could float smaller lots.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The *Globe* reported the hon. gentleman as saying the very reverse. If the Hon. Minister of Finance had gone on the markets of the world and only asked for what money he wanted, he would have got all that he required on better terms; but he asked for more than he wanted, paid a larger price for it, and brought it back here and had nearly fifteen millions floating round among the banks, a large portion of it without interest. The hon. gentleman says I have misstated the amount without interest, but if there is any misstatement it is due to his unhappy talent for boxing figures. Any person who reads the *Canada Gazette* knows that the money on call is money without interest. The Hon. Finance Minister admits that his friend, the Hon. Mr. Simpson, had an average for the whole year of \$360,000 of the public money in the Ontario Bank without interest, and we are told he dare not use it, as it was on call. I say the banks will not take money on call and pay interest for it. Why does the hon. gentleman show two columns in the bank's statement in the *Gazette*, if it is not to show the money on call is without interest, and that on notice draws interest? The hon. gentleman knows that last Session an hon. Senator in the other end of the building moved for a return showing the amount of money on interest, and all not on interest, and that it corresponded with the view I have taken; but the Government concealed and held back all the millions that were in the hands of the London agents of the banks. Even then it was impossible, although the return demanded it, to find out what interest was being paid, so that if any gentleman in this House was mistaken as to the mode the Government were dealing with this money of the people of Canada, it was because they denied to Parliament the information that every

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Government is bound to give to the people's representatives. If Senator Simpson had this \$500,000 on call, as I showed he had, and I shall want further evidence of the statement of the hon. gentlemen before I accept his explanations, but assuming it is only \$365,325, he says I had better retire from my present position, if I can make out of \$500,000, \$50,000 a year. I say the Ontario bank has been making large interest out of this money to the extent of \$50,000 a year, and it is generally believed that the institution was favoured in consequence of aid given during the elections.

The hon. gentleman charges me with having wrongly assailed him in this matter in connection with the banks, but I did not do the subject justice the other night. In my anxiety to spare the hon. members of this House the pain of hearing me speak at such great length, when physically I was incapable of doing justice to the hon. gentleman, I passed over one of the most important subjects in connection with this matter. I showed that it was a corrupt transaction—that it was fatal to the independence of Parliament—but I did not show the most important objection to it of all; and I am indebted to the hon. member for Montreal West for supplementing my statement. That hon. gentleman referred to it as most dangerous to the commerce of the country.

He said that the Government scattered the public money among the banks in a manner that had inflicted great injury to the country, and that their policy was fraught with danger to the community, and as the hon. gentleman dealt with this subject in a very able and conclusive way, I will read a short portion of his speech; he said, speaking of these banks: "Before I sit down, I would like to allude to another matter, which, perhaps, has been one of the causes producing the existing distress in the mercantile community at least."

¶ If the Hon. Minister of Finance will not take my word, and my expression of opinion, will he accept the views of a leading merchant in one of the great commercial centres of this country, to the effect that their policy of scattering

about public money, shoving \$15,000,000 into the hands of the banks of this country, at a time when contraction and not inflation was demanded, was ruinous? He goes on to say, that the forcing of this money upon the banks, by the Government, led to their placing it in most improper hands, and enormous sums were in consequence lost, and he told the hon. gentleman, that had he persevered with his circular he could not have obtained the money, and would have produced a financial crisis, causing our people to sustain enormous losses. He continued, "If these sums had not been confided to these banks—if they had not confided such large sums to them, they would have been more careful as to its distribution, and would have paid more attention to the selection of their customers. I mention this, in order that the Government, whenever there is a surplus, may take better care of it, and discontinue the policy followed in this regard during the last eighteen months. I invite the hon. gentleman's attention to these remarks, and I say, that if he dared not correct the Vice President of a bank when he made these statements in the House, he should not correct me for reading them to hon. members.

Now, I believe, that I have noticed every attempt of the hon. gentleman to refute a single word that I used in my comments upon his speech, and I leave to the House to judge as to how far that hon. gentleman has given a defence which will be acceptable to any person save the hon. member for North York. I anticipate that what is black one day will be white the next with that hon. gentleman, who will be keenly alive to any assertion, however fallacious, that falls from the mouths of Ministers, and prepared to endorse any position they may take, deaf to the strongest utterances and most conclusive evidence that can be furnished him concerning the fact that these hon. gentlemen are pursuing a policy, the very reverse of wise and judicious, and fraught with the gravest possible disasters to the country.

Before I sit down I want to notice for a moment a few remarks you, Sir, permitted the hon. member for Halifax to make in this House. I

understood, Mr. Speaker, that you were prepared to confine gentlemen very closely to the subject; and I must say that I listened to the speech of my hon. friend from Halifax, and the allusions to myself, with a good deal of surprise, but I was afraid that if I ventured to call attention to the fact that the hon. gentleman had violated your rules, my hon. friend the First Minister would come to the conclusion that I was frightened. But suppose that this was the case, my hon. friend from Halifax is a strong man—a very strong man. I dare say you have heard of the story of the gentleman who was going to have a dinner party, and who previously said to one of his friends “when there is a little lull in the conversation, do you speak out from your end of the table and say, “Samson was a strong man.” “Why do you wish me to say that, the friend enquired. “Never mind,” was the answer; “I have got a splendid thing to say;” and so the very obliging friend in the midst of the dinner, taking advantage of a slight lull in the conversation, said—“Samson was a strong man.” Well, people looked around a little; but the host took no notice whatever of the remark. Again the persevering friend observed—“Samson was a strong man,” but still attracted no notice; and he repeated—“Samson was a very strong man.” “Well,” replied the host, “Samson, I dare say, was a strong man; and you are a deuced sight stronger lugging him in here by the head and shoulders in spite of himself.” And so when I found my hon. friend lugging in the Monkton station into the debate on the tariff, I came to the conclusion that my hon. friend was a pretty strong man. Since he was permitted on such an occasion to lug in Monkton station and challenge the accuracy of statements which I made in a speech at Halifax, where my hon. friend intimated to the House I was afraid to meet him. No hon. member will be in the least surprised after listening to the powerful orations of my hon. friend, if I exhibited a little craven fear, and dreaded to meet him on a platform in Halifax. I can only say that the hon. gentleman undertook to state that I had misstated a fact with reference to the Monkton Station.

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He alleged that I declared at Halifax that the question of removing the station of the Intercolonial Railway, the Central Station from Halifax, was settled definitely before I became a member of the Government, that there was a gentleman on the Board who had greater experience in the working of railways; that I supposed that the principal commissioners had deferred to his judgment; and that the matter was at all events arranged before I had the honour of a seat in the Cabinet. He undertook to declare that this took place in 1872, and that I entered the Government in 1870; but I will refer to the Hon. Minister of Public Works, and to the President of the Privy Council, and ask these gentlemen to bring down and lay on the table of this House the report of the Intercolonial Railway Commissioners recommending Monkton to be selected, as well as the purchase and valuation of the land, and of the adoption of this report by the Council, it will then be found that these two events occurred anterior to my becoming a member of the Government. So much for the personal explanation which I would not have been obliged to make, had you, Sir, not permitted the hon. member for Halifax to display his Samsonian strength by bringing in Monkton Station by the head and shoulders into this discussion.

The First Minister undertook to tell me that I did not know what I was talking about when treating of the question of sugar duties; but when I ventured to put a modest question across the House, and asked the hon. gentleman if he could state whether the duties had been altered favorably to the refiners in the United States since the late Government went out of office, the hon. gentleman was unable to tell anything about it, and confessed it frankly to the House, admitting that previous to such a discussion he had actually not taken the trouble to inform himself of the very first principles in this relation; and more than that, he had not even read the elaborate report of the Minister of Customs brought down and laid on the table of the House. The hon. gentleman showed an entire want of acquaintance with the subject, and in his despair turned

round to his prompter, the hon. member for Halifax, who stated to the House that the First Minister was quite correct that no alteration had been made since the late Government went out of power; that the increase in the drawback was balanced by a corresponding increase in the duty, and that accordingly the matter was left as it was. Now I need do no more than remind the House that while the late Administration held office, unequal and unfair as was the sugar tariff to the Canadian refiners, sugar was refined here; but since that time a change has taken place in the United States, which gives to their refiners the entire control of the Canadian market, closing up the sugar refinery of Canada. The hon. member for Halifax accused me of a misstatement, in saying that he had never dared to open his mouth on that question, because when Sir John Rose, as Finance Minister, brought down his tariff, he attacked the Government as being too favorable to the sugar refiners. He undertook to controvert that assertion, and I will give him the statement he then made. Although in 1874, when a change in the sugar tariff was proposed, the hon. member for Halifax was lobbying the House to secure support for the Government—as I said in Halifax, and as I repeated here—the hon. gentleman dare not stand up in this House with the recollection of the views he held on this subject and advocate it, he never opened his mouth on the subject, and if he dared to do so to-night it is because he is as bold as well as a strong man.

When Sir John Rose brought down the sugar tariff, what did the hon. gentleman say? The following quotation is taken from the *Globe* of May 1st, 1868:—

"The remaining terms were agreed to, down to the duties on sugar and molasses as follows:—Sugar equal to or above No. 9 Dutch Standard, also sugar candy and confectionary, 25 per cent. and 1 cent per lb. Below No. 9, Dutch Standard 25 per cent.; $\frac{3}{4}$ c. per pound.

"Mr. Jones (Halifax) disputed the correctness of the data from which the Minister of Customs and also the Minister of Excise had deducted the figures representing the duties payable by the various grades under the new scale.

"He did hold, however, that the opinion of the whole mercantile community from east to west, and which had been disregarded by the

Government, ought to have received proper consideration.

"Mark the controversy between my hon. friend and myself. He held that the Government had proposed a tariff too favourable for the sugar refiners; this is the whole controversy:

"'The reduction of the specific rate,' Mr. Jones continued, 'of 1 cent to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent on the lower grades, and of $\frac{3}{4}$ on melado, was a heavy concession to the refiners.'

"Then who, he would ask, was to determine at every port, whether a particular lot of sugars was not equal to No. 9 Dutch Standard."

"He would go back to his argument, that it was not for the interests of the Dominion to perpetuate any monopoly which made the people pay high prices. He moved in amendment that the proposed duty on grades of sugar at and above No. 9 Dutch Standard be reduced to 75 cents per 100 lbs., and 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, being the same as for grades below that standard."

I have proved that the hon. gentleman attacked the Government for having proposed a tariff too favorable to sugar refiners; this is the position I have taken, and this, Sir, is the statement which I made in Halifax, that, when he did so, he was endeavoring to destroy not only the Government of which Sir John Rose was Finance Minister, but also to incense and exasperate the people of Nova Scotia against the Administration, taking the ground that it was striking at the interests of the masses of the people in the interests of the sugar refiners, and although the hon. gentleman changed his views, and lobbied this House in 1874 to induce members to sustain the Minister of Finance in increasing a duty already 50 per cent. on sugar, which I opposed in the true interests of the country, he did not then venture to state it in the House, and would have ventured to do so now if he were not, I say, a bold as well as a strong man. Although the hon. gentleman declared here that we would never have a West India trade unless the duties on sugar were so changed as to enable it to be refined in this country he contradicted the statement I made to the effect, that the alteration which recently took place in the American policy—since the late Administration retired from office—had acted in the interests of the sugar refiners in New York, Boston, and elsewhere in the United States. These are the facts. In 1872 the duty re-

mained at \$2.25, and the drawback was increased to \$2.70, the advance thus becoming once more twenty per cent.

In March, 1875, the duties were increased twenty-five per cent, making the nett duty (on above quality) \$2.81 $\frac{1}{4}$; the drawbacks were also increased nominally by the same percentage, but at the same time a reclamation of ten per cent. was reduced to one per cent., consequently the drawback really was advanced thirty seven and a-half per cent., becoming \$3.71 nett, and the advance now becoming equal to thirty-two per cent. over raw duty. Finally, in December last, the drawback on hard sugar was reduced to \$3.56 nett, but at the same time, the drawback on soft white sugar was increased from \$2.47 to \$2.97 nett, so that the refiners were really much better off than before, as the reduction of fifteen cents on one quality was accompanied by an increase of fifty cents on another.

To conclude the analysis, it may be said that the drawback on hards was advanced thirty-three per cent., while raws had advanced only twenty-five; and to compare the position at this moment with what existed when we were in office, it may be said that the present drawback is an advance of twenty-seven per cent. on the raw duty, while then it never exceeded twenty. So I think I have established the point which was controverted by the First Minister, and in which he was sustained by the hon. member for Halifax. I now return to the report brought down by the Hon. Minister of Customs, and I ask them if, after reading that, they can venture to contradict the statement I made. On the 24th page I find the following:—

“ On the 3rd March, 1875, an Act of Congress increased the import duties on raw sugars, and by an Order of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, a more than corresponding increase was made to the drawback, the following being the rates then established:—

On ref'd crystalline sugar	per lb.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
“ B and C lower grade	“	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
Syrup of sugar	per gal.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.
“ from molasses	“	5 c.
Sugar	per lb.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.

These rates being subject to a reduction of one per cent. only, instead of 10 per cent. as before.

“ Whatever may have been the fact in reference to the operation of the former drawback,

there can be no doubt that the latter favored the refiners to a very considerable degree, giving them a bonus upon their exports and a corresponding advantage, not only over the refiners of Great Britain and Canada, but also over importers of the higher classes of West India sugars.”

I will now leave this question. When hon. gentlemen undertake to challenge a statement of facts I make, I consider myself justified in asking the attention of the House to the evidence. I have shown that the statement I made was sound and accurate, and that the statements of the First Minister and the hon. member for Halifax were entirely inaccurate.

I now come to a few remarks which the hon. member for Halifax made, and which, coming from my own Province, I feel he would have a right to consider himself slighted if I passed them over without reference. In the first place, the hon. gentlemen ventured to lecture this side of the House on loyalty. I should like to know what excited his apprehension. Did he find any intention of disloyalty here; did he find any hon. gentleman proposing to haul down the flag of Her Majesty in this country? Regarding the hon. gentleman as a strong man, as a bold man, as a man of great powers of eloquence and logic, I felt no little gratification in knowing that he is loyal, that he is no longer antagonistic to the flag which waves over us, and that we can rely upon his going with us shoulder to shoulder on this question of preserving the connection between Canada and the Crown.

The hon. gentleman attacked me for having opposed the tax on shipping. He asked: “ Why should not shipping be taxed as well as anything else?” Because the policy of Canada before Union with the Maritime Provinces, a policy which was proclaimed to the world, and upon the strength of which we entered into Confederation, was that the shipbuilding interests should be free from the imposition of any tax with reference to construction. When it was attempted to alter that policy, and my hon. friend asked to place a tax of \$84,000 upon 380,000 people, I said it was unjust for him to bring forward that imposition to strike down an industry of vital importance to the character

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and credit of the Dominion contrary to the terms entered into at Confederation and the guarantee on the statute book. But, I am glad to say, that instead of that tax of \$1 per ton on our ships there is only 20 cents to-day—a triumph of which I am proud, and of which every member of the Opposition ought to feel proud. If the hon member for Halifax is a giant he ought to use his strength in support of the interests of the Province rather than in Opposition and antagonism thereto.

The hon. gentleman also spoke in reference to the duty on coal, objecting that there should be any impost, and claiming that the people of Nova Scotia owe a deep debt of gratitude to the present Government for refusing to grant protection in this and other particulars. Where does he get his reasons for supposing that the Province is opposed to the duty on flour, and coal and other natural products? As I said before, and repeat now, if Canada is to be a great country she must have a policy of her own. We must not say that this tax will fall upon this section and that on another; we must, if necessary, suffer in one direction, provided that the policy brought forward is calculated to be of benefit to the whole Dominion, and build up inter-provincial trade between the different provinces. Where does the hon. gentleman get the impression that Nova Scotia is opposed to the national policy that I formerly urged, and that I to-day urge upon this House—that we should levy such imposts as will give the Government a revenue to protect them from such a startling deficit as the present, and at the same time afford such fostering protection to infant industries as will enable them to grow and expand into a position which will render it unnecessary for that protection to be continued. Is not protection commenced at the very cradle? Does not the parent protect his infant, and why? Because he knows if the child is protected it will grow up to manhood, and the man's strength will be used in support of the parents who shielded it in infancy. This holds good with a country. If our industries were fostered by the Government instead of building up the trade and commerce of

a great neighboring rival, they will grow up until instead of being a burden on the people they will add vastly to the general good. Who could listen to the able and logical speech of the hon. gentleman for North Norfolk without feeling that he had made a case he could not answer. It reminded me of a story I heard about a clergyman giving a dialogue between a Christian and an infidel. He put the case so strongly that he was unable to extricate himself and the infidel got the best of the argument. It is just the same with the hon. gentleman. He puts the case so forcibly that he cannot answer it. Although he employed all the argument his keen intellect could suggest, he left the House in want of any reason why he should.

It is, however, unnecessary at this moment to discuss this question at length. I feel that it is a fatal policy to leave this country to face a deficit of revenue—to leave our manufacturing interests to languish, and the people, after those interests are destroyed, at the mercy of those who having destroyed them can impose such a tax as they please. But where did the member for Halifax get his opinions as to the people of Nova Scotia? This is not a new question, Sir. Six years ago I sat over there and urged upon Parliament the adoption of a policy imposing a tax upon flour, grain, coal, salt—upon those natural products that are coming from the United States free and are met there with a protective tariff. I did not stop then, and I do not now, to enquire whether it was a policy that would lead to power. I held the opinion honestly and as an honest man gave to the House in an earnest manner the sentiments I held. My hon. friend for Pictou and his colleague, who have spoken on this subject of coal, spoke against the policy, and what happened?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—You voted against it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That is not true. I brand that statement as inaccurate. I voted and struggled for that policy to the last hour, and I only surrendered it in the face of overwhelming opposition that compelled us to change and abandon it. I maintain

now that it was a sound policy to follow; the people of Nova Scotia recorded their views on the subject. My hon. friend for Pictou and his colleague for Halifax, who voted against it, went back to their constituents, but with what result? Why, that these hon. gentlemen, who have professed that they alone are able to speak for the people of Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces, were left at home. They left these gentlemen with a square issue between them and myself. The men who voted against the policy were defeated by the people of the Province, while I was sustained and returned here, sustained by the entire Nova Scotia vote, with the exception of the hon. member for Lunenburg, who obtained his seat on that occasion through declaring himself an independent member.

And so, Sir, I give that to the hon. gentleman as evidence that when this question was fully and fairly tried out before the people of Nova Scotia, what the result was so far as the sentiments of that Province are concerned, I say Nova Scotia has a deeper interest in fostering home industries than any other Province in the Dominion. Ontario, with greater wealth and experience and a higher tariff, built up her manufactures and is ahead of us. While we had a tariff that gave us no protection Old Canada had one which fostered her home manufactures. In Nova Scotia we have the coal and iron in close proximity—the materials essential to building up great industries—as they are not to be found in any other part of the Dominion. I believe Nova Scotia would be prepared to endorse in 1876 as she did in 1872 the views I advanced.

The hon. member for Halifax denounced the Washington Treaty. He is a most ungrateful as well as a bold and strong man. That Treaty has put thousands of dollars in the hon. gentleman's pockets.

Mr. JONES—Never a cent.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The only two interests that were beyond the power of being injured by this Government are the only two that are at this day in a prosperous condition. One is the agricultural, the other is the fishing in-

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terest. Under the Washington Treaty the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces can go into the great market of export on free and equal terms with the United States fishermen. As a fish merchant, the hon. gentleman has been enabled to amass a handsome fortune, and I say he is an ungrateful man that he does not recognize the benefit that has been conferred upon him.

I have been accused of having a sort of political revolver. He says I had half a dozen speeches ready because it was quite impossible to know what I had to meet. That is quite true. You would require a revolver to know where to find the Hon. Minister of Finance. A seven-barrel revolver would not meet the tariff of 1874—you would need thirty. I confess no man who heard him deplore a deficit that required to be met in advance to preserve the credit of the country in 1874 could have believed he would have dared to show his face to this Parliament with \$2,000,000 of a deficit staring him in the face, and the credit of the country imperiled, and say we propose to fold our arms and make no effort to relieve the prevailing distress. But there is no difficulty in meeting the Hon. Minister of Finance. The statements he makes to the House are so full of fallacies that all you have to do is to take down half a dozen notes while he speaks to refute them and show how little confidence can be placed in his utterances. Everyone knew the Government was bending all its energies for months to the construction of a tariff, and if outside report is to be relied upon, they had succeeded in satisfying themselves as to what was due to the interests of the people of Canada, but they so far forgot their positions as statesmen as to prove recreant to the interests of the people at the bidding of this strong, bold and powerful man from Nova Scotia. That hon. gentleman, though not a Warwick (because he did not make a king), has made a Minister. He has induced the Government to pass over 18 able and intelligent members in this House and to go outside of it to bring in a minister to replace Mr. Ross. I won't say whether his power was used in the interests of Canada. It was a deep insult to my colleagues from Nova

Scotia, which I leave them to resent. It is now heralded through the press that this bold and strong man has again dictated to the Ministry and induced them to tear up the tariff they had taken months to prepare.

We have been told that the Government are in favour of incidental protection, but the hon. member for North York says "We are the Free Trade Party. We go for free-trade and death to the manufactures of Canada." The policy of the Government is not in the interests of the country and will be regarded by the people as utterly fatal to many of our most important industries and destruction of the credit and financial position of the country.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—The hon. member for Cumberland is very far out of the way in speaking of the influence he assumes I possess. No one knows better than he that the influence which he supposed I had exercised with reference to Government measures, was entirely incorrect. That gentleman is always forcible when he addresses the House, but he is not always accurate. He possesses an advantage over others, because he always manufactures his own facts. He won for himself a position in Nova Scotia before he came here, when he defended himself on a public occasion with all the evasions he has shown to-night.

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman is not in order.

Mr. JONES—Well, I need not go to Nova Scotia. The course pursued by the hon. gentleman, when he endeavoured to misrepresent myself as well as others, proves what I assert. The other night, when the Premier exposed his unfair quotation of a speech, I felt a kind of sympathy for the man who could be placed in such a humiliating position before the country.

Now, Sir, what position has he taken here to-night? It is of no consequence what argument is addressed to him; it is of no consequence if the Finance Minister proved his assertions from the Bible itself, the hon. member for Cumberland would reiterate his charges with all the apparent earnestness with which he reiterates them to-night. The hon. gentleman says there was no

necessity for increasing the tariff last year, yet he stated here to-night that there is a deficiency of two millions, and he tells us that when the Finance Minister depicted a deficit two years ago, that there would be a deficiency in the revenue; he was striking a blow at the credit of Canada. Is not the hon. gentleman to-night, according to his own argument, striking a blow at the credit of Canada in his anxiety to make a point against the Government? The hon. gentleman charges the Finance Minister with keeping back part of the Bank statement, but he forgets that he kept back the announcement that the Intercolonial Railway works had been by Order in Council removed from Halifax to Moncton until after the election in Halifax was over. With reference to the sugar question up to the time of the tariff introduced by Sir John Rose, very little refined sugars were consumed in the Dominion. At that time we had a large importation from the West Indies of the brighter colored coarse sugars, and it was because the tariff was shutting out these sugars and destroying the West India trade that I opposed it. And as a proof that I was right, when we imported one hundred hogsheads of sugar then we only import about five now. I stated the other night that the alteration in the sugar duties by the present Government left them about the same. At that time the drawback on sugars was \$3, and the duty paid was \$2.25, leaving a difference of 75 cents. At the present moment the duty is \$3.60 instead of \$3.75, while the duty on raw has been increased 25 per cent. The hon. gentleman is not aware of the three or four alterations that have been made in the duty on sugars since I opposed Sir John Rose's tariff, so that the duty now is within a cent or two of what it was at that time, or if he is aware of it he takes good care not to take the House into his confidence. The hon. gentleman has asked on what authority I undertake to speak for the people of Nova Scotia. If there is one man in this Parliament who is unauthorized to speak for the people of Nova Scotia it is the hon. member from Cumberland. It is well known that after the last

election with all the power and influence of the late Government to back him he went down to Nova Scotia and came back alone. I ask him how he dare stand up here and presume to represent the people of Nova Scotia on any question. He knows that his views of a national policy have been repudiated by the people of Nova Scotia over and over again.

He says at one moment that taxes on shipping are not right, being sectional, and bearing heavily on one part of the Dominion, and in the next breath he states that he is prepared to put a duty on flour coming into Nova Scotia; condemning on the one hand what he advocates on the other hand. In this relation I must regret being obliged to make personal references, because I wish to discuss these matters from a higher stand-point. I think that the hon. member might have omitted certain allusions, although I suppose he was glad to seize at anything in order to make a long speech. He was once a prominent member of the Government of Nova Scotia, but he went back on his pledges, and instead of retrenching expenditure as soon as he obtained power, he increased the disbursements, and the hon. member so disappointed public expectation that when the first constitutional opportunity presented itself, in 1867, he was the only member on his side of the House returned to this Parliament. Perhaps his experience has been unfortunate in this regard, and concerning other matters the hon. member is in no position to lecture me on my views, which I am perfectly willing to submit to my own constituents and my own people. I have advocated them with perfect freedom, and I think, with tolerable consistency here and elsewhere, and if he had afforded me the opportunity of discussing with him at Halifax these issues instead of retailing stale jokes about steel rails and the Pacific Railway, our own people would have been better satisfied.

With reference to the general policy of the Government, I have heard since it was announced the most ample assurances from my own Province that they are highly satisfied with it, and I am sure that the hon. member, if he repeated the views he has expressed to-night in Nova Scotia, would find

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that they would be condemned by the people, who very much prefer retrenchment to an increase of burdens. The Finance Minister can very well afford to pass by the statements of the hon. gentleman with regard to the matters at issue. On a similar occasion, when he denounced a prominent man, the late Mr. Howe applied to him a description, which he perhaps has not forgotten. I recollect well Mr. Howe's retort, which was—that a serpent might crawl over a statue of Apollo, but the beautiful proportions of the marble would remain beneath the slime. He should not have ventured to provoke such criticism again. The hon. member is able and eloquent, and he might go on hour after hour denouncing his opponents, undisturbed in his apparent happiness in doing so, if his affirmations did not go to the country representing men as inconsistent and regardless of their past views; if this were not the case, I could sit by the hour listening to him in admiration of his pluck and command of language. I do not find fault with his remarks this evening; he certainly gave me more credit than I am entitled to, with reference to the policy of the Government. I have only feebly endeavored to do my duty, in the interests of my constituents and Province, and this I am always prepared to perform without regard to the opinions of the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—At this late hour, I will only make a few remarks in reply to certain statements of the hon. member for Cumberland. My hon. friend complains that I used very impolite language, because I said that he was speaking of a matter of which he knew nothing. Well, Sir, I do not think that this was very harsh; and at all events, if it did not seem polite, I am very sorry that I am not able even yet to withdraw it. My statement was mild, I think, compared with assertions made by the hon. gentleman to-night, for he characterized my hon. friend as utterly deficient in the qualities which a Finance Minister should possess when submitting matters to the House, and he says that we cannot expect this House—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I did not call him a demagogue.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The term, demagogue would be milder than the language he has employed concerning my hon. friend. The hon. member for Cumberland asserted that we could not expect the members of this House to place the slightest reliance on the figures and statements of the Finance Minister; that he had too much experience respecting the hon. gentleman's figures to accept any of them without personal examination; that he stands convicted of gross misrepresentation; that he was utterly dishonest, and that he hoped by mouthing words—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No! no!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I took down the hon. gentleman's words.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That was only one horn of the dilemma; there was another horn; I said—he was either dishonest or incompetent.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—If these are specimens of the hon. gentleman's horns, he had better not put them out so far.

However, I consider that if there is any hon. gentleman in this House who should never complain of any other hon. member using strong language, that member is my hon. friend from Cumberland. I do not know any one who can go to the very verge of being offensive, without being unparliamentary, so frequently and eloquently as the hon. member—who hopes, by employing very strong, not to say offensive, terms—and I fear they are very often offensive—and violent adjectives, with a rolling voice, and in an earnest and vigorous manner, to impress upon the House opinions which he can hardly be credited with entertaining. The hon. gentleman made two or three allegations to-night to which I desire to call the attention of the House for a few moments. One might have expected that if the hon. gentleman and his colleagues would shun the discussion of any subject that subject would be the Pacific Railway. The hon. gentleman pointed out, a short time ago at a public meeting, that although the late Administration entered into a solemn engagement by treaty, to build the Pacific Railway during ten years, they never intended

to perform their promise. Let me read the words by which the late Government was so bound:—"The Government of the Dominion undertakes to secure the commencement, simultaneously with'n two years from the date of Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains, towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada, and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of Union."

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will my hon. friend kindly read the qualification which was so important that it was put in the Act?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No hon. gentleman will find any qualification in this treaty; the hon. gentleman knows that it is not there, Sir.

The hon. gentleman says that he and his colleagues would have brought one hundred millions of foreign money into the country—a vast amount of capital and a vast amount of energy; that they would have constructed this road, and that they would have settled this extensive territory. Why, Sir, these hon. gentlemen were in power for two entire years after this solemn treaty was made, having a large majority in this House at their backs, and yet the only money they ever brought into the country was received from Sir Hugh Allan to carry on the elections.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—We did not give up refunds to the amount of \$69,000 previous to the elections, as was done with Hon. Mr. McMaster.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Well, Sir, if that is all the hon. gentleman has to say in reply, it is of slight import.

This is the only money of which I have any knowledge that they brought into the country. They had a large majority for two and a half years after the conclusion of the treaty, and what progress did they make? Did they not confessedly admit that the scheme was a failure? Did they not give up the contract into which they entered? And does not the hon. gen-

tleman now, in almost every speech he delivers, pretend that there was some terrible combination between hon. gentlemen on this side and Mr. Potter, of the Grand Trunk Company? but, sir, I have challenged him, and I challenge him again to-night if it be of any use—to show a scintilla of evidence to justify the extraordinary allegations he has more than once made, and it has been of no avail. Why, Sir, it is well known that Mr. Potter and the Grand Trunk have always been my political enemies, and the enemies of the hon. gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. It is notorious that this Company has been a political engine operating against the Liberal party, and to this hour I know of no change.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The engine is reversed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman says that it was a terrible thing for this Government to undertake to build a road from Lake Superior westward to the Pacific by 1890; but the hon. gentleman himself undertook solemnly, as I have pointed out, to build it from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific by the year 1881—within ten years—while we only pledged ourselves to complete two-thirds of the work in nineteen years. These hon. gentlemen endeavoured to leave this terrible incubus upon the country—a piece of folly which should have driven everyone of the perpetrators out of public life; and yet the hon. gentleman who is in part responsible for all this, charges us with dereliction of duty and extravagance, because we sought to keep faith with the Province which the hon. gentleman and his friends brought in the Union by false pretexts. If this bargain and solemn treaty through the hon. gentleman and his colleagues had not been entered into, do you imagine, Sir, for a moment, that he would have made the efforts we have made to provide for the expense of surveys? But all this has been undertaken in connection with so enormous an enterprise, for the single purpose of maintaining the national faith, as far as this was possible with our resources. But the hon. gentleman has not fairly

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represented what we did do. What we undertook to do in connection with Lord Carnarvon's recommendations was subject to the Act already placed on the Statute Book.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No! no!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman may say no.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Show it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I can show it any time.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman will say “no” and “yes” to anything. What we have undertaken to do, even the modified part, is subject to the resolution under which it is provided that we shall not increase the taxation of the country. The hon. gentleman will find whether this is so or not; he will find that we will carry out our purpose to the very letter, and that purpose is intimated plainly in the Order in Council of last year. So much for the legislation regarding the Pacific Railway. I don't think it is necessary to say one word more on that subject.

The hon. gentleman also said that Sir John Rose wrote a letter criticising unfavourably the speech of my hon. friend. Sir John never wrote such a letter. He sent a communication to correct the malicious representations of the *Standard* newspaper; and every one knows that that paper is not the organ of the Conservative party. It is a Conservative freebooter, nor is it owned or recognized by the Conservative party in England, and of this I can furnish proof. Sir John simply did his duty, as a Canadian, in correcting the misrepresentations of that paper, but he did not correct the speech of my hon. friend.

The hon. gentleman says that the tariff of 1874 was ruinous to the country, and in the same sentence he declared that the Hon. Finance Minister deserved no credit for it, because it was a servile copy of the tariff of the hon. gentleman opposite. If that was so it would have a strong chance of being subjected to the opposite charge. He has not ventured to enlarge upon the deep distress in the country. There is a class

---it is a comparatively small one and has my deepest sympathy---which is in difficulties. The country as a whole, however, is not suffering distress, but is tolerably prosperous---immensely more prosperous than during the crisis of 1857. Yet we did not hear that the Government of that day were to blame for the condition in which the country then was. But the hon. gentleman proposed a remedy for the depression for the first time. When he made his speech a few evenings ago, it was quite evident he was on the wrong track. He had prepared a speech he could not deliver, which explains his peculiar manner of jumping from one subject to another. The hon. gentleman thought additional taxation was to be proposed, and he was prepared to expatiate upon the wickedness of imposing additional taxation. Now he asserts that the remedy for the great distress is to impose additional taxation. It is a curious remedy, if it is a remedy. It is the duty of Government when distress exists amongst any large class of the population to relieve it if it can be done consistently with the general interests of the country; it is the duty of the Government when revenue fails to practice the most rigid economy; but it is not the duty of the Government always when distress prevails to propose additional taxation as the only possible remedy.

With regard to the one question on which the hon. gentleman has pronounced himself strongly to-night---that of a protective policy---I think while it would benefit a certain class, the benefit would be reaped at the expense of another. We have all accepted a revenue tariff as the policy of the country for the time being. That this revenue tariff has been so high is chiefly owing to the extravagance into which the country was plunged by hon. gentlemen opposite. But the hon. gentleman said that the Government led the country to believe there was to be a change of policy. Nay, Sir, he went further; he stated that he had a policy carefully prepared. I tell him he is mistaken. There was no such policy prepared, and no such announcement was made to the public either directly or indirectly. The Government never led a single indi-

vidual in this House to believe they would propose additional taxation. The Government, as they were bound to do, maintained a most rigid silence towards their intimate friends as to the policy they would bring down. But the hon. gentleman and his organs proclaimed for weeks and months that there was an enormous deficit, pointed out the absolute necessity for an increased taxation, and so tried to influence the Government. But when they found this failed their rage knew no bounds, and hence the fierce denunciations of hon. gentlemen opposite as to our policy.

Mr. BOWELL---Did not the *Globe* make precisely the same announcement?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---I don't know what it did. The *Globe* is not my paper, and I am not responsible in any way for its statement. The hon. gentleman has my leave to enquire if he likes whether the *Globe* had any authority to make such a statement.

Mr. BOWELL---I made no such charge; but the hon. gentleman charged that the Opposition press misled the people.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---It did, months before.

Mr. BOWELL---Well, the *Globe* did the same thing.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---The statement was made in that paper on Friday morning, the day the Budget came down. We don't make confidantes of any newspaper. It has been said that we made a direct intimation of our policy. The hon. member for Cumberland pretends we had a policy prepared. I know that many things which have taken place in Council during the last two years have become known, but it is impossible that this could have become known.

Mr. MASSON---The hon. member for Chateaugay, in the City of Montreal, stated that a revision of the tariff was contemplated.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE---The Hon. gentleman was entitled to his opinion.

Mr. MASSON---Then the hon. gentleman could not lay the charge at our door, that the Opposition press cir-

culated these rumours some months ago.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I must lay it to their charge. I heard my hon. friend from Cumberland announce this among many other curious things in the course of his speech at the last public meeting we attended together. He declared, that in 1875, not a single dollar was applied to the reduction of the debt.

Hon. Mr. TUPEER—No! no! I beg to say that the hon. gentleman is entirely mistaken. We had two reporters with us; the hon. gentleman had one and I another, and I defy him to prove that any such statement was made by me.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I contradicted him by taking the public accounts and reading from them to the meeting, showing the amount of debentures which, having matured, were redeemed.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Such a statement was not made by me.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Well, the hon. gentleman seems to have a very elastic memory. There is one thing more the hon. gentleman said, that he introduced and supported throughout a policy of imposing duties on coal and other articles. I will read an extract from the Votes and Proceedings on this point: "The Hon. Mr. Holton moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. Mills, that all the words after 'be' to the end of the question be left out, and the words 'now re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House, for the purpose of so amending the same as to repeal the duties on coal, coke, wheat and flour,' inserted instead thereof." And this was all voted upon, and the hon. gentleman voted for both motions and the amendment. Then, Sir, it was moved that the amendment on the original question be put, and the hon. gentleman voted against it. Even we find that the hon. gentleman for North Hastings, on the 4th of April moved an amendment.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—At what stage?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Never mind at what stage; it was during the Session.

Mr. MASSON.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—This was with reference to the Customs' Bill.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes. He moved an amendment, in view of negotiations then pending at Washington, that it was expedient to repeal the duties on certain articles enumerated in section 2, flour, coal, &c. Then Mr. Lawson moved an amendment, seconded by the hon. member for North Hastings, that the word "salt," whenever it occurred, should be left out. They endeavoured to save salt, but the hon. member for Cumberland would not allow it. He did not leave a single one of his children living that he did not slaughter.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Can you kill the dead? The hon. member knows very well that the House killed it and not me. It was useless to attempt to resuscitate it in the face of a hostile majority, and I did that which the hon. gentleman would have done himself under the circumstances.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am sorry the hon. gentleman has given this explanation, for he admits he did very little to preserve its life. He now admits that he thrashed it after it was dead. I could understand how the hon. gentleman might in a moment of passion commit murder, but I cannot understand why he should mutilate the dead. The hon. gentleman will hardly find a case in which I have voted in the early stages of a Bill for the principle of it, and afterwards against it. The hon. gentleman was bound to carry out that principle to the end, but he now shows how much and how little confidence can be placed in his political honesty.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I will give an instance in which my hon. friend the First Minister voted against a principle which he had voted to establish. My hon. friend stood here where I am now, and voted to make it impossible for any Government to construct the Pacific Railway in any other way than by a company, and afterwards stood where he now is and voted to build that road by the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman is merely making an assertion, and we know the value of his assertions. I will not reply to the

taunt of the hon. gentleman about hauling down the flag at Halifax, although the right hon. member for Kingston knows I can tell good stories about flags. I do not think it is well to revive disagreeable reminiscences, not even to wound a political opponent.

There is just one remark of the hon. gentleman to which I will refer. He said the Budget Speech of the Finance Minister in 1874 produced a disastrous effect on the London money market, and yet we find that the best loan ever negotiated for Canada was floated immediately afterwards. My hon. friends tried to get a loan for the Pacific Railway, and yet they did not get a single dollar, although they had a wonderful Premier, a wonderful Minister of Customs, a wonderfully prosperous country and no gloomy Finance Minister to sing jeremiads over the condition of the country. Such are the curious inconsistencies in which the hon. gentleman indulged to-night.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—As the hon. member for Cumberland has thought proper to enlighten the House as to how I obtained a seat in the Cabinet, I must, even at this late hour, ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments in order that I may point out a few of the difficulties which my hon. friend from Cumberland had to overcome before he secured a seat for himself here as a Cabinet Minister, and also explain my own position.

I have learned to-night for the first time that I owed my seat here to the hon. member for Halifax. I was under the impression that I was indebted to my hon. friend the Premier for that honour, and I am satisfied that he has been too long in politics to have come to the conclusion to offer me the place without being assured that my appointment would be satisfactory to at least a majority of the supporters of the Government from Nova Scotia.

The hon. member for Cumberland was first appointed Provincial Secretary for Nova Scotia in 1857, and the first election afterwards took place in 1859, when the Government was defeated. He again succeeded to power in 1863 on the retrenchment cry which the hon. member for Halifax has referred to, and before 1867 his Government

had become so unpopular that in order to escape another defeat he forced the Confederation Act through the House, well knowing if he submitted the question to the people at the polls it would be disastrous to him and his party. For the next four years, or thereabouts, the hon. member occupied the position of 14th member of the Cabinet, flitting to and fro between the Capital and Nova Scotia hoping to reconcile the people of that Province to the new state of things, when General Doyle, who was then Governor of Nova Scotia, applied for leave of absence, which opened up the way for a seat in the Cabinet by appointing Hon. Mr. Kenny, who was then a member of Government, Administrator; but as the hon. gentleman's majority was a very narrow one in 1867, he did not feel safe to accept office and go to the county till he could rely on the support of his former colleague, Mr. McFarlane, who had been a long time in politics and would be satisfied with nothing short of a Senatorship. This could only be given him by appointing the Hon. Jonathan McCully to a judgeship, which was done, and McFarlane put in his place, continuing two Senators in the county of Cumberland, out of twelve in Nova Scotia, while the western part of the Province had no representative in that body. The House will thus see that in order to make room for the hon. member for Cumberland in the Cabinet, General Doyle was given leave of absence; Judge McCully was made a judge, and Mr. McFarlane appointed to the Senate.

For my own part I went into the Government in Nova Scotia in 1867, where I occupied an important position, second, if not first in responsibility, till last year, when I resigned and accepted the position offered me by the Premier here. Now, I think after this explanation the House will agree with me that the hon. member for Cumberland is the last man who should taunt me with being made Minister of Militia by the hon. member for Halifax who, so far as I know, has no more influence with the Premier than any other member from the Province of Nova Scotia.

Mr. DOMVILLE—I want to know if the Hon. Premier meant that the

gentlemen connected with the Pacific Railway Company ought to have been driven from public life? If so, in the absence of an answer, I would refer him to the Statutes for 1871, where he will find among the parties praying to be incorporated to build the railroad, one who is now a Cabinet Minister. I think it well to mention this, because the Premier should either withdraw the statement or make it good.

Mr. BOWELL—I will call the attention of the House to one statement made by the Premier with reference to the charge preferred by several of his followers, and by the Ministerial press, to the effect that the Opposition press is responsible for having misled the mercantile community into the withdrawal of their goods from bond under the supposition that an increase of duties was to take place. I know that this is their favourite topic on every occasion since the Hon. Minister of Finance delivered his Budget Speech, although the *Globe* announced to the people of this country that the duties were to be raised. I shall refer in this regard to the action of a Ministerial candidate, and those who supported him so long ago as January last, to show that the Ministerialists are themselves responsible for misleading the country in this particular. It is well known that there was a deficit. I will just read a portion of a speech made by the hon. member for Montreal West, to establish that it was the intention of the Government to increase the tariff. We have already been told by the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House that the hon. member for Chateaugay made a similar statement.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I do not remember it.

Mr. BOWELL—I do not say this on my own responsibility; but it is what I have heard. I have such a high opinion of the hon. member for Montreal West that I do not believe that he would state anything which he knew to be incorrect. The hon. member's speech will be found reported in the *Montreal Herald* of January 27th, 1876. He said: "Gentlemen, it is perhaps fortunate to some extent that the present revenue of the Dominion

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"has fallen off, because it will impose upon the Government of the Dominion the duty of making certain changes in the tariff. (Hear, hear.) I know that these changes are occupying the attention of the members of the Government. They have been quietly consulting and obtaining information through the different branches of manufacture, in order to form correct views with reference to any changes which they may make. Of course I am not at liberty to state—in fact, I do not know—what the proposed change will be, but I might say, that there will be an increase in the tariff and that the increase will tend to the protection of the manufacturing industries. (Applause.) What it will be I am unable to say; it will be a large increase, however, in the rate of many articles imported into this country from the United States."

Now there is a declaration made a short time ago by a gentleman who had been brought into the field much against his will, through pressure brought to bear on him by the Premier himself; and after an interview with the First Minister, the hon. gentleman appears before the people of Montreal, the commercial metropolis of this Dominion, and deliberately tells them, that although he was not aware to what extent the tariff was to be increased, he knew that it was to be raised sufficiently to protect the industries of this country; and yet in the face of all this—repeated over and over again, not only in Montreal but elsewhere, by almost every man in the confidence of the Government—we find the Premier and his followers, not only in this House, but also in the country and in the press, attempting to fasten the responsibility of the belief which had taken possession of the minds of the people in this connection upon the Opposition press. But if any persons are responsible for the injury that has been done to our mercantile community, they are the supporters of the Administration who gave forth such an impression. Whether directly obtained from the Government or by inferences, certainly neither the Finance Minister nor any of his colleagues

have risen to deny the correctness of the statement of the hon. member for Montreal West—and which he repeated frequently—that he was so led to believe by the Government.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I rose and said that the hon. gentleman had no authority for making such a statement.

Mr. BOWELL—The Hon. Minister of Finance denied pointedly that he had told deputations that an increase would take place, and the hon. member for Montreal West reiterated immediately afterwards that the interview in question was of such a character that he was satisfied a change was to be effected.

I have seen it stated in a newspaper, which claimed to be prepared to prove it, that the Ministry had informed deputations, which waited on them a few days previous to the delivery of the Budget Speech, that such was their intention.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There never was any such resolution arrived at.

Mr. BOWELL—I did not say resolution, but intention.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I say, that there was no such intention.

Mr. BOWELL—I accept the statement of the hon. gentleman, because I have no means of denying it. However, there can be no doubt that an effort has been made to fasten the responsibility of producing such an impression upon the Opposition press, while it is equally certain that this should be borne by the Ministers and their supporters.

Mr. MASSON—I said just now that the hon. member for Chateauguay lead the people of Montreal to believe there would be an increase. Speaking of the anomalies in the tariff the hon. gentleman said, and it is reported by the *Herald*:—"These anomalies had to be redressed and the tariff thoroughly revised. The positions of Mr. White and Mr. Workman are identical as far as protection is concerned, except that Mr. Workman, as a supporter of the Government, would be more likely to influence them to adopt his way of thinking." At the moment the Premier had come to Montreal to support Mr. Workman, the hon. member for

Chateauguay told the citizens of Montreal: "If you elect Mr. Workman, you will have a better chance of obtaining protection than if you elect Mr. White." The hon. member for Montreal West, not only months ago, but three or four days before the meeting of Parliament, said the people of Montreal could trust the Government that they would give a certain amount of protection—not so great as they expected, but they might be sure of obtaining reciprocal duties with the Americans. I think it comes badly from hon. gentlemen opposite to reproach the Conservative press with having induced the merchants to take their goods out of bond.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I did not doubt at all my hon. friend had some quotations from some speech of mine that would seem to bear out his statement, but, of course, I had no intimation from the Government that they intended to change the tariff. The inference was general throughout the country that the tariff would be revised, but certainly I never received any information from the Government leading me to suppose such was their intention, and I venture to think that my relations personally and politically with the Administration were so intimate, if they had communicated with any of their supporters on a matter of that kind they would very possibly have mentioned it to me. It was entirely a matter of inference, from facts that were patent to everybody, that the revenue had fallen off, and that the tariff would be opened. I am gratified to find that my hon. friends were enabled to make both ends meet without the necessity of imposing additional taxes. I thought, and I feared, before I came up here, we should find it necessary to impose additional taxation, and if the tariff question had been opened I should certainly have done my best to redress some of the anomalies to which I refer. But as this whole subject is to be up on Tuesday, I think we had better drop it for the present, and I ask leave to withdraw my motion to adjourn the debate.

The motion was withdrawn, and the House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

On the item "Privy Council \$14,540," under the heading of Civil Government,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK complained of the increase of \$160 over last year, and \$2,000 over the vote for 1874. The House had been led to suppose that the Government were about to adopt a policy of retrenchment. He objected to the passage of this item without discussion after Three o'clock in the morning.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that the increase last year had met with the sanction of the House without a word of disapproval, and the increase this year was but trifling, and was necessitated by the employment of an additional messenger.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested that the Committee rise and report progress.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said no progress had been made; at least one item should be passed before the Committee should rise.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER objected to disposing of the item in this summary manner. The House and the country had been led to believe that a policy of retrenchment was to be inaugurated, yet here among the smaller items there was a decided increase for which no satisfactory explanation had been given, while the item for immigration purposes was largely decreased. He considered that it was of the utmost importance that the appropriation for immigration purposes should not be reduced. It was essential that we should adopt every means available to settle our North-West Territories.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE raised a point of order; the system had always been to allow no discussion in Committee of Supply except on the item under consideration.

The Chairman ruled the member for Cumberland was out of order.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD protested against this ruling; it was interfering with the liberty of Parliament.

After some discussion the item was passed, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

The House adjourned at Thirty-five minutes past Three, a.m.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 6, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

The following Bills were introduced and read the first time:—

Mr. OLIVER—To amend the Weights and Measures Act of 1873.

Mr. DOMVILLE—To incorporate the Charter Bank of London and North America.

SECOND READINGS.

The following Bills were read the second time:—

To amend the Acts respecting the Citizens' Insurance and Investment Company.

To amend the Act 35th Vic., Cap. 111, intitled "An Act to incorporate the *Mail* Printing and Publishing Company (Limited.)"

Respecting the Mechanics' Bank.

An Act respecting the capital of the Great Western Railway Company, and for the capitalization of certain charges and liabilities.

HALIFAX STATION HOUSE.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked was the iron station now at Halifax awaiting erection purchased privately or by public tender, and from whom?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The iron roof was purchased from a firm in Philadelphia, not by public tender.

Mr. DOMVILLE—What is the name of the firm?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I made a memorandum of it, but have mislaid it.

Mr. DOMVILLE—Suppose we let the question stand over.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Mr. MILLS asked whether any correspondence has taken place between the Government and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reference to the instructions given to the Governor General with a view to make the instructions consistent with the undoubted authority of the Parliament of Canada?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There was no correspondence that I can bring down for my hon. friend on that subject.

THE GEORGIAN BAY BRANCH RAILROAD.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) asked whether the contract made between Hon. A. B. Foster and the Government, dated 27th February, 1875, for the construction and working of the Georgian Bay branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been cancelled or modified; and if the said contract has been cancelled, whether it is the intention of the Government to take such steps as will secure the early construction of the said branch line of railway?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The contract with Mr. Foster has been cancelled. The Government will submit at a future stage of the business of the House what steps are proposed in the matter.

SUPERVISION OF BANKS.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce during the present Session any measure for the purpose of securing a more effectual supervision of banks, with a view to protecting the interests of depositors, shareholders and the public.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It is not the present intention of the Government to take any further steps in that direction.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) asked whether such progress has been made in the surveys of the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway in the Province of British Columbia as to enable the Government to decide upon a route between the Pacific Ocean and the Rocky Mountains, or to enter into contract for the construction of the whole or any portion of the same?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Such progress has been made as enables the Government approximately to decide upon the location, but the surveys are not completed yet, and we are not able precisely to decide upon the line through British Columbia. Until that is done

the Government will not be in a position to let out any tender on that section, and besides that, any tender that is let must be approved by the House.

BAIE VERTE CANAL.

Mr. MACMILLAN asked by whose authority the Report of the Commission on the Baie Verte Canal was published; at what printing establishment it was printed; whether the printing was done by tender or not; how many copies were printed and what was the total cost thereof; whether the account for the publishing thereof has been paid, and if so by whose authority?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think that is properly a motion that should be put on the paper for returns. It is quite impossible for me to answer the series of questions contained in one mass. I may say generally that the evidence was printed in order to enable the Commissioners to read it more clearly. I am not able to answer the other parts of the question.

GRAVING DOCK AT QUEBEC.

Mr. BLANCHET moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all reports by Engineers, reports from the Quebec Harbour Commission, documents, correspondence and Orders in Council relating to the selection of the site for the construction of a graving dock at the Port of Quebec. The hon. gentleman said this question was a very important one, and he wanted all information relating thereto brought down. It was the subject of legislation two years ago, and last year when the commission was appointed it caused a passage at arms between the Hon. Premier and the hon. member for Cumberland. The trade and shipping are taxed for the construction of the work, and the interests of trade and navigation depended a great deal upon the selection of the site. The engineers chosen by the late commissioners, Messrs. Kinipple and Morris, of Greenock, were eminent men with a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, and they reported in favour of the south side of the river, which they said presented most advantages both for cheapness in construction

and natural facilities. A great deal of capital had been made out of this question of the site. The Hon. President of the Council told the citizens, at the local elections last summer, that the election of Mr. Shehyn would contribute to the prosperity of the city in this respect. The election also of the member for Quebec Centre was brought about by promises that this work, as well as the fortifications and other improvements, should be undertaken and carried out. But there were many strange things in the world of politics. On this question the hon. member for Charlevoix and the President of the Council agreed together, and the member for Lévis and himself were also in unity thereon. The engineers referred to reported that the graving dock would cost £20,000 sterling less to construct at Indian Cove than at Diamond Harbour, and he hoped this House and the Government would be convinced that the south side was preferable for the undertaking. Besides, at that point an Allan Line steamer had been detained two weeks in April, and a great deal of expense had been incurred in repairing the *Napoleon III.*, which was damaged badly by the ice. The surveys of the mouth of the St. Charles River were not satisfactory. He hoped the Government would take the necessary steps for the appointment of the new Commissioners as soon as possible. The last Harbour Trust expired on the first of January, and the people of Quebec were anxiously awaiting their appointment. There might, however, be difficulties in the way of the Government in this particular. Some persons might be anxious to see certain gentlemen appointed, but the Government ought to settle the matter as early as possible. The Government had stated that no new surveys were to be made, but it was desirable that the information moved for should be furnished, so that members might know what progress had been made towards getting the graving dock. He trusted the Government would consult with the President of the Council on this matter, one on which that gentleman was well informed and held sound views. He also hoped his hon.

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friend from Lévis would give him a helping hand in inducing the Government to listen to these reasonable demands.

Mr. ROULEAU thought that the question should be treated without any display of favouritism to contending interests. The reports of the examining engineers had all been in favour of Point Lévis, where the dock could be built at the least cost by a considerable amount. He trusted that the Government would show their liberality in this respect by ceding the land required gratuitously; and he observed that the Point Lévis site had the additional advantage of being accessible later in the autumn and earlier in the spring than the other location. The Board of Trade had declared that this site was the best; and now that the North Shore Railway was to be built, and several other improvements to be made, particularly in favour of Quebec, he deemed it but just that Point Lévis should have some consideration and justice despite the powerful influence exercised by Quebec. He hoped that certain papers were in error in announcing that the dock would be located at Quebec; and also, like the hon. member for Bellechasse, he trusted that these announcements had only been published with the view of carrying elections.

Mr. FRECHETTE stated that when this delicate matter came before the House for the first time, he had thought proper to abstain from taking any part in the discussion, though the constituency he had the honour to represent was deeply interested in its fair settlement. In the general interests of the country and navigation, he had thought it bad policy to endeavour to embarrass the Government in this relation. He had full confidence in the Ministry, and he was certain that they would be inspired by a spirit of justice when they came to give their decision, so important to the country in general and to his district in particular. He did not believe that they would be more successful in their object if they abused the Ministers; conflicting interests were at stake, and if a decision had not yet been given, this was due to a certain extent to the action of those who never

failed to bring down every important question to the level of partizanship in order to make political capital out of it. For two years it had been so utilized by the Conservative press of Quebec; and if any credit could be given for unscrupulous and untiring appeals intended to arouse the prejudices of the masses, this honour should accorded to the Conservatives in this question, which served as a double weapon:— In Quebec they said, "Electors, your interests are being sacrificed; the Government have chosen the site for the graving dock at Point Lévis; what an abominable Administration this is." At Point Lévis they exclaimed, "Electors, what an abominable Government you have! The site of the dock has been selected at Quebec. Vote against the Ministers who have so shamefully sacrificed your interests." At Lévis Mr. Fréchette had been bribed by Mr. Cauchon, at Quebec Mr. Cauchon had been seduced by Messrs. Gilmour, Patton and others, and so on; and what was the result? The strongest and most extraordinary local feeling had been created, and instead of this important question being regarded from a national standpoint, it had become only an apple of discord and bone of contention between two different and neighbouring localities, the one having the advantage in point of number, and the other in point of position; and either will raise a clamour whatever be the course adopted by the Government. He regretted that it had been employed to serve political purposes, but did not doubt the sincerity in this relation of the hon. member for Bellechasse. Of what had they to complain so far? When the report was presented in favour of Lévis, the Government could do nothing less than suspend judgment, and send their own engineers to make a personal examination, of which the result was not yet known. Where, then, had negligence been exhibited; and where was the denial of justice? Of course the question was embarrassing to this, as it would be to any other Administration; but he, for his part, did not believe that any change of Government would advance the interests of Point Lévis one iota; and well-known scandals which concerned the late Administra-

tion were of such a nature as to make it unlikely that anyone should desire such a change. The points of issue were scientific, and should be left to the engineers who, he was glad to say, favoured Lévis and to the Harbour Commissioners. The facts of the case which were of public notoriety, had been submitted to the Ministers. The Prime Minister, about two years ago, in the course of an eloquent speech delivered at Quebec, had stated that the Government was strong enough to do justice to everybody, and he was confident that this was still the case. He paid no attention to the threats of those who must bear the greatest part of the responsibility for producing the present imbroglio, and he sincerely thanked the hon. member for Bellechasse for the interest he took in his late constituency, which alone of the Electoral Districts of the Dominion might be said to be represented, not only as to its majority, but also as to its minority.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN considered that his hon. friend from Bellechasse had rather pre-judged matters in promising that he and the Hon. President of the Council would agree with him regarding this question. He was bound to say that the conduct of the hon. member for Bellechasse in calling to his aid his late adversary excited the suspicion that his case was not very strong, although the latter had not proved a very powerful ally. The latter averred that the Ministry had been attacked unnecessarily touching this question, also that it had been a God send for the Conservative party; the hon. member should however have borne in mind the fact that it had been used on certain occasions at Lévis and in Quebec Centre, not by the Conservatives, but by the Liberals. When Mr. Shehyn was a candidate the President of the Council himself had held the construction of this dock out as an inducement in his friend's favour, and *L'Evènement* would surely not be repudiated by his hon. friend from Point Lévis or any hon. member on that side of the House.

Mr. FRECHETTE—Why don't you quote the articles of the *Canadien*.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN — I am sure it will afford great pleasure to my hon. friend to read those articles himself.

Mr. Shehyn, the local Liberal candidate, was reported as saying: "You will obtain in a few months the graving dock, that enterprise which will not only help the progress, but be the life of St. Rochs and St. Sauveur. That graving dock is the beginning of important and gigantic works which will be built on the St. Charles. I think I can rely on being a member of the Commission," &c. He had the promise, no doubt, of an appointment, and he believed he could exercise a great deal of influence in the location of the graving dock. The report proceeded to say:—"Mr. Cauchon was called, and spoke with great success of the candidature of Mr. Shehyn, of his magnificent position in business and connection with the North Shore Railway, which was to be constructed by the local Government. He also referred to the graving dock, the construction of which would throw \$1,200,000 in St. Rochs and St. Sauveur, to say nothing of the large amounts which would be expended in Quebec for harbour improvements. Do you understand the effect of this? It is life and immense property for the city." He (Mr. Langevin) could also quote from the *Journal de Quebec* extracts to the same effect. The papers that were favourable to the Hon. President of the Council spoke of the great advantage it would be to have him elected. Mayor Murphy published a letter in which he said, after an interview with the Premier about this graving dock, that he was in a position to say what would be done for the city. Thus it would be seen that the graving dock was kept before the electors of Quebec to secure their support for the President of the Council. The *Morning Chronicle*, which was a special organ of the hon. gentleman and took a deep interest in his return, had a long article on the 21st of December appealing to the electors to support him on account of the great works he could get for Quebec. It contended this was not a question of persons or politics; the citizens of Quebec might not like the hon. gentleman, might be displeased with his conduct, might not have

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confidence in him, but all that should be set aside, and he should be elected because of the patronage he could get for the city. It said:—"Let us take for instance the proposed graving dock, on the construction of which on this side of the river we all place so much stress. Is it at all likely we shall improve our chances of obtaining this great work by showing ingratitude to a man like Mr. Mackenzie, who has so frequently expressed his willingness to act for the benefit of Quebec? Is it not more human to expect that in such an event his decision would be favourable to the side which returns a professed and enthusiastic supporter. We believe so at least. Then, again, we have Lord Dufferin's proposed embellishments of the city, and new Castle of St. Louis on the Citadel which, if carried out, will not only lastingly improve Quebec beyond her hitherto wildest aspirations, but entail the expenditure of a large amount of money to the advantage of our population. Is it possible to conclude that the rejection of Mr. Cauchon and the election of Mr. Tarte would be calculated to propitiate the Federal Government and advance our interests in these particulars? For it must be remembered that more than three-quarters of the large sums necessary to carry out His Excellency's proposition must come from the Ottawa Treasury. We must not be understood to say that the realization of all these undertakings depend wholly on Mr. Cauchon; but we believe it will be generally admitted that it is much better to have a powerful friend at Court than none at all; while, on the other hand, Mr. Cauchon's defeat—which, however, we do not admit to be possible—could only indefinitely retard works pre-eminently needed at this moment by Quebec and its people." He (Mr. Langevin) could go on reading that article, but it would introduce side issues which he thought would be undesirable under the circumstances. The hon. member for Lévis had forgotten that instead of this being a God-send to the Conservatives it had really been used as an engine by the Liberals to carry their elections. It would be surprising if the electors of Centre and

East Quebec, who are principally labouring men, should be found to go against the advice of their newspapers.

There was a good deal to be said in favour of the south shore. Representing a constituency situated at a considerable distance from Quebec, he was in a better position to judge impartially of the merits of the two places than if he represented Dorchester. After the admirable manner in which the members for Lévis and Bellechasse had put their case, something should be said about the north shore claims. The people of Quebec were quite taken by surprise when they heard there was any of the graving dock being constructed on the South Shore. The impression had always prevailed in Quebec that it would be on the north shore, where there were two sites. Each of these two sites had its advocates, but it was generally conceded that the mouth of St. Charles River was preferable to Wolf's Cove. One of the Engineers who submitted plans to the Commissioner, gave five or six reasons why St. Charles River should be selected. The hon. member for Bellechasse had claimed as one of the advantages of the south shore site, that it was Government property. That same advantage applied to the St. Charles River, where it would be under the control of the Harbour Commissioners of Quebec. It is in the centre of the business part of Quebec, where it is convenient to the masses of the workmen. The graving dock would also be in immediate communication with the proposed terminus of the North Shore Railway, and the water is deep enough for the largest ships. He gave these reasons, not as his own, but as those of several engineers. There was another site at Champlain Ward of which he had less knowledge. There was a shoal there which could be utilized in the construction of the dock. He had been informed that the boring which was being done at the mouth of St. Charles River was progressing very slowly. He supposed the season had a good deal to do with that. If, however, it required a week to bore sixty feet, the summer would pass before it could be finished. He mentioned this to show the Premier how anxious, not only the

people of Quebec, but the surrounding country were to have this work commenced.

The dock could be built at a very much lower rate at this time than any other, on account of the cheapness of labour and material. He understood the new Commission was to be appointed, and they might call for tenders and have the work proceeded with during the summer. He urged the Government to increase the force engaged in testing this matter of the site.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said he was not present when the hon. member for Bellechasse alluded to his position in regard to this question. It was stated that he had been elected by a promise that the graving dock should be constructed. The hon. gentleman had said a great deal about him, but everybody engaged in politics must know that he had been in the House 32 years, and had gone through 14 elections without defeat, and there was not always a graving dock before the public. In 1872 he ran against the strongest man that could be found to oppose him, and he was also elected for Quebec, unanimously, in 1874, when the hon. member had to run away from that city. He had always been in favour of the graving dock, but he made no promise during the last election. Gentlemen opposed to him had tried to fix him on this question, and they endeavoured to induce him to sign a document written, he supposed, by the hon. member for Charlevoix, with that object.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN--Was it in my writing?

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON--It looked like his doing.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN--I did not write it.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON--The man who presented it must have consulted the hon. gentleman about it. He (Mr. Cauchon) refused to sign the document, and declined also to commit himself at any of some twenty meetings which had been held during the contest. He knew his position, and had no authority to make a promise about the work. He believed the River St. Charles was the proper place for the graving

dock. Three parties were interested in the work—the Government, which was bound by its position and law to see that things are well done; the Harbour Commission, and the Corporation of Quebec. Preliminary borings were going on, and every effort was being made to have the survey as complete as possible. That was the true position of affairs, and nobody could complain of being ill-treated. With regard to the attempts made to turn the electors against him, he would say that here and out of the Government he would do nothing which could be construed as an injustice towards any constituency. The statement that this question had to do with his election was incorrect. He had always occupied the same position with regard to it. He was returned unanimously at the last election, and he could promise them that he would be unanimously returned at any future election. A man who had been in Parliament thirty-two years, who had been opposed by the strongest men who could be brought out against him, who had been betrayed by his own friends, and still was successful, could accomplish a great deal.

Mr. CARON said although he did not agree with all that had fallen from the hon. member of Bellechasse and others, he fully concurred with them in the opinion that this question ought to be settled. In 1873 power was given to the Harbour Commissioners of Quebec to borrow money for the purpose of creating a fund which, with the money to be voted by the Parliament of Canada and the Imperial Government, would be used to defray the cost of this graving dock. In 1875 the legislation was altered so that the power to borrow money was transferred from the Commissioners to the Governor in Council and the money was not to be paid into the hands of the Commissioners until the plans had been approved by the Governor in Council, and the site had been selected. Ever since the question had been before the public it had been largely discussed; expensive explorations had been conducted by the most eminent engineers of England, and local gentleman had also been employed to decide this question of the site.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON.

Public opinion was divided as to where the dock should be placed. One party was in favour of Lévis, and there was a great deal to be said favourable to the site recommended by Messrs. Kinnipple & Morris. But from the nature of improvements going on and contemplated at River St. Charles, he thought that perhaps there was no room for the graving dock. Moreover, difficulties from an engineering standpoint were in the way of this site; it was stated it would cost more to construct the dock there than at other localities mentioned. After carefully reading the reports which had been made, he had come to the conclusion that Wolf's Cove was a most desirable location.

In the course of this debate, his hon. friend the member for Lévis seemed to discuss matters foreign to the question. That gentleman spoke of attacks on the Government and the benefits which the Conservative party had derived from this graving dock agitation. When his hon. friends were busy at the local elections, he had also to take his share of this, and he remembered that one political party made use of this question, which should be considered from a purely national standpoint, to serve their own purposes.

He remembered distinctly that the President of the Council took a very active part in connection with the election of Mr. Shehyn; and at one of the meetings it was stated in the presence of the President of the Council to the electors of St. Rochs, that if they would return Mr. Shehyn, a good Liberal who would be true to their interests, they might rest perfectly certain that the graving dock would be located in the River St. Charles. On the same day, and perhaps at the very same time his hon. friend from Lévis, while supporting the candidature of his friend in the county for the Local House, Mr. Paquette, told the electors that if they desired to have the dock on their side of the river they must elect this gentleman. He was rather surprised to hear the President of the Council speak of his great successes in his political contests during the past twenty-five years. The hon. gentleman might surely have avoided mention of his last two elections, for in 1872 he came out as a Conservative; and his hon. friend

might also remember — though, of course, he would be very sorry to make him personally responsible for it—that during this contest, never were such violence and corruption witnessed as were used on the hon. gentleman's behalf; and yet his hon. friend was proud of this among his other successes.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That was in the Conservative interest.

Mr. CARON—It was altogether in the Conservative interest, on the part of a gentleman who had left the ranks of the Conservative party, and who was to-day President of the Council in a Liberal Government.

The hon. gentleman should also have remembered his last election as a Minister of the Crown. That he would accept such a position had been rumoured for some time. Many were incredulous on this point; others, who were not altogether the hon. gentleman's friends, hoped that it would be the fact, confident that he would do more harm to his new than to his old political allies. At this time, the construction of the graving dock was a matter of considerable importance, and the *Quebec Chronicle* explained how it came to pass that it supported the President of the Council, in the following language:—

“As we take it, the question which presents itself for Quebec in this election is not one of party by any means, although stump orators and partizan writers may seek to place it on that narrow ground. The question is, which of the two candidates is likely to exercise the greatest influence just now for the advantage of Quebec? There can possibly be no hesitation in pointing to Mr. Cauchon as the one who, by his present high position and connections, is best fitted in every way to do so. This language may seem strange on our part, but where the real interests of the city are concerned we have never yet hesitated to sink our personal prejudices and dislikes in order to advocate the cause best calculated to promote the welfare and prosperity of the people. We have never had an overweening affection for the new President of the Council; we have fought him bitterly more than once, always speaking our mind of him and his conduct very plainly indeed, but this has never prevented us from recognizing the marked ability and great energy of the man, nor does it now bind us to the fact that much of the future destiny of Quebec depends upon the present endorsement by the electors of the Centre Division of his acceptance of office in the Mackenzie Administration. The moment

is a critical one for the ancient capital, and the people in the Centre possess interests identical with those of the remainder of the city. We must all hang or fall together, and it can only be by accepting Mr. Cauchon, with all his faults, and returning a friend and supporter of the Government, and not a foe, that Quebec may expect the Administrative favours it so much needs, and realize the long-cherished hope it entertains. It is only reasonable, if we wish the Government to help us, that we should at least meet them half way, for it must not be put out of sight that great public works and improvements are contemplated in this city and neighbourhood, in regard to which the Government has much to say. Let us take, for instance, the proposed graving dock, on the construction of which, on this side of the river, we all place so much stress.”

Probably his hon. friend from Lévis had this article in his mind when he stated that this question had served as a political engine. He, for his part, considered this matter as one of vital importance not only to Quebec—and he could not look upon it from a strictly Provincial point of view—but to the whole Dominion, in connection with its commercial interests. He, moreover, considered that the dock should be built by the Canadian and Imperial Governments. We enjoyed commercial advantages of which we should be proud, being the fourth or fifth naval power in the world, as far as our merchant navy was concerned, and, in every other country, these docks were considered indispensable with respect to the commercial prosperity of the nation. Across the line they numbered seven. There was one each in the Brooklyn, Boston, Norfolk, Pensacola, and San Francisco Navy Yards; eighteen at Liverpool, six at Birkenhead, one at Sebastopol; one at Bermuda, one in Australia and one in Vancouver. It might be recollected that three or four years ago (13th of June, 1872), a large steamer, the *France*, chartered by the Allan Line, while leaving harbour, ran ashore; and it was necessary to raise and temporarily repair her in order that she might be sent to England. These repairs cost an enormous sum—nearly \$40,000. She sailed for Quebec on the 5th of the following September, and the repairs made on the other side of the water also necessitated heavy expenditure, without taking into consideration the cargo destroyed. It accordingly seemed to him that the time had come

when a site for a graving dock should be selected, and for them to know whether it was the intention to build such a dock at all, and if so, the place where, and time when. The interests of the country required that immediate steps in this connection should be taken by the Government, and he hoped that the question would not be left undecided until the occasion of the next elections. The choice of the site should be submitted to the Engineers. He did not possess scientific knowledge, but he was under the impression that if the River St. Charles did not furnish a suitable location, such could be found at Wolfe's Cove, where the dock could be built with little, if any, more expense than at Point Lévis.

From an engineering point of view it was fully equal to the site at Point Lévis, and far superior from a commercial point of view. He hoped it would not be held over until next general election, so as to be again used as a political engine. He knew that if the President of the Council lost this useful help he would find, when required, some other means of helping his friends. It reminded him of a page of our political history. It was when the seat of Government had not yet become permanent. The Government went, at that period, from Quebec to Montreal, and from Kingston to Toronto. When an important vote presented itself the gentlemen in power threatened their supporters, representing these different districts, that unless they voted as required they would lose the permanent seat of Government. Thus this question of the graving dock was utilized, as he stated above. When an election occurred in Lévis, electors were told: "Vote for the Government candidate, and he will secure the graving dock for Lévis." If the battle raged in Quebec, the independent electors were told: "Elect the friend of the Government and the dock will certainly be secured for Quebec." We hoped this would cease, and the graving dock question settled once and for all.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE remarked that he had listened with a good deal of interest to the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite, and of his hon. friend from Lévis; and in the first place, he could not help observing how

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impossible it seemed for the former to speak, even of a business matter, without introducing political considerations; but they had been unable to show that the Government had used political influence in connection with this or any other work. Still the hon. member for Bellechasse had not hesitated to say that this was the motive which the Administration had in view. He did not desire to convince the hon. member of the contrary, for he knew that this could not be done; the hon. gentleman had been a very distinguished member of the opposite party, and he dared say, felt bound—

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Pardon me I did not say that the Government had used the Quebec graving dock question as a political engine; but that the President of the Council had raised expectations in the minds of the electors in this connection.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE accepted the hon. gentleman's correction; the hon. member from Bellechasse, he dared say, had felt bound to show his new-found friends the extent of his enthusiasm in their behalf. His hon. friend was mistaken when he said that the President of the Council had exercised any influence whatever in this relation; he failed to establish in any manner that the question was used with reference to late elections, while he must have known that the entire expenditure on the fortifications had been very trifling.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Excuse me again. I do not like to be misrepresented or misunderstood. I did not speak of money laid out on the fortifications which was voted either at the last or the preceding Parliament; I referred to improvements proposed by the President of the Council, mentioned in some newspapers, and expected to be made by the people of Quebec.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—With this matter the Government has had nothing as yet to do; and whatever might be done, would of course be ordered with the knowledge and consent of the House. He would merely say that the works on the fortification had been undertaken purely in the public interest, irrespective of any election cries whatever. He was glad to observe that the

hon. member for Quebec County had proclaimed himself so entirely free from improper influences in connection with elections, for undoubtedly the contests in Quebec County in 1872 and 1874 had been extremely pure; and consequently the fact that his hon. friend so readily suspected other people of improper motives was no matter for surprise. His hon. friend from Charlevoix had also had his little fling in the political direction; and he was afraid that there were grounds for the belief that it would gratify his hon. friend very much if the site was chosen at any other place than Quebec.

The Government from the very first, however, had taken the greatest possible pains to obtain accurate information concerning the various sites proposed; he had not been satisfied with this, and he had given his personal attention to the matter. He had weighed the representations of the Engineers, Harbour Commissioners and other gentlemen interested, altogether apart from local motives. The engineers had recommended Point Lévis as more suitable, in many respects, than the River St. Charles; and they had also pointed out that the commercial advantages were undoubtedly in favour of the latter location, although physical difficulties were in the way. They had to consider the amount of ice which would be encountered, and many things besides the question of mere cheapness of construction. The hon. member for Quebec County was quite right in his statement that the whole country was interested in this matter, and the Harbour Commissioners were very properly to be consulted in this regard. The Government would, in any event, not be influenced by political considerations; having the general interest of the country solely in view, they could not, of course, please both sides, but as soon as possible they would obtain all the information which the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department could supply, and this would be done before they could think of committing themselves to a formal opinion touching this important matter.

By these considerations the Government must be guided, and he could only assure the House no time would be lost. They hoped the examination would be

completed in time to take advantage of the earlier part of this season in commencing a work of so much importance to the interests of the whole country. In connection with such matters it seemed very undesirable to be bringing up mere political speeches, which were well enough, perhaps, delivered at an election, but totally unsuited to business matters in the House.

Mr. MASSON agreed with the Hon. Premier in his remarks relative to the location of the graving dock, but he was unwise in taunting the Opposition with discussing this question from a political point of view. That had been done on this occasion by the hon. member for Lévis who had, in the most unjustifiable manner, dragged old feuds and scandals to light as if there were no scandals at the present day. The hon. member was indiscreet in his zeal. He said the Government were greatly embarrassed, not so much by the reports of the engineers, as from the fact that they had rights and advantages on the side of Lévis, but numbers on the side of Quebec.

Mr. FRECHETTE—I did not say so.

Mr. MASSON—Perhaps the hon. member did not mean to say so.

Mr. FRECHETTE—The hon. gentleman never heard me say so.

Mr. MASSON said he had noted the words, but must have done so incorrectly. The hon. member had said it was a God-send to the Conservatives, but proof had been furnished to show that it had been used by the Liberals. He (Mr. Masson) advised the hon. gentleman to use his influence with the Government to have this settled immediately, and he might be assured the Conservatives would be very glad to have this question removed from the arena of political discussion.

Since the opening of Parliament, proof had been furnished of a fact that was well known to the country—that the great party of purity had at last consented to adopt such means to carry elections as they had always been disposed to believe only poor Conservatives who were mortals and not angels, resorted to. Another feather had fallen from the cap of the Liberal party.

They were more familiar with political corruption than the Conservatives. They did not go the elector and offer him a pecuniary advantage for his vote, but to a whole constituency and say, "If you elect so and so, you shall have a graving dock."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Who said that?

Mr. MASSON—My hon. friend from Charlevoix has read the utterances of the Ministerial press to that effect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—He read from the *Morning Chronicle*, which was never known to support the Liberal party.

Mr. MASSON said *L'Evenement* had also been quoted, and the Premier would hardly repudiate it. The President of the Council had professed to be favourable to giving a graving dock to Quebec, and when asked to sign a statement to that effect, refused to do so on the ground it would compromise his election. When the hon. gentleman, while a member of the Dominion Government, was in the lobbies of the Local Legislature trying to influence members against the Local Government—

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—That is mere rumour manufactured by the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MASSON asked if it was not true that the hon. gentleman had gone into the lobbies of the Local Legislature for the purpose of using this graving dock question to weaken the Local Government.

Mr. SPEAKER called the hon. gentleman to order.

Mr. FRECHETTE—I ask the hon. member for Terrebonne if the graving dock should be at Lévis or Quebec.

Mr. MASSON—I am in favor of having the graving dock wherever the Minister of Public Works will place it after he receives the best information he can obtain on the subject.

Mr. FRECHETTE—We are all of the same opinion.

Mr. MASSON said there was this difference, the Conservatives had not made political capital out of it. Conclusive proof had been furnished that

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this question had been used by the Ministerial party to aid them in their elections.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he presumed the object of this motion was to bring up this discussion rather than to get the papers, some of which could not be furnished. He would bring all he could, however.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said it was evident from the remarks of the Premier that the opinion of the Government and of every man of business in this country, would be in favour of the south shore. He had heard nothing in this debate to convince him to the contrary. He was sorry the Premier had accused him of making political capital of this question. The member for Lévis was the first to refer to the political aspect of the matter. When legislation first took place with regard to this graving dock, two Sessions ago, the present Government was in power, so that it was incorrect to say that it had been a god-send to the Conservatives. He (Mr. Blanchet) had brought this matter before the House as a question of public importance from a business point of view; and he was very glad the Premier had determined to decide upon the site irrespective of party or locality, basing his decision on the engineer's report to be submitted to him after thorough and proper surveys.

The motion was carried.

TRURO AND PICTOU RAILROAD.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for correspondence with the Local Government of Nova Scotia respecting the contemplated transfer of the Branth Line of Railway between Truro and Pictou to aid in the extension of the Railway system east from the latter terminus.

He was about to address the House when six o'clock was called.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. MACKAY said that the subject of his motion was of such importance to the constituency he represented that he felt it incumbent on him to make some remarks in connection therewith. It

would not be amiss for him to state that he represented the most eastern constituency in Canada, and if there was any dependance to be placed upon the present state of affairs in Cape Breton, and upon the statements of scientific men in regard to the great mineral wealth of that island, there must be a great future before it. They were a long distance from the capital, and had no railway communication with the rest of the Dominion and their wants and interests had been greatly neglected. When it was taken into consideration that the railways in Nova Scotia were built almost entirely out of its public funds, and that the people of Cape Breton contributed very largely towards their construction, and that during the agitation for these lines they were given to understand that the railway system would be increased as the country developed and be extended to that Island; he contended they had certain rights and equities to which this Government, to a certain extent, had fallen heir. If Nova Scotia had not gone into Confederation the railroads would have been extended further east and gone through Cape Breton, and influence would have been brought to bear to carry out the understanding which existed when the construction of the lines was first commenced in the Province. This matter had been brought before Parliament on one or two occasions, and had been considered of such importance that two Committees had been appointed indirectly in connection with it for the purpose of considering the advisability of constructing a line of railway east from New Glasgow to Louisbourg. This question presented itself before the House and country in two lights—it might be regarded as a matter of local importance, and also as a matter of national importance in as much as they claimed to have within their borders the shortest route to Asia and Europe. He would not then address himself to the former, but to what he deemed the national aspect of the question. By looking at the map it would be seen that the eastern portion of the Dominion goes several hundred miles further into the ocean than the United States. He would refer to two or three sections of the report, presented

May 22, 1874. In that document the Committee, of which he was a member, state:

"1st. That there are but three harbors possessing the qualities necessary to commend them to the attention of your Honorable House, viz., Halifax, Louisburg and Paspébiac.

"2nd. That, from the evidence given before your Committee, it has been shown that Louisburg is a first-class harbor, having the geographical advantage of being the nearest available harbor of this Dominion to Europe.

"It is 230 miles nearer to Europe than Paspébiac, and 196 miles nearer to Europe than Halifax, by the direct route.

"It should also be observed that the approaches to Louisburg are very easy, and that the anchorage is good on the north-east portion of the harbor, which is entirely sheltered from winds, and that the harbor is capable of floating vessels of any size.

"Your Committee believe that the ultimate selection between Louisburg on the one hand and some port on the line of the Intercolonial Railroad, in the vicinity of Shippegan or Paspébiac on the other; but from the evidence given before your Committee, they cannot report favorably upon the harbor of Shippegan.

* * * * *

"On the other hand, Louisburg has the advantage of having a shoal or rock of small extent, it is true, inside the harbour, called the Egg Rock, which may be removed by excavation at very little cost, and which, in its present state, may be avoided by following the directions issued by the Admiralty.

"Therefore, as between Louisburg and Shippegan, your Committee have no hesitation in strongly recommending the former, for the reasons above stated, and which are fully borne out by the evidence given your Committee.

* * * * *

"Your Committee recommend that a survey be made between Louisburg and some point on the Intercolonial Railway to ascertain the practicability of building a railway between the most suitable point of said railroad and the harbour of Louisburg; at the same time that a proper survey be made, and report be given upon the best mode to be adopted for crossing the Gut of Canso."

The Committee also reported favourably upon having the terminus at New Glasgow extended to Louisburg, the former being a port closed during three or four months during the winter season. He would also draw the attention of the House to the report of the Committee, of which the hon. Minister of Finance was chairman. In the third section of that report, it is stated:—

"That by selecting some suitable point within the territory of the Dominion, and using vessels specially constructed for the purpose,

it would be quite practicable to gain from two to three days each way in the passage from London to New York, and even more in the journey to other points in the interior of Canada and the United States.

"As respects the last point of departure within the Dominion the Committee are not yet in a position to report authoritatively. They may state, however, that setting aside, for the time being, the route across Newfoundland itself, they entertain little doubt that the selection will ultimately lie between Louisburg on the one hand and some port on the line of the Intercolonial Railroad, in the vicinity of Shippegan or Chatham on the other.

"The Committee, without desiring, as yet, to express any positive opinion on either of these routes, would briefly observe with respect to them, that while both possess the advantage of being several hundred miles nearer to Europe than any other point available, Shippegan can only be made use of for a period of six or seven months in the year, and Louisburg will require the construction of 150 to 160 miles of additional railroad to bring it into connection with the existing railway system, and would even then be several hundred miles farther off than Shippegan from the chief Canadian and western cities, even after allowing for the fact that Louisburg is from 60 to 100 miles nearer to Europe by sea."

He thought these extracts would show the House that the terminus of their railroad system was not at its proper place, and that it was necessary to extend it to the most eastern portion of Nova Scotia. By rail we could travel without difficulty at 30 miles an hour, while 12 or 14 miles was the greatest speed by sea; consequently, there would be a considerable gain in communication between Canada and the Mother Country by running the line as far east as possible. The time now consumed between New York and London was, on an average, 10 days and 20 hours. The distance between New York and Louisburg is 1,111 miles, at the rate of 30 miles an hour would make 37 hours; and the distance between Louisburg and Liverpool is 2,255, which at 14 miles an hour would make 161 hours. The additional time between Liverpool and London is five hours, which in all would make 203 hours from Louisburg, giving a saving of time over New York route of 2 days 9 hours, or a passage of 8 days and 11 hours. The distance from Montreal to Louisburg is 950 miles; from Louisburg to Liverpool, 2,255; making an aggregate of 3,205. At 30 miles an hour 950 would be traversed in 31

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hours, which added to the time between Louisburg and Liverpool by boat, would make the journey to London only 8 days; whereas by the existing route it now takes ten days and a half to perform.

The matter was to be looked at from another point of view. There was no doubt whatever that the mails of the United States would be sent by this route, which would largely help maintain the line. It is also considered that Newfoundland will enter Confederation before long. When that took place one of the stipulations would be for an extension of the railway as far as Louisburg.

The people of Cape Breton did not in any way object to paying their proportion of the taxes, or to the expenditure of large sums in the construction of canals in other portions of the country, but they thought that they were entitled to some consideration, and that whilst some five millions were being expended on canals in Ontario, something should be done to give them railway connection with the rest of the Dominion. It had been shown conclusively, that as a matter of national policy, our railway system should be extended eastward, as well as westward. He took it that they would not knock vainly at the doors of this House, and that their interests would be given due consideration. The proper terminus for the railway was near the harbour of Louisburg, certainly one of the finest in the world, where coals could be procured cheaper than in any other port of the Dominion, an important advantage. Most persons undoubtedly preferred land travel, and this route would ensure the shortest ocean voyage to Europe. No matter had agitated to a greater degree the public mind in Cape Breton than this; they claimed railway privileges and considered that they should be taken under favourable consideration by the Government, fully assured that the work would not only be of great advantage to the Island but to the Dominion, Louisburg being certainly the terminus provided by nature for the trans-continental system of railways.

Mr. FLYNN (Richmond, N.S.) stated that the work in question was of very great importance to the people of Nova

Scotia, and particularly to the constituency his hon. friend from Cape Breton (Mr. MacKay) represented, and next in, if not of equal importance to the district he had the honor of representing. He had thought that the line of argument of his hon. friend, who made the motion, would have been different and to his mind more pertinent. A good deal of discussion relative to railway extension east of New Glasgow had taken place both in this Parliament and in Nova Scotia during the last three or four years. In 1872 the Local Government of Nova Scotia, at the solicitation of their friends, had made an effort to secure railway extension from New Glasgow to Louisburg, offering to ascertain chartered company, or to any other company that choose to accept, 150,000 acres of crown land, and a subsidy equal to one-half the royalty on coal for forty years; this royalty is ten cents per ton. This was at the time considered a large subsidy, as our coal exports must increase very much before many years elapse; nevertheless, no company had been found willing to undertake the work. In 1874 the Nova Scotia Government made another effort, determined to secure the building of a road, if not to Louisburg, as far as the Strait of Canso, about one-half of the distance. It was considered, that if control could be obtained of the portion of the Intercolonial road from Truro to Pictou, with a subsidy from the Local Government in addition, the enterprise could be made successful as far as the Strait of Canso, as no company could be found willing to undertake to carry it to Louisburg for the amount offered. When they came to the House in 1874, they found the Government willing to give the Pictou and Truro branch to a company who would extend the road to the Strait of Canso, but objection was taken on the part of some members from Cape Breton; and an agent or attorney of the New Glasgow Company having waited upon the Administration, and stated, that if a delay of a few months was given they would be able to construct a railway from New Glasgow to Louisburg. The request was naturally granted, six months passed—no company was

organized for the purpose, and nothing was done. During the last Session of the Nova Scotian Legislature, an offer was made to it to the effect that if the grant of Crown Lands previously proffered were doubled, with \$5,000 a mile additional, a company would undertake to extend the road from New Glasgow to Louisburg. This was ceded; but the result was as on former occasions. All that his hon. friend had said in reference to the magnificent harbour of Louisburg he fully endorsed, and as it was the nearest point to Europe he believed it was destined, ere many years were passed, to be the Eastern terminus of our inter-oceanic railway. No one could be more anxious to see this extension made to Louisburg than himself, as the line would run through his county from end to end; but he had come to the conclusion that at present it was not practicable. Blame had been attached to the Local Government, but the fault was not theirs. He believed that the members from Nova Scotia were unanimous in the opinion, that the portion of the road mentioned should be given to some company unconditionally, in order to secure the construction of a railway from New Glasgow to the Strait of Canso.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) entirely approved of what had been said by his hon. friend as to the importance of making the terminus of the Intercolonial Railway at Louisburg. Public opinion was very strong in the Island of Cape Breton on the question of railway extension to Louisburg, and particularly in the county he had the honor to represent. It had been there understood that it was the intention of the Dominion Government to subsidize the continuation of the Intercolonial Railway to that place, by means of the branch from Truro to Pictou; and he might say, that the Premier had never taken so popular a position as this in connection with that section of the country in Cape Breton. They had also been informed that very strong pressure had been brought to bear on the Administration to induce them to give the branch in question merely for such extension as far as the Strait of Canso; but this, he considered, would be an act of in-

justice to Cape Breton generally, and to his county particularly, because it would be of very little advantage to the people in that quarter. The travelling public on the Island might thereby gain something, but this would be all. He did not think that any undertaking would be of more importance to the whole Dominion than running of a railway to Louisburg; and he believed that the entire country had taken this position. The leading public men as well as the press had taken this view. Such was the ground assumed by the St. Johns (N. B.) *Telegraph*, and he thought also by the *Toronto Mail* and *Globe*, as well as by the press of British Columbia. Last year also, during a discussion relating to the Pacific Railway, the hon. member for Cumberland stated that he hoped, at no distant day, to see a road built from the Pacific to Louisburg. Under these circumstances the undertaking should be considered as a Dominion work; and that he thought a cash subsidy from the Dominion in addition to the allotment of the Truro and Pictou branch, would secure the extension of the line for the entire distance. He remembered that when the item of the Baie Verte Canal was under consideration last year, the Minister of Justice told the House, that inasmuch as this met with strong opposition, he would have no objection if there was any other work of equal national importance in the Maritime Provinces to expend the amount in question on it; and this project he, for his part, considered of greater national importance. He hoped the Hon. Minister of Justice would now use his great influence to carry out what he then suggested.

Mr. McISAAC, as the representative of one of the counties interested, said he fully endorsed the remarks made by the hon. member for Cape Breton, who had just spoken, and his hon. friend from Richmond, regarding the importance of the work. During the first year of the Union the railway was extended to New Glasgow, but since that time nothing had been done. Then they had control in Nova Scotia of their tariff, which was law; they were not troubled by Protectionists or anything of that kind, and could do as

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they liked in this connection. As soon as Confederation had been accomplished, their tariff was increased, and not one mile of railway had been since built eastward.

In the present financial position of Nova Scotia, it was impossible for the Province to build the road. Two years ago this House came to their assistance and passed a resolution authorizing the transfer of the Truro branch to a company on certain conditions. On the strength of that resolution the Local Legislature granted subsidies. The people of Eastern Nova Scotia were desirous of having the road extended to Louisburg; but failing to get that, they would be satisfied with the 80 miles to the Straits of Canso. To the great surprise of the Local Government, the people of Nova Scotia and the company which was prepared to undertake this work, when they asked for the transfer of the road, they were told it would not be granted unless the extension was pushed on to Louisburg. The result was that the project was abandoned for the time. He did not mean to say this Government had acted in that way from any desire to delay or defeat the work. They had no doubt been led to suppose, by a few gentlemen in this House from Eastern Nova Scotia, that a company could be found which would extend the railway to Louisburg, and the extension to that point would fully compensate for the time lost. The company on which this Government relied had been tried and the result was failure. Important as this work of extension to the Atlantic was, unless this Government would undertake it, it could not be accomplished by the Local Government. They could build it to the Strait of Canso, I believe with the aid of Truro branch, but no further. Even the extension that far would be of extreme value to eastern Nova Scotia, making the Strait no more than a temporary terminus. Efforts would be made in time, and no doubt with success, to extend it to Louisburg, or some point on the Atlantic. If this Government were not disposed to undertake the whole work, they should give the branch unconditionally, otherwise the work would be delayed and defeated as it had been in the past.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness) was very happy that this question had come up for the consideration of the House. He could not but admire the manner in which the hon. members for Cape Breton had advocated the extension to Louisburg on the ground of its being a national work. If it was, he hoped they would not be left alone in advocating it, but there was not now the slightest prospect of getting the line extended so far. Whatever chance there was, some years ago it had evaporated. The question was now whether they would have a road to the Straits of Canso, half the distance, or none at all. If the extension to Louisburg was all that was claimed for it, the building of half the line would be a great step towards its completion. There was no other part of Canada, except British Columbia, which was so in need of railroad communication as Nova Scotia. Cape Breton with a population of over 80,000 had not a mile of railroad, while Prince Edward Island, rich in agriculture, but in nothing else, had its railroad, though not so large as Cape Breton and not much larger than the county he represented. He hoped something practical would be done this Session, and that the Government would without delay ask this House to transfer the branch to any company that would extend the road to the Straits of Canso. This was all that could be expected in the meantime, but it was perfectly practicable. The road was 64 miles in length, and he presumed did not more than pay working expenses. If transferred as required, it would assist in developing Eastern Nova Scotia, and would benefit the country to a much greater extent than it did at present.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) did not approve of granting this transfer unconditionally. He thought it would be very unwise if the Government should come to the conclusion that the road could not be built to Louisburg. He should, in case of transferring the road, attach certain conditions giving running powers to other companies which might be decided upon, in case of disagreement, by arbitration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there was no objection to the motion, al-

though there was very little correspondence on the subject. The House would recollect the Government obtained authority to alienate that portion of the Government railway between Truro and Pictou for the purpose of promoting the extension toward the Strait of Canso, or as far eastward as possible. At that time some English capitalists interested in Cape Breton mines and projected railways were sanguine that the aid they might obtain in this way would enable them to reach Louisburg, and of course the Government were bound to give every reasonable facility to accomplish this purpose. The Order in Council was drawn up with a view to meeting the probability thus held out. It was subsequently ascertained they were unable to accomplish anything in that direction. At the present moment there was no company that he was aware of likely to undertake the construction of this railroad. It rested with the Government and the people of Nova Scotia to a great extent to say what course should be adopted. His opinion was that it would be better to reach the Straits of Canso as soon as possible, because if that was once reached means would be found from local resources, and aid by persons interested in mining and other projects for the development of the country, to extend it further east. There was no doubt if a good line to that part of the country was established, a steamship line would sooner or later be organized, crossing the narrowest part of the Atlantic, and carrying mails and passengers of light weight—steamers of comparatively light draft, which could make much more rapid progress than was at present attained. It was evident to any one who studied the map that this must ultimately be the short route to Europe, and would be used, perhaps, within a very few years. But he could not hold out any promise that the Dominion Government would undertake the construction of any other railway than those now in hand. The correspondence when brought down would show that the Government had done all in their power with reference to the matter.

Mr. PALMER said if the road was extended to Louisburg, it would be of great benefit to the shipping interests of the Maritime Provinces, and particularly of St. John. Since the introduction of the telegraph, ships coming from Europe have invariably called at the Island of Cape Breton. He was sorry to find that with a subsidy to the extent of the value of the Branch Line, which cost the Local Government some \$3,000,000, and with the assistance Nova Scotia could give, a company would not be able to build this road. He was still of opinion that the reason for this was that Canadian railway stocks were at no value in the English and European markets. In the course of a few years this would probably be rectified, but in the meantime he had a great objection to putting a link of the road into possession of a corporation that would not run it to Louisburg. There was great difficulty and extra cost in transporting over lines run by different companies, and he trusted that fact would be borne in mind in connection with his proposed work. If at a time like this no company could be induced to go into the speculation, he thought something would be gained by waiting a year, and Government should maintain the position of retaining the property until the whole line was provided for. It would be found, he thought, after getting the line to Louisburg, that the Baie Verte Canal was an absolute necessity, and that the road would be of little use without it. Getting the line to Canso Straits would be of little or no use, unless it were to give the people strong cause to press its further extension to Louisburg. In view of this fact, it would be cheaper to construct the line to Louisburg at once.

The motion was carried.

OBSTRUCTION IN THE NIAGARA RIVER.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of any correspondence which may have taken place between the Government of Canada through the British Minister at Washington and the United States Government, relating to the obstruction of the navigation of Niagara River by the

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

erection of an Inlet Pier in mid channel of said River for the Buffalo City Water Works, thereby causing a dangerous obstruction to the passage of vessels and rafts of timber.

The hon. gentleman said where Niagara issued from Lake Erie the current was a very rapid one, varying from seven to twelve miles an hour according to the direction of the wind. The International Bridge has been thrown across the river at a distance of about two miles from the lake, and this was found to be a very serious obstruction to navigation upon the stream. After the completion of that bridge the corporation of the city of Buffalo undertook to tunnel under the Niagara and build a crib on the mid current of the stream as an inter-bar for their tunnel, to supply their water-works. This crib was removed upon representations made, he presumed, by this Government in 1873; but in the removal of the crib a portion of the stone work was left in the bottom of the channel, and it now forms a dangerous reef. After the removal of the first crib the corporation commenced the building of another, which was carried away by the current. They then placed a third crib in the stream about a hundred feet nearer to the Canadian shore, and in a direct line with the draw of the International Bridge. This creates a difficulty for vessels passing down the river to the right side of it. It is almost impossible for rafts to do it; in one instance a raft of three million feet of timber in attempting to weather this bar had a large portion carried directly over it and wrecked. The International Bridge was choked with lumber for several hours, and the damages to the owner of the raft were several thousand dollars. This is only one instance, but there were several others of the kind, and it was a matter of considerable importance to Canadian lumbermen. The port of Tonawanda, ten miles below Buffalo, was the great *entrepot* of the lumber trade. Last year the commerce of that port amounted to \$3,500,000, confined chiefly to timber and lumber, 200 millions feet being transhipped through. It was a matter of great importance that the navigation of the river should not be impeded by

obstructions of this kind, and he called the attention of the Government to the subject, and the important interests it involved.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My impression is, there was no reason for any correspondence about this matter. We were not aware of the difficulty until this motion was placed on the notice paper, but the Government will of course direct enquiries to be made, and take such action as the circumstances of the case may require.

The motion was carried.

RELIEF OF MANITOBA SETTLERS.

Mr. POPE moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all Orders in Council, letters and telegrams between the Dominion Government and the Government of Manitoba, or any officer or other person, respecting the relief to be given to settlers and others in Manitoba, shewing the amount appropriated, the parties to whom it is to be given, and the conditions upon which it is given.

He said he held the Government strictly responsible for any money that might be appropriated without the consent of this House. This grant might have been very necessary, and might possibly be all right, but the House should know the conditions upon which it was appropriated, whether it was a loan or whether it was given to these people. If it was a loan, what security Government have for it, and the reasons which induced them to make the appropriation. It was rumored that \$60,000 was appropriated without any vote or consent of the House, and the House should be informed as to the conditions and parties for whom it was appropriated.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE observed, that he had no objection to the motion; nor did he see any reason why he should not at once state that the circumstances in which this remote Province was placed were entirely different from those of any other portion of the Dominion. The population, which was comparatively small, had been visited by a plague of locusts, and many, who had promising crops early in the season, found them-

selves entirely deprived of them; in consequence, the Government were obliged to take such steps as seemed absolutely necessary, in order to prevent a still greater calamity—loss of life—and enable the sufferers to have at least seed for the coming season. They, therefore, felt themselves justified in taking \$60,000 of the public money, afterwards accounting to Parliament for it, and asking for an indemnity. They had requested the Lieutenant Governor to act for them with regard to the organization of a committee, composed of representatives of the various classes interested to arrange the disposition of the seed grain and flour sent; and they had reason to believe that this duty, which was not yet completed, had so far been thoroughly done. It was quite impossible to give the returns asked for up to the present time; but they would supply all possible information, all the correspondence, and any other explanations that might be deemed necessary, when the papers came down. The hon. member would admit, he was quite sure, that they must deal exceptionally with such a population, to which access was difficult in winter. Had they failed to act as they had done, he felt that they would not have done their duty; and he did not doubt that the House would justify them. The committee were instructed to take ample security from settlers relieved, and while this in some instances might not be of the best character, they had reason to expect that the great portion at least of the money spent would be returned. They would soon probably learn that they had saved these people from a very great calamity, and had taken steps which would ensure the continued settlement of the country. So far as they had been able to ascertain from naturalists acquainted with the habits of the locust, it would in all probability not revisit that country for some years.

Mr. SCHULTZ said he was glad to be able to agree with the Premier in the action which the Government had taken. He felt that they deserved credit for the promptness with which that action was taken. As he understood it, the approximation was made

in accordance with the recommendation of the Hon. Minister of Agriculture after the visit of that gentleman to the Province. He felt quite sure that the Minister during his visit could have heard no advice from anyone in Manitoba, except that the grant was necessary. He (Mr. Schultz) regretted that the relief afforded had not been afforded to the extent which the Government intended, and he begged to read from a late editorial in the *Manitoba Free Press* in regard to this matter :

"Had the \$60,000 asked of, and we believe appropriated by, the Dominion Government to relieve the Province in the disaster which had overtaken it, been judiciously expended and handled, all would have been well, as that amount would have been purchased, and delivered, an ample supply of seed to insure the sowing of all the land ready for crop, and provisions to carry the destitute through the winter. But it was not well managed, consequently we have but a half—perhaps even less—of both seed and provisions, than under other conditions we might have had with the same expenditure. This circumstance increases the ultimate cost of the supplies to the settlers by a hundred per cent; and, worse than that, if an additional loan be not made by the Dominion Government, a large area of land ready for crop is bound to go unown this year for the want of seed; and we are not sure but that actual suffering may be endured by our settlers for the want of food before winter is over."

From this it will be seen that only half the relief intended was likely to be afforded, and he (Mr. Schultz) earnestly hoped that the Government would see fit to increase the amount. Meantime, he was glad to hear from the Premier that the Government had arranged for the gratuitous distribution of the relief, because it was currently reported in the Province that a certain gentleman, through some local influence, had been pitchforked into the Secretaryship of the Relief Committee, and was receiving six dollars a day for his services. If this was the case, and if the amount came out of the appropriation, he felt that the Government should at once put a stop to it, as they had a number of Dominion officials in the Province who were not at all hard pressed with work this winter, and who might save this amount to the poor, for every day of this gentleman's services meant so much less flour for the starving poor.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—What I said was, that the Committee would do the

Mr. SCHULTZ.

work gratuitously. No doubt the secretary would be paid.

Mr. SCHULTZ—I have only to state in answer that \$6 a day implies the loss of two bags of flour daily for the suffering poor.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I know nothing of that.

Mr. SCHULTZ—In view of the fact that there is an abundance of Dominion officials doing comparatively nothing in that quarter, it was the plain duty of the Government to send up instructions to have this work done by one of them, instead of paying some \$6 per day to some other person, during the whole of the rest of the winter.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought that, as there was a large number of Dominion officials employed in that part of the country, this duty might have been performed without extra remuneration, or, at all events, for a very small additional amount, by one of them. This was not, however, the point he wished to raise. The Hon. Premier, in his explanation, had certainly, he was of opinion, made out a satisfactory case for the prompt expenditures in question. A calamity of that kind coming suddenly on the people, especially a young and struggling people just emerging into organized life as it were, far away from the usual appliances and means of relief, justified the action of the Government, which was such as the House and country would sanction; but it nevertheless occurred to him that this was an expenditure for which there was no previous vote of Parliament, and accordingly it was the bounden duty of the Premier, at the earliest possible moment, to have laid before this House the necessary explanations, and not wait until his hon. friend—

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—At a very early period in the Session, I laid on the Table a warrant from the Governor General, in the usual form.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD still thought that the Premier, from his place in Parliament, should have previously stated the facts. In England, though perhaps not for so small an amount, under like circumstances, Parliament would not be satisfied with

a confirmation of the vote in the estimates of the year; but a special act of indemnity must be passed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that he was quite ready to have informed the House immediately of the matter; and his impression was that this had been done.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT distinctly recollected ordering the matter to be prepared; and he was almost certain that it had sometime previously been brought down.

Sir. JOHN A. MACDONALD—In the way of a message?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—In the usual form. The warrant was laid on the Table.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE added that an express statutory provision existed for such emergencies; the warrant of all such returns was to be laid on the Table, and this was the constitutional mode of acquainting the House with the matter.

Hon. Mr. POPE presumed that this was according to constitutional usage; but he wished to call the attention of the House to the following circumstance. There seemed to be a change of opinion on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite, for he remembered that not many years ago, when an appropriation for a similar purpose in connection with Nova Scotia was in question, these hon. gentlemen claimed that we had no right to expend Dominion money for Provincial purposes; but now they maintained opposite pretensions. He desired to bring into relief this inconsistency on their part. This was entirely a Provincial matter, and the object was praiseworthy no doubt—he had nothing whatever to say against it; but the same difficulty, if they were consistent, still existed. It was the duty of the Government of Manitoba to have met this emergency; and the loan they made should have been entrusted to the Provincial Administration, and not with the people directly.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT read from the "Hansard," that a special warrant from His Excellency the Governor General, touching the \$60,000 expended on behalf of these settlers,

had been laid on the Table at an early period in the Session.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE begged to call the attention of the hon. gentleman to the fact that the circumstances in this relation were completely exceptional; the people whom they had relieved having been settlers on Dominion Lands, whom they had brought into that Province for the purpose of settling it. Their efforts in this regard would prove, however, completely abortive if something such as was done had not been attempted. This was a consideration apart from the charitable motives. Had it gone forth to Europe that these people were suffering and starving it would have done the country incalculable injury; and in consequence the course they had adopted was taken.

Hon. Mr. POPE contended when these settlers were once in possession of their lands, this Government had no more to do with them than with the people of other Provinces. He did not blame hon. gentlemen opposite for what they had done; but he contended if granting better terms to Nova Scotia was unconstitutional, so was this.

Mr. MILLS said this was an extraordinary position to take. In the one case a payment was made to Nova Scotia; in the other, a simple loan had been extended to Manitoba.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said he had heard but one idea of the propriety of the Dominion Government taking this matter into their own hands. It would be readily seen in a small community like that, party feeling runs high, and the aim and object of the Lieutenant-Governor, acting under instructions of the Dominion Government, was that the distribution should be made apart from local politics. If the supplies had been distributed by the Local Government, no matter how fairly it might be done, it would have been impossible to prevent people from suspecting them of partiality and he thought it fortunate for the Provincial Government that it was not left in their hands. The members of the Committee were taken from all classes of the community, and it was admitted that the distribution was most satisfactory. While further relief was desired,

there was but one opinion as to the manner in which the aid already given had been supplied. In the Scotch parish all the people declined to participate in the relief. Some of them were not wealthy, but they were determined to fight it through, and give the aid to those who were more in need of it than themselves. He hoped the Government could furnish more relief, and he thought it should be through the Committee as at present. The hon. member from Lisgar referred to a gentleman having through some great influence been pitchforked into the office of Secretary to the Committee. The Secretary is a gentleman respected by the community in general, and would no doubt perform the duties most satisfactorily, and it was considered better to have one entirely outside of the Government service for this purpose.

Mr. SCHULTZ—I brought no charge as to character. The question is whether it is right that \$6 per day should be taken out of the relief fund furnished by the people of Canada. As to the respectability of the Secretary of the Committee, there are few besides the hon. member for Selkirk who respect him.

AGRICULTURE AND EMIGRATION REPORT.

Mr. MASSON asked when the report of the Agriculture and Emigration Department would be laid before the House. He did not reproach the Government for not having submitted it sooner. As a general rule they had brought down their reports very early, but hon. gentlemen would understand how advantageous it would be to have these reports early in the Session. He would like to know whether the Government could not so arrange affairs that these documents could be sent to members some fifteen days in advance of the meeting of Parliament. It was absolutely impossible to look over the whole of the blue books during the Session. He did not make these suggestions to find fault.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the report of the Department of Agriculture was usually brought up to the 1st of January, in order to comprise the whole of that season's operations rather

Mr. SMITH.

than the financial year. This made it next to impossible to get it out as readily as the others. However, it is all in the printer's hands, and in a few days would be presented to the House. With reference to the other question, the hon. gentleman was aware all the reports were ready at the meeting of the House, but it was a matter they had sometimes discussed before whether they could not advantageously be distributed a little before the meeting of Parliament, which was early in February. There had been a great deal of difficulty this year to get so many volumes printed in time. The Government would consider the suggestion of the hon member for Terrebonne.

After some further discussion the motion was carried.

THE DAWSON ROUTE.

Mr. MASSON moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all reports and communications between the Government or any of its officers or other persons since June, 1875, relating to the state and condition of the Dawson route from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, together with a statement of the number of passengers and quantity of freight transported on said route during the season of 1875. He said it was not his intention so much to obtain this information (because it was already before the public) as to bring the matter before the House. It was well known the whole arrangement of the Government relating to the Dawson route had been a complete failure, and that fiasco was due to mismanagement of the contract and the culpable neglect of the Government, who had systematically refused to listen to the disinterested advice that had been given to them by parties inside and outside of this House. Last Session he had called attention to the facts he had learned during the season of 1874, while at Manitoba, from parties who had travelled and suffered on the Dawson route. On his return, having met the Premier, he thought it his duty (because he considered in the position the hon. gentleman occupied he could not know everything that was going on) to inform him in a friendly way of the condition of that route, and to mention

that parties who had travelled it, and who were great admirers of the hon. gentleman, suffered most seriously between Thunder Bay and Fort Garry. It appeared that information was not believed, because when the House met last year it was rumoured that the contract was to be renewed. He (Mr. Masson) drew attention once more to the miserable condition of the whole route, and warned the Government against the bad system of granting to the contractors a sum too small for the transporting of emigrants, and too large for the enterprise. The consequence of such a system was, the contractor considered it more to his advantage to pocket the bonus and send the emigrants by another route, so as not to have the expense of transporting them. It was well understood that the proper plan was to give a greater sum to the contractor, thereby leaving him no inducement to send them by the United States. However, the hon. Premier said there was no just cause of complaint, that whatever was told him was greatly exaggerated, and he added that during the first three weeks of the season of 1874 there had been such a pressure of business that it might account for the insufficiency of accommodation for a few days or weeks. In the report of the Emigration Department, he found the agent at Winnipeg, Mr. Hespeler, corroborated almost everything that had been said about the mismanagement of the route. The report stated:—"From the first of July up to the close of navigation, (1874) the emigrant sheds were overflowed, which was principally owing to the inferior management of the Dawson route contractor, causing at the time very great loss to the new settlers, who were in many cases obliged to wait three to five weeks for their baggage, after enduring a most trying voyage which lasted twenty-two days."

It was well known that Government had the right to cancel this contract by paying a certain indemnity. The accusations about the mismanagement of the road were entirely correct, and the Hon. Premier would remember that on a previous occasion he was told that everything was in bad order. One consequence of the mismanage-

ment was that immigrants instead of travelling by our road were driven to use the American line. The hon. gentleman was told that the system of bonuses was wrong, and had the effect of inducing the contractor to get rid of passengers and send them by the Red River Navigation Company. The Government had taken upon their shoulders a great responsibility, and he would be surprised if the country would approve their action.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—What action?

Hon. Mr. MASSON—Of renewing that contract.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman is speaking without information. The contract was cancelled many weeks ago.

Mr. MASSON said the Hon. Premier had misunderstood him; he was speaking of what occurred during the season of 1874. The hon. gentleman had often spoken of the great necessity of sending our immigrants through Canada into our North-West Territories, and it was certainly impolitic to allow them to pass through a country whose interests were entirely at variance with ours, and would probably attract many of them. It was not right, after spending such enormous sums of money, to bring emigrants from the old countries, and subject them to such influences. He did not think that the present amphibious, or water-stretch policy, would be conducive of better results than the late scheme; it would be open to the same mismanagement which characterised the Dawson route. It was the duty of the Government to take immediate steps towards building a through line from Lake Superior to Fort Garry. Immigrants would not stand the numerous transshipments of the present scheme, and it was absolutely necessary to provide an easier method of reaching the North-West Territories without having to call the Americans to our aid. There was no patriotism in these things, and an emigrant could not be expected to subject himself to the very great inconvenience of the water-stretch plan. He thought the Government would soon recognise their great mistake in not adopting Nipigon as the terminus.

of that branch of the railway, in order to keep the whole transportation of immigrants by the north of Lake Superior.

The Hon. First Minister had so far acknowledged the correctness of the Opposition views on this question as to cancel the contract with Mr. Carpenter, and by adopting their suggestions about the Georgian Bay contract.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD enquired if the Hon. Premier would bring down any papers connected with the cancelling of the contract, or any scheme for the continuation of the service in any way?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied in the affirmative. He wished to say a few words in reply to the hon. member for Terrebonne. He was not quite aware what the hon. gentleman would like to be at.

When the Government assumed charge of this Dawson route, in the first place, they found that it cost for the previous year very nearly \$300,000. During the six years it was in operation it cost over \$220,000 per annum, and they found the number of passengers and the quantity of freight carried over it infinitesimally small. They determined to economise, if possible, by asking for tenders for the performance of the service. They accepted the lowest tender of \$76,000. No doubt there was truth in what the hon. gentleman stated about complaints having been made; complaints were made all the time, from the first to last, whether the road was under the immediate supervision of the Government without the intervention of a contractor, or by a contractor with the intervention of the Government supervisor. Last year Mr. Dawson resigned his position, and Mr. Grant, of this city, was appointed superintendent. A great deal of his time was consumed in examining into and paying old accounts. They found \$150,000 of overdue accounts without any proper vouchers for them. A very large proportion of these it was utterly impossible to get at, except some statement from Mr. Dawson that such an amount was due. The inextricable confusion to which the affairs of the road were reduced could thus be imagined.

Mr. MASSON.

The contract had been continued almost through necessity during the year, with new superintendence, and with such measures taken as would ensure all possible attention being given to the work. It was decided, after obtaining the reports of the Superintendent as to the working of the road, and the difficulty they found to exist in getting passengers to send over it, that it was perfectly useless to attempt to keep it open in its present state, as a means of transporting passengers and freight. In consequence, the Government had cancelled the contract, but they would nevertheless take such steps as would enable them to continue the ordinary mail service to the various points on it, and accommodate their engineers and others, maintaining a small establishment on the route in connection with the Pacific Railway survey, under the immediate control of these officers.

The greater portion of the immigrants who had gone to Manitoba were Icelanders, and Mennonites, who went chiefly with their own money, choosing their own route. The Government extended to them the usual aid, and it was quite evident that all the passengers who could travel by rail to Red River, taking the boat down it, would prefer that to the other way. While he wished as soon as possible to have a road open for immigrants to travel over our own lands in this quarter, it was clear that they could not force people to pass over a long and disagreeable line, making, as the hon. gentleman had found it, a somewhat disagreeable journey, when the same point could otherwise be reached in one-half or one-third the time, and as cheaply. The hon. gentleman had, however, spoken inadvisedly, and had selected an inconvenient time, in his opinion, for discussing the Pacific Railroad question. He had entirely misunderstood—he would not say misrepresented, for he did not think that the hon. gentleman would do so—the plan of the Government. In this relation they simply proposed, while the road was being constructed to utilize a large portion of the water communication available for the passage of boats; as, for instance, when the road

touched, as it would, according to the survey now nearly completed, the north-east angle of the Lac de Mille Lacs, they would have continued navigation, with some portages doubtless, to the north-west end of the Lake of the Woods; and until the line was finished between the Lac de Mille Lacs and the west side of Winnipeg River, they could use this navigation as long as it was required. If they found it impossible from the circumstances of the country to continue the building of the road between these two points for some years to come, they would have some 64 miles of railway from Lake Superior to the north-east corner of the Lac de Mille Lacs, similar communication being opened between Red River and Rat Portage from the western extremity, so that they would be enabled to bring the two ends of the Province within comparatively short distances of each other. He did not expect that it would be possible for the Government—even though Parliament could furnish the money required—to construct the intermediate portion within less than four or five years; and it was very important indeed that they should avail themselves of almost continued water navigation between two and three hundred miles during that period. The railroad in the meantime would be built on the line proper westward to Fort Garry; and he might tell his hon. friend—who spoke unadvisedly, because he was not informed on the subject, and he could not indeed be otherwise—that the route since found by the engineers far west and south of the Nepigon route, was infinitely its superior, both as to grade, and as to ease of construction, while it passed through a better country for settlement.

An Hon. Member—How about distance?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The distance was still shorter, because the line would be much shorter. Ascending the small river, of which he had forgotten the name, that ran near the end of Lake Nepigon, the route was extremely tortuous and crooked, without having anything like so favourable a grade. It could be made but would involve very heavy

work, while the present line was not only shorter but it passed through a section containing a great deal more of valuable timber, &c. The only rough portion consisted of about 37 miles west of Rat Portage, and at about an equal distance on the east side of it. The Government's intention was simply to use this water communication; and they could reach the end of Lac Mille de Lacs by railway by the end of next summer very easily. They could, moreover, within two months from date, run engines over about 25 miles of it. The line ran through a country over which such a road could be easily built up to that point, from which they would be very foolish indeed if they did not use the water navigation at their disposal until the intervening link could be constructed. This he also advocated; and if they found that their financial necessities compelled them to suspend from doing the rest of it—if they failed to obtain a favourable offer from a company under the provisions of the Act of 1874, they would then do the best they could with the means at their command—the water communications which the country possessed. The whole matter had received the most careful consideration of the Government, and he had no doubt that it would ultimately turn out to have been the very best possible thing that could have been prepared under the circumstances.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD desired only to make a few remarks with regard to the course taken by the late Government with respect to the Dawson route. When the North-West Territory became a portion of the Dominion, and it fell upon the Government to see to the settlement of the country, they found that there was no communication with it through Canada at all—the first immigrants passing thitherward, went through the United States; and representations were soon made to the Government that every possible obstruction was being thrown in their way. In the first place, they came from Europe, they had not finally made up their minds in what part of the West to make their homes, and accordingly they were seduced by the runners and officers of the

rival land companies of the Western States from their first intention to go to Manitoba or other portions of the British North-West. Those who took furniture or goods with them to be forwarded in bond, met with every possible obstruction; they were also overcharged, and the customs officers put them to every trouble. Complaints, in consequence, were ceaseless, and the Government discovered that if they were ever to secure immigrants for the British North West, it must be by a route of their own, so they at once commenced the construction of the Dawson Road, holding it in their own hands because it was a new venture. There was no inducement which they could well afford to give to prevail upon practical men to undertake so unknown, so uncertain, and so hazardous an enterprise. The Administration was aware, of course—it was so stated to Parliament, which approved of the expenditure—that this would involve very considerable outlay, and they considered that the money was well spent. The moment the road was opened, immigrants at once took advantage of it, and they had the choice of two roads. They went by this way, he would confess, in very small numbers at first, but these were increasing every season—indeed, almost every month. The utility of the line so established throughout Canadian territory, from the end of Lake Superior, was at once obvious, from the fact that immediately the American officers changed their course, the railways diminished their fares, and our immigrants could travel over their routes with their furniture and appliances, stock and cattle, &c., without interruption. The customs officers became much more civil, and obstacles were withdrawn, because they feared the loss of trade and traffic. It continued, he admitted as his hon. friend the Premier has stated, to be a considerable expense, but this it was well worth, for we had a road over which immigrants might pass without being exposed to oppression and insult and very frequently overcharge and obstruction; and he thought it would be well, on the whole, if the present Government had continued this system. The fact of giving a bonus,

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and a handsome bonus, to the contractor, which he could put in his pocket, was a disadvantage; the inducement was to drive emigrants to take another line, and in this Mr. Carpenter was completely successful. The number of immigrants who previously passed through our own country had steadily increased, but from this time the number steadily diminished. Of course common sense would tell us that this would be the case. The contractor, Mr. Carpenter, had placed the \$75,000 bonus in his pocket, and as his hon. friend had ascertained from him, he had actually induced immigrants not to go by this line. The gentleman would not be bothered with them; he wished to secure the \$75,000 merely, and then drive the immigrants through the United States; this was the system of his hon. friend.

Mr. BOWELL—And he boasted of it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I never heard of that before.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Some gentleman coming down on the steamer *Lake Superior* this summer met the contractor, and he made that statement.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I can simply say I heard that from some one who had heard it from some one else who had heard it from some one else. I asked Mr. Carpenter if he had ever said such a thing, and he denied it point blank.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—If he did say so he was a great fool for his pains. He should have held his tongue and put the \$75,000 in his pocket. He had every inducement to send emigrants by way of Duluth. The system was sufficient to induce him to do so. I am very glad to hear my hon. friend say he found it was proper to take this contract out of the hands of the contractor, because it was decidedly a waste of so much money. My hon. friend found that out. He was kind enough to say he would bring down to the House the proposition of the Government, and the way it intended to keep that road open for the next season, I suppose.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I said we will keep it open, but we simply pro-

pose to keep it open for the mails and for the purpose of sending conveyances over it two or three times a week in connection with the Pacific Survey.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD then asked if the road was to be abandoned altogether and the emigrants would be obliged to go by the United States? They had no longer a road through Canada, and a repetition of what had occurred before the Dawson road was established would take place—a repetition of the continued attempts to seduce emigrants, going to Manitoba to settle, to go instead to the far West, while the agents, runners and officers of the great western Land Companies held out the most problematical, and, God knew, most magnificent promises to the emigrants. He was very sorry that his hon. friend was debarred by the fear of expenditure from still keeping efficiently open this line in our own country for intending emigrants.

He thought it would be well worth the money, and much more than that had been spent on it during the last year or two. He hoped his hon. friend would reconsider his resolution, and not allow it to go abroad that until the railway is finished Canadian immigrants to the North-West must go through a foreign country.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government would always be able to send immigrants over the route, as they would keep a sufficient staff to send by this way those who desired; they could do that if the number were not materially increased over what it had been during the past two seasons. The hon. gentleman was wrong in saying that the number of immigrants had decreased; when the Government placed the road in the hands of a contractor the number increased.

Voice—For the first few months.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said during the first year they carried more than they ever had before, and what his hon. friend spent during the last year he had control of this business was no less than \$399,628.10. This the hon. gentleman wished to see repeated, although, if he recollected aright, only immigrants went over the road that year.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he thought the system might have been continued during the last two years. The immigrants would have gone on increasing, and as the affairs of the road were improved the expenses would have decreased; at least that was what they expected.

Mr. STIRTON said this was a matter in which he felt an interest. He had passed over the road himself to learn the treatment which the immigrants received. His right hon. friend was astray with regard to the idea that to keep the Dawson road open would have the effect of making the Americans more civil to travellers. He could tell the House that the road through the American Territory was now so perfect that no man in his senses, after experiencing the difficulties connected with the Dawson route, would attempt to go over it, when he had the other.

A passenger could go from Thunder Bay to Manitoba in five days. It was really more the interest of the Americans to make their line cheap and encourage traffic, than to fall back to the old state of things. There were last year, and he had no doubt there would be the coming season, opposition boats on the Red River, and that would tend very much to increase the comfort of travel. He knew many people who had travelled over the Dawson route, who complained bitterly of the insolent treatment they had received from pups of officials put on by the right hon. member for Kingston. They were so disgusted they never travelled that way again; one dose was quite as much as they were willing to take of that medicine. He thought the Government were quite right in making a change. If they followed the advice of the right hon. gentleman opposite, they would throw away their money.

Mr. COOK said he would not have referred to the question, but for the remarks of the hon. member for Frontenac. In conversation with Mr. Carpenter, that gentleman had repeatedly stated that he had the plant, stages, horses, provisions and everything necessary to carry passengers over the route, and it would be a great advantage to him to get all the travel he could accommodate. Parties who had gone over the

route since it came under the management of the contractor said it was far more successful than under the late administration. He (Mr. Cook) did not speak from hearsay, but he had heard Mr. Carpenter say it would be in the interests of the Company if they could get as many as possible to travel over the route.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that in regard to the relative merits of the Dawson route, when managed by the Government and when under contract by Messrs. Carpenter & Co., he could only say that it was quite certain that the Dawson route had had at least the merit of cheapening the rate charged by the American lines. As soon as the Government was in a position to offer to transport immigrants from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry for ten dollars, then the rates on the American lines were reduced, and the vexatious United States Custom House regulations removed. Again, the Dawson route must be credited with the salvation of the North-West. If no such communication had existed, no force could have entered in 1870 to restore order, and the Dominion of Canada would have been to-day only one-third of its present area. In the matter of the Carpenter contract, he had warned the Government last year what would be the result, and showed how they really offered to the contractors a premium for not carrying emigrants, and he was not surprised at the statement made by the hon. member for Frontenac. He (Mr. Schultz) had heard these reports, and from so many and various sources that he thought there must be some truth in them. In regard to the reference made by the hon. member for South Wellington concerning the great advantage of the American over our present mixed land water route he entirely agreed with him, but he (Mr. Schultz) thought that when the hon. gentleman drew attention to that difference he did not see that he was directly condemning the policy of the Government in the matter of railway communication as propounded by the Hon. Premier. Where it was proposed to sever the parts of the railways, there were already waggon roads, and suppose the railroads were built, there still would exist the difficulties

which made the Dawson route expensive and the Carpenter contract a failure. It would require a very large expenditure of money between Shebandowan and Rat Portage to reduce the number of breaks by portages to seven; and were this all done, yet as against the American route with its one transshipment, not a passenger nor a pound of freight would go over the line. He regretted very much to hear the Premier express himself to the effect that there was a doubt about the ultimate connection of these two detached railways, and that in that case these water stretches would be made available. He begged to refer the Premier to his remarks on this subject when the matter was up last year, and he took occasion to again warn the Government of the fallacy of a mixed land and water route to connect Lake Superior with Red River—a fallacy which he feared would lead to the useless expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars. If the Government were not quite certain that they would be able to connect these two links of rail, then far better stop the work at once, for the expenditure would be only so much money thrown away.

Hon. Mr. POPE said the original fare on the Dawson route was \$30 per head. He had induced his colleagues to reduce it to \$10 per head. Previous to that they could not get a reasonable rate over the American lines, but after that the rate was reduced. The advantage of the route was therefore shown by the effect it had in reducing the price by the other route, and removing obstacles to emigrants going that way. Although the expense was large, it was money well laid out, and it would be a mistake to give up the idea we could send passengers over our own route.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said the Dawson route, while almost wholly useless as an emigrant road had been of very great advantage in reducing the cost of transporting supplies to the North-West. The very fact of its having been given to a company two years ago had the effect of making the people in Minnesota reduce their rates still more. They are shrewd men, and having very little confidence in their own government they thought the Dawson route would be more efficiently

Mr. Cook.

managed by the contractor than by the Government. He thought the Administration should still be prepared to carry emigrants and freight by the Dawson route if any attempt were made by the Americans to enforce higher rates. It should not be given up altogether. He understood the Americans would still further reduce their rates this year. It was hardly fair to say it was money thrown away to spend on the railroads connecting with the water ways, provided they were adopted for an all-rail road,—and were not taken out of the way.

Mr. SCHULTZ—What would the hon. gentlemen use it for, because it has been shown to be of very little practical use heretofore?

Mr. SMITH said the hon. gentleman would surely allow it was a very different thing to have a railroad and to have of a waggon road. Many things could be brought into the country by means of a rail and water route which could not be carried by an ordinary waggon or cart, and they could be usefully employed while progress was being made with the railroad. He would be very sorry to see it stop short with this rail and water route. On the contrary, he hoped and trusted there would be a through railroad carried out with all possible speed.

Mr. TROW dissented from the expression of several members with regard to the Dawson route. He had the pleasure (not the torture) of passing over that route in 1874, and he thought the correct policy for the Government would be to continue it. The plant is joint property. It was there, and, of course, valuable, and could be used for the water stretchers. By the construction of a railway from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan, a distance of some 45 or 50 miles, the stage would be done away with for that distance. Then there were very few portages in the water way from Shebandowan to the North-West Angle, and when the balance of the railroad was completed from there to Red River, emigrants could be taken from Fort William to Winnipeg in the course of three or four days. It was a very pleasant route. He had travelled it, and so far from discourtesy having

been shown the emigrants, the contractor had stages ready for them when they landed from the steamer, and they were generally speaking treated kindly. It was true there was some discontent, but it was caused by a colony from Marquette to the number of three or four hundred, under Mr. Rolston. Some of them were not very moral, and they caused trouble and disturbance on the route. The construction of the two stretches of railway would make it a very agreeable road for a pleasure trip in summer, and almost as convenient as the Red River route would be for years to come. Of course our Government would make the road to Pembina, but there was a connecting link that might not be made for some years. The Red River was not the most navigable on the continent. It was broken with rapids, and boats had often been delayed two or three days on the way. He had known passengers who went by the Dawson route to be two days ahead of those who went by the American route.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said any one who had heard the hon. member for South Wellington must come to the conclusion it was impossible for us to hope to compete with the American lines. The main advantage of the Dawson Route was to save us from being at the mercy of the Americans. He wished to know whether there was not precisely the same objection to expending money on railways and water stretches between Thunder Bay and Red River that existed (in a greater degree he admitted) against the Dawson route? He would show the House what the route was the Premier proposed to construct, and was now constructing, and ask whether every dollar that was to be expended on that line would not be completely thrown away. Last Session the Premier said: "One of the most important things to be looked to in opening up our North West country is to obtain speedy means of ingress from Lake Superior. It is felt that it is extremely difficult for us to pour a large population into that country when the expense of transport from Fort William westward is so great; and it is deemed advisable that we should not be driven for any length of time to

"pour a tide of emigration through any portion of the United States in order to reach our own territory." We know too well the kind of civility extended to our immigrants passing over American lines not to provide means of ingress at the earliest possible moment into the Red River if we wish to take them safely to Manitoba, instead of leaving them settled in Minnesota.

This was the description of the line of communication that the First Minister is now engaged to make: "The entire distance from Red River to Lake Superior is in round numbers 430 miles by the Dawson route. Of this we have surveyed and located a line, and asked for tenders for 155 or 160 miles. This leaves a distance between the two points of 270 miles. Of that distance we will be able, by constructing two cheap wooden locks at Fort Francis, to obtain from Rat Portage uninterrupted steam navigation for a distance of nearly 200 miles to Sturgeon Falls, at the east end of Rainy Lake. From this point eastwards towards Lake Shebandowan, although there is a continuous water navigation with a number of small portages, still the country is, on the whole, tolerably favourable."

There are 200 miles of water stretches and half a dozen portages, which amount to a dozen transhipments. What would hon. gentlemen say of this road after all the enormous expenditures that have been made, involving the construction of locks, portages and railways from Shebandowan to Rat Portage and Red River? He would give the Premier's own description of the work when finished:

"We hope within two years, or two and half at the outside, that we will have a railway finished at the eastern and western ends, and with these and the locks at Fort Francis we expect that the distance altogether may be traversed in four or five days at the outside, that now takes on the average from nine to twelve days."

He asked the hon. gentleman whether he could for a single instant question the statement of the hon. member for Lisgar, who said that when all expen-

diture had been incurred and the line provided, every dollar would be thrown away, because the immigrants will go from Duluth to Winnipeg by rail instead of spending four or five days to get from Thunder Bay to Red River. The remarks which had fallen from the First Minister had disappointed him, because he was in hopes that the years of delay which had taken place would have led him to propound a different policy in relation to this measure.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have propounded no policy.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER supposed the Premier had propounded a policy to the House. He had taken the hon. gentleman's own words, and had hoped that he would have adopted the course pressed upon him some two years ago, and again last Session. He was extremely anxious that the line should commence at Nepigon, and take the course which would save sixty or eighty miles to travellers from this section of the country to Red River. But the hon. gentleman had adopted a different course, and had selected Thunder Bay. He had hoped that further consideration, examination and reflection on this question would have brought the hon. gentleman to the conclusion—in which he would have been sustained by every gentleman in the House—that instead of building 150 miles of railway through a difficult country, and connecting with water stretches that would render every dollar of the money utterly useless, he would announce his intention to push as rapidly as possible the connection from Shebandowan to Rat Portage by rail. If that were done, the expenditure, it is true, would be larger, but we would have a line to compete with that from Duluth. The policy of continuing these water stretches he regarded as fatal. The expenditure on the work would be thrown away, and the Americans would still monopolise the transportation of immigrants in this section. He hoped the Hon. First Minister would ask the assent of Parliament to push that line of rail from Thunder Bay to the waters of the Red River.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I cannot imagine that the hon. gentleman was

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

in when I spoke, or he would not have made his speech. I stated distinctly that we had had a line surveyed on a much more favorable route than ever before obtained from Lake Superior to Rat Portage.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I entirely misunderstood the hon. gentleman. I understood him to refer to the contracts between the line from Nepigon and that from Thunder Bay.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said from the summit level they had obtained a much more favourable route than the Nepigon one, and reached that point by at least as short a distance as if they had gone by the northern and most expensive route. The hon. gentleman seemed to object to their using the water in the meantime. What could any person do but use the best means of communication between the two points until the railway could be constructed? It might or might not suit the financial affairs of the country to have this road built—that was for the future to determine; but it was the policy of the Government to have the road constructed as soon as possible, and they would strain every nerve to that end. Their policy in the meantime was to build to the water and use it as means of communication between the two points during the interval. As he had stated, it would take, under the most favourable circumstances, four or five years to connect; but were they to stand idle and refuse to put a canoe or a steamboat on those lakes until that work was completed. Until the road was fit for running they proposed to do the best they could with the water communication, and no one could reasonably object to such an arrangement. The hon. gentleman, however, had set himself most determinedly to go to Lake Nepigon and nowhere else.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Oh, no; that was owing to the misunderstanding.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then there is no difference between us, except the disposition to criticise.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he was extremely glad to hear the statement of the Hon. First Minister, with the exception of one qualification—that

was, that he intended to push the road as rapidly as possible, providing the financial condition of the country would permit. He (Mr. Tupper) would decide that at the outset. If the finances would not allow the rapid prosecution of the work, he would say don't waste any money in large expenditures, which in his opinion would be useless, until the road was pushed through. No one could object to using water communication for the purpose of constructing the railway, but if they were not in a position to carry the project through, the expenditure was thrown away.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE asked if the hon. gentleman could not see this? Suppose they were not able, after the coming year, to proceed with the intervening portions; to have 120 miles at the west end and 60 at the east would necessarily facilitate the completion of the other part when they were able. He could not say they would not be able to make arrangements, but he hoped they would. He took credit to himself and colleagues for cheapening the rate of transportation. Last season they carried immigrants from Quebec to Manitoba \$10 to \$12 cheaper than ever before. He did not blame anyone in this connection. No doubt the hon. gentlemen opposite made the best arrangement they could, only the present Government had made better, and more economical arrangements.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Did they go over the Duluth road?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They did.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The fares were cheapened in that way then?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not at all. We simply made better arrangements.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he was glad to hear these explanations, as few questions interested the people more than this. If he understood the Hon. Premier the proposition was to have two roads—one by the water stretches and a better road somewhere to the north of Lake Nepigon.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman had misunderstood him. It would perhaps be better

not to discuss the Pacific Railway further, and he would give more information when the proper time arrived. The hon. gentleman again explained the proposed route.

Mr. MITCHELL said if he had understood his hon. friend, after getting the water stretches they might still have to build a line of railway from Lake Superior to Lac de Mille Lacs or Manitoba. Did not his hon. friend propose, when the Pacific Railway was built ultimately, that these water stretches should form part of that line of communication?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! No!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Well, then, I accept the statement made by the hon. gentleman, and I will defer any remarks I might have to make until the broader question comes up; but I must confess that I rather misunderstood his explanations.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Regarding this subject of the Pacific Railway, I would remind my hon. friend that papers promised in the speech from the Throne have not yet been brought down.

Mr. MASSON said it had been stated by different hon. gentlemen that it was the intention of the late Government—as was the proper course—to keep open the Dawson road, which would have the effect of lessening the rates upon United States railways; and he would draw the attention of the Administration to the fact that the Hon. Premier last year stated that his policy would be to connect Fort William and Fort Garry. He then announced that the road could not be built within two and one half, or three years; and were they to understand, that while this Dawson route was closed, save for mails, immigrants were to be forced to go through the United States? If this was the case, the American companies would raise their rates and defeat the object kept in view by the previous Government in this connection.

The motion being carried.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE, in reply to the right hon. member for Kingston, stated that he would shortly

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

lay on the Table the papers promised in the speech from the Throne, including the Orders in Council referring to the Esquimault Railway difficulty, the despatch of the British Columbia Government, and the subsequent petition to the Queen adopted by the Legislature of that Province. After the Speech from the Throne was delivered here, however, these papers, he remarked, had all been published in British Columbia, although they should first have been laid on the Table of this House. In the meantime, the 19th sec. of the Act of 1874 required the Minister of Public Works to place upon the Table of the House statements of the progress made on the works of the Pacific Railway, with the expenditures up to date for the year, and copies of all the contracts concerned. He now laid on the Table a copy of all contracts entered into on the Pacific Railway, with a simple memorandum from the Chief Engineer; also a general report such as could be published, conveying some detailed statements of the various surveys and explorations, which had taken place in different parts of the country. The engineers returns for the year would necessarily fill a volume of considerable size, but this was not what was desired. Some of the engineers had just arrived from very remote distances, but he hoped to have all the possible information submitted before the rising of the House. At present the report would be somewhat incomplete, giving however a bird's eye view of their transactions during the year. He hoped hon. gentlemen opposite would be satisfied with these explanations.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—These explanations, which the hon. gentleman proposes to give, will I suppose, be accompanied by a somewhat general report from the engineer, furnishing this bird's eye view, of which my hon. friend speaks?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Of course.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The verbal statement of my hon. friend, although he speaks with great precision, cannot be equal in value to a report committed on paper.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, the House adjourned at Ten minutes after Eleven p. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 7, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—To incorporate the British Canadian Investment Company.

Mr. BOURASSA—To amend the Bankruptcy Act of 1875.

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria)—To incorporate the National Loan and Life Insurance Company of Canada.

Mr. McDUGALL (Elgin)—To amend the Act incorporating the Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew)—To amend the Act passed at the last Session relating to the Upper Ottawa Improvement Company.

THE NORTH WEST TERRITORIES.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, the House went into Committee, Mr. Mills in the chair, on the Act respecting the North-West Territories.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that in order to meet the views of his hon. friend opposite, he proposed to introduce a preamble as follows:—Whereas it is expedient, pending the settlement of the North-West Territories, to create a separate territory of the eastern portion of the North-West Territories, therefore Her Majesty, &c.

With regard to the proposition made by his hon. friend from British Columbia, that the territory north of British Columbia and the 60th parallel should be provided for in this Bill, he would reply that having examined the map carefully he found that this would not be as remote from the seat of Government of British Columbia, as from the seat of Government of the North-West Territories. They proposed in order to prevent any possible temporary inconvenience, to give British Columbia magistrates current jurisdiction in that part of the territory lying north of the Columbia and west of the Mackenzie River, and the 120th parallel. This country would be placed

under the authority of existing laws. He proposed to fill the blank in the 1st section by inserting after the word "district," the title Keewatin, which would be the name of the new territory, signifying the North Land; also to fill up blanks in the 4th section, by inserting the words "not exceeding ten, and not less than five."

Mr. KIRKPATRICK took objection to the 6th clause on the ground that too much power would be given to the Lieutenant Governor in Council—the power of amending or repealing any of the laws passed by the Parliament of Canada. In the 11th section it was declared that certain laws should be applicable to the District—criminal laws for instance, so peculiarly under Federal jurisdiction. The power in question was greater than that conferred upon Local Legislatures. He suggested in consequence that the last part of the 6th clause should be struck out, as a year's delay respecting such legislation could do no harm.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said there was no no doubt a good deal to be said in favour of what the hon. gentleman remarked, but there had been some experience of this kind of legislation before, and there was no reason to suppose from it that there was anything improper in this clause. No ordinance of the North-West Council would have force unless marked "urgent," and even then it would be subject to disallowance. The proposition was simply to keep the *status quo* in this territory until it was either annexed to Manitoba or otherwise dealt with so as to be in possession of provincial rights and privileges.

The clause, and the two following, were adopted.

On clause nine,

Mr. MOUSSEAU said this clause seemed to empower the Government of the New Province to repeal clause 11 of the Act of last Session securing separate schools to the North-West Territories. He wished to know if this was the case.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the 11th clause of the North-West Territories Act was not yet in force, and would not apply to any of these territories until the Act was proclaimed. It was

a clause which could only come into force practically in connection with a system of taxation, no provision for which was made in this portion of the territories so long as it remained under this form of Government. The future of these territories would be either one of two things-- they would be annexed to Manitoba, or they would be detached from Keewatin and re-annexed to the North-West. In either case the rights of the minority would be protected. There was no intention on the part of the Government to depart from the general principle of the 11th clause. If the territories were attached to Manitoba they would be subject to the laws of that Province; if to the North-West, they would come under the 11th clause of the Act of last Session.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—If I understand it, by simply proclaiming the Act of 1875 this 11th clause will come into force.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Certainly. The clause and the following one were adopted.

On clause 11,

Mr. BUNSTER moved to strike out the provision prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in the territory.

The motion was lost and the clause was adopted.

The remaining clauses of the Bill were adopted without discussion.

On the motion to adopt the preamble.

Mr. SCHULTZ said a more honourable name than Keewatin might have been selected, and he would take occasion to suggest one before the third reading of the Bill.

The preamble was adopted and the Committee rose and reported the Bill as amended.

The amendments having been concurred in the Bill was read the third time and passed.

LAW RELATING TO VIOLENCE, THREATS AND MOLESTATIONS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of the Bill entitled an "Act to amend the Criminal Law relating to violence, threats and molestations." He desired to direct the attention of the House to a slight alteration in the proposed clause from that which was

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

recently passed in England. The English clause in this particular referred to "any person using violence towards or intimidating his wife, child or other person, or injuring his property." There was an objection to the word "intimidates," as to whether it constituted a sufficient definition of crime. He therefore asked leave to insert a sub-section in which the words were changed to imperilling or injuring a person's property; but, of course, all the sub-sections were subject to the governing clause, which provides that the action must be wrongful and for the purpose of preventing a person from doing what he had no legal right to do, or compelling him to do what he had a legal right to do. There was a provision giving the right to the accused to object before the tribunal authorized to try him summarily, and thereupon the offence was made indictable.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) said it was suggested that something further ought to be in the Bill, which was not in the English Law--that was with reference to threats of accusing of crime. There were two or three classes of crime which would naturally suggest themselves to his hon. friend, where the accusation would be as great and serious an intimidation as any threat of personal violence or injury to property. He suggested the Bill should be changed to bring such offences within its scope.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD called attention to a threat of this kind:—"You must continue to work in this place, or I will do you mischief." The injury was not described, but it was intimidation; it probably did not mean violence to persons or property.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It must be one or the other.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said a threat might be made to injure the reputation, which was not property. There might be charges which did not amount to personal violence or injury to property, but still would affect a man's character. He suggested that his hon. friend take this into consideration.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said of course he would give the suggestions of his friends

due consideration, but he thought that as practical legislators it was better for them to provide punishment for the offences named by law than attempt to conjure up different kinds of possible threats which were unknown in this country. Probably many of the cases to which reference had been made by his hon. friends would be met by the existing law. By legislating for that class of crimes the objection might be raised by a large number in the community to its being class legislation, and they ought to be careful in dealing with such matters. He would remind his hon. friends, while not interposing objections to their views, that agreeing thereto would be making a new law, the utility of which had not been demonstrated by experience or required by public necessity.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON remarked that a case of the kind to which he had referred had come before one of the Courts of Assize last month. He trusted the Hon. Minister of Justice would look into the matter before the final disposition of the Bill.

SUITS AGAINST THE CROWN.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of the Bill to make further provision for the institution of suits against the Crown by Petition of Right.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked how far this measure would affect the interest of parties who had fyled Petitions of Right under the Act of last Session on this subject. Certain parties in Nova Scotia who had fyled petitions under that law had been treated by the Government in a manner which caused them great disappointment, and of which they had just reason to complain. He understood that when a law existed under which people are permitted to proceed against the Crown by Petition of Right, the consent of the Crown was assumed to be given in all cases except some, possibly, of a very exceptional character, and that the clause in the Act providing for the Governor in Council granting or refusing permission to proceed, was only intended to protect the right of the Crown—not for the pur-

pose of enabling the Government capriciously or at will to say that one party should be allowed to make a Petition of Right and the other not, but for the purpose of preserving the Royal prerogative. He thought he was safe in saying that this was the principle on which Petitions of Right were dealt with in England, on whose law with respect to this subject this Bill was modelled. He thought also that there was scarcely any class of cases in which persons complying with the law were prevented from fyling Petitions of Right and from bringing their claims to judicial decision. The parties in Nova Scotia to whom he alluded complained, however, that they had sent in a Petition of Right in June last with regard to certain claims which they professed to have—a petition which they were entitled to send in under the Act of last Session—and the Government had treated it with contempt, or that the Government had not been able to arrive at such a decision with respect to it as those parties considered they had a right to claim. The petition in question was fyled in June last by parties who had been contractors on the Intercolonial Railway. On the 15th of September the Minister of Militia telegraphed:

“OTTAWA, 15th September, 1875.
“John Starr. Papers waiting opinion
“Minister of Justice. Decision will be
“communicated to you shortly.”

He (Mr. Tupper) thought that if a Petition of Right was to have any effect at all an answer should be given to it before such a length of time had elapsed as between June and September. He thought that the Government were bound immediately upon the fyling of a petition of right to give the parties presenting it an opportunity of proceeding to have their claims dealt with; but in this case the petition of right was sent in in time; the parties were informed by one of the members of the Government on the 15th September, that the papers were in the hands of the Minister of Justice, and that the decision upon them would be communicated shortly. The First Minister was in Halifax; and a month after the telegram from the Minister of Militia, that on the 18th November, 1875, Mr. Starr addressed a

respectful letter to the Minister of Justice, as follows:—

“When Mr. Mackenzie was here he said our Petition of Right, presented last June, was referred to you, and would have immediate attention. Delay is extremely disastrous and only increases our claim for damages. Please advise if Governor General’s *fiat* has been granted; if not, how soon it will be. “JOHN STARR.”

The Hon. Minister of Justice was kind enough to reply, and he (Mr. Tupper) trusted that his letter would not be taken as a model in style in future for communication between even so august a functionary as the Minister of Justice, and the most humble of Her Majesty’s subjects.

He said: “In reply to a telegram dated the 18th inst., I beg to state that I am not in a position to give the information you require.” He was told by the Minister of Militia a month before that the papers were in the hands of the Minister of Justice, and that a decision would be shortly given. He had also been told by the First Minister—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I beg to contradict that at once; on the contrary, I told him that I was not in a position to say whether there were any grounds for presenting a petition or not.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER presumed that none of the applicants were silly enough to suppose that the First Minister was the person to decide this matter. He did not think that the gentleman in question said anything of the kind. The conversation had taken place in presence of a large number of gentlemen, including representatives of the press, and was published. The First Minister had said that the papers were in the hands of the Minister of Justice, and would obtain immediate attention; and if the hon. gentleman did not make such a statement it was his bounden duty to have done so, with respect to the request of the humblest of Her Majesty’s subjects. Mr. Starr wrote again at some length urging the Minister of Justice to give his decision, and pointing out the great difficulty in which he was placed by the delay. He did not say that the claim

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was just, but he believed that at all events it should have been submitted for judicial decision. The Minister of Justice received a very large income for the discharge of such duties; but what did the hon. gentleman say in reply? and this was certainly a model for correspondents—“I have your favour of the 25th inst. It not being in my province to communicate the decisions of the Government, I have transmitted your letter to the Secretary of State, the proper officer, who will now give it immediate attention.” This was the answer to a promise made as long ago as the 15th September. The petitioner, in suppliant tones, merely asked what he should or should not do—nothing more; and the Minister replied that it was not his business to communicate decisions of the Government. The petitioner then addressed the Secretary of State, the papers having already been in the possession of the Minister of Justice and Administration for five or six months. He obtained no information from this source, however, and he again addressed him. On the 7th of December Mr. Starr received the first intimation from the Government respecting the Petition of Right filed in June, and what was it? “An official letter was sent to your counsel on the 1st inst. A copy of that letter will be sent to-day.” Under the law passed by this Parliament, previously, to give relief in such cases, these claims should have been referred for judicial decision. After all these delays, the following amusing letter was despatched:—

“OTTAWA, Dec. 1st, 1875.

“Adverting to the petition of Messrs. Starr & Wolfe, transmitted with your letter, on the 5th of June last, I am directed to acquaint you for the information of the petitioners, that the action of the Government, upon the matter to which their petition relates, is for the present deferred.”

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—That is my advice.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentleman said that this was his advice. Did he think that subjects of Her Majesty in this Dominion had no right to an answer regarding a question of this kind after six months’ delay? And did he not think that by the law passed by this Parliament, a person presenting

such a claim had a right to the information whether he would be permitted to proceed or not? The reply might well be epitomised as hope deferred. He wished to learn whether such action was taken with the purpose of bringing in a Bill to change the law.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Precisely.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER continued, that if this was the case, the Government occupied an entirely indefensible position. In Great Britain, he believed, under such circumstances, trial by Jury was granted, with reference to questions of fact as well as law. In Halifax, he knew, respecting matters in which the Imperial Government was concerned, prompt attention was given to them, and parties had the opportunity of establishing the facts as far as they were able. He could hardly conceive of a greater injustice, or of anything reflecting more seriously on this Parliament, than deliberately to change the law. In this relation he thought that the Government were very strongly censurable for having treated an applicant with such discourtesy, and he trusted that in the measure submitted care would be taken providing that no parties would be deprived of any of the rights they at present possessed.

Mr. IRVING remarked that he had understood the hon. member for Cumberland to say that persons had the right to have their cases tried under Petitions of Right at present; and that under the Bill of the Minister of Justice, these rights were changed. The Bill he himself had introduced at the last Session, did not propose in any case of this kind that the question should be determined by a jury, but by a Judge only; therefore the hon. member for Cumberland could not have read carefully the bill of last Session.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I am entirely misunderstood. I stated that under the Imperial Act persons had a right to trial by jury.

Mr. IRVING continued, that the hon. member for Cumberland had said the Bill deprived litigants of some rights assured them in the spirit of the bill of last Session. This was the point he intended to answer.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I enquired if it did.

Mr. IRVING added that the Minister of Justice said this Bill did not deprive litigants of any rights. He wished to draw the attention of the hon. member of Cumberland to the point, that it ill became him to assume the position he had taken; because he (Mr. Tupper) and a large number of his followers had voted to deprive the public of the right of trial by jury in connection with the bill concerning the Supreme Court and Court of Exchequer.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE stated that the hon. member for Cumberland had mixed up the case of a suitor under the existing law with the general discussion. It was quite true, as he had explained on making the motion for the first reading, that the bill proposed to substitute for various local tribunals the Supreme Court as the only tribunal for hearing these cases. Many reasons which he considered sufficiently obvious existed justifying this course. It was thought that the moment a Supreme and Exchequer Court was by Parliament established, that claims against the Crown in Chancery, in a word, against the Federal Government, should be tryable only in that Court. Several of the considerations in question would suggest themselves to every one; the place of trial frequently might be partly in one and partly in another place, and in fact would very often, as he had mentioned at the first reading, be in this city, for many of these cases involved the consideration of public documents, plans, contracts and the evidence of public officers connected with the Departments. He was charged with disregard for the interests of the subject; but he had made express provision that the trial might be had partly in one place and partly in another, as far as was necessary in order to promote expedition, economy, efficiency and convenience, both with regard to the Crown and subject.

Now, he was glad to know that the hon. gentleman's chief and leader, taking a more dispassionate view of this case, taking a more statesman-like view of the functions of a member of Parliament, did not hesitate when the Bill was read the first time, to commend that provision and give his hearty

assent to the trial of these cases in the Supreme Court alone. Another provision of this Bill, indicating to the hon. gentleman's distorted view a disregard of the rights of the people, was one by which the area of cases to which the Petition of Right was extended was considerably enlarged. The hon. gentleman was not expected to be conversant with the subject, and therefore, if he had been forced to speak, inaccuracies of statement would have been excusable; but otherwise they were not. The Act of last Session was intended by Parliament to exclude entirely a very large class of cases from Petition of Right. He was not prepared to say it had effectually excluded the whole of that class, but it had a large number of them which were included in this Bill. From his experience, the Bill of last Session would exclude nine out of every ten cases of contracts entered into with the Department of Public Works. Under this measure there would be no longer statutory power, as there was in the Act of last Session, preventing the subject from trying out a case with the Crown. If it should be one in which, between subject and subject, there would be ground for action, the court would decide whether such ground existed or not. He believed this to be an important extension, applicable to several Petitions of Right which were before him (Mr. Blake) as law officer of the Crown. He had felt it a great difficulty, more responsibility and a larger duty than he thought should be imposed on the law officer of the Crown. When he came to deal with these petitions which were presented under local laws, after a full consideration he had decided they should be tryable only in one Court; and he had suggested to his colleagues that action upon these petitions should be deferred until Parliament had an opportunity of deciding upon amending the law. That advice had been accepted, and Parliament should decide whether the proper course had been pursued. This was what the hon. member for Cumberland thought the Government were highly censurable for doing. If the hon. gentleman thought he could procure from the House and country a verdict of

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condemnation, he knew the proper course to pursue.

The hon. gentleman had asserted the assent of the Crown was technical. On the contrary, it was an important element, the law officer of the Crown being responsible in each case to Parliament. He believed the general and wholesome rule was to grant a *fiat*. It was only where a case was plainly frivolous and vexatious, and where an improper use was attempted to be made of this right to present petitions, that the law officer of the Crown ought to take the responsibility of refusing the *fiat*. Still, he felt from his own experience, and what he had learned on the subject, there might be cases in which it should be refused. In that particular the Act was placed precisely on the same ground as it stood in England.

The hon. gentleman had referred to a particular case in which delay and discourtesy had been shown. Immediately after the petitions were placed in his hands, the questions raised came before him for decision. They were so serious and it was so difficult to decide whether action should be taken or not, that careful consideration and advice were required. He felt that it was no very light responsibility that he was taking when he ultimately advised that this action should be taken. The decision was in its nature one which would not be satisfactory to the petitioners. They wanted a decision, and he did not want to decide any petition adversely. He preferred taking the judgment of Parliament in the sense in which this Bill was to be proposed, and it would be unfair to give an advantage to one more than to others. No one had a right to approach the Crown for legal proceedings; the Petition of Right was only granted last Session.

With reference to the question of discourtesy, Mr. Starr took the very unusual course of telegraphing from Halifax to the Minister of Militia at the expense of the Department. He deluged the office with telegrams, one of which cost \$4. That reached a climax, and Mr. Starr was informed he must pay for his own despatches. Having received a telegram from that gentleman, he (Mr. Blake) replied by

letter, stating that he was unable to give an opinion, and this was the discourtesy complained of.

The hon. gentleman complained that he had written another discourteous letter. After communicating with the Minister of Militia, Mr. Starr wrote to him (Mr. Blake). The proceedings were conducted in his office until such time as he had advised the Government and they had come to a conclusion. The question of dealing with various petitioners was then considered, and it was perceived to be impossible for them to indicate the course they intended to pursue. It was, therefore, decided to refer each petitioner, as he applied, to the official organ, who would simply and plainly intimate that the action was deferred. They took this responsibility of deferring action with the view of submitting to Parliament the proposed amendment of the law, and they conceived it would be improper to disclose to suitors their propositions in advance of disclosing them to Parliament. Having made this arrangement, he wrote to Mr. Starr to the effect that not being the official medium of communication of the Government, it was not within his province to reply, and intimated that the Secretary of State was the proper person. At the same time he sent Mr. Starr's letter to the Secretary of State with the request that he would give it his immediate attention. What was there discourteous and improper in this? He had before him a telegram from Mr. Starr stating that he had done what was satisfactory to him. The charge that the Secretary of State was the cause of the delay was also unfounded. Any delay that might have occurred was owing to the neglect of Mr. Starr's legal advisers in forwarding him the letter of the Secretary of State. He denied that either that official or himself had been guilty of discourtesy to the petitioner.

No man's rights were taken away by this Bill; on the contrary, they were enlarged. In England there was a wholesome sound principle of legislation which objected to retroactive measures. It was a cardinal rule, however, that that practice should not apply to procedure. But the machinery by which the law was enforced was

frequently changed whenever the public interest required. In this instance the form was changed, but the petitioner still had his rights. His petition would be tried in a tribunal which he hoped was not an unfit one, and with which Mr. Starr had expressed his satisfaction.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said when the Bill was introduced he expressed his satisfaction with the clause placing the jurisdiction in the Supreme Court; this arrangement was advantageous to the suitor against the Crown. He objected to that portion of the hon. gentleman's reply to the member for Cumberland, in which he said if the Government had acted wrongly in this matter, there was the remedy of appealing to Parliament. That was not a satisfactory reply to any charge of neglect of duty, which ought to be answered, and the hon. gentleman might have thrown himself upon the House,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.—I should willingly throw myself on the hon. gentleman.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That would be rather taking me at a disadvantage. He doubted whether the hon. gentleman had the right to assume the grave responsibility of deferring the claim until legislation had been effected. His hon. friend ought to bear in mind when he was passing the Petition of Rights Act, that it would be well at once to give jurisdiction to the General Courts. An Act was in existence at the time of this correspondence conferring the right on any person having a claim against the Crown to proceed in the Courts where a petition could be properly tried.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he pointed out certain exceptions, which in his opinion applied to many petitions. For obvious reasons he declined to say whether they would apply to the case referred to by the member for Cumberland.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD quite understood that, but if Mr. Starr had no right, under the Act of last Session, his hon. friend ought to have told him so and refused the *fiat*. That would not have prevented the gentleman from re-petitioning under the new

measure. The hon. member for Cumberland did not attribute any neglect to the Minister of Justice. The industry and ability of that hon. gentleman in private and professional life were well known, and he had no doubt those qualities would be carried into his public duties. But this treatment of an unlettered man was not just the thing.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Is it owing to Mr. Starr's use of the telegraph that my friend calls him an "unlettered" man?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Apart from that, Mr. Starr was a layman and unaccustomed to official procedure. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) could quite understand from what had dropped from the Minister of Justice the reason that that hon. gentleman had kept this matter in suspense. He (Sir John A. Macdonald) thought that as the hon. gentleman had restricted the right of petitioners with regard to tribunals before which their cases should be tried, he might as well go still further and abolish the official arbitrators altogether. He thought that was a very clumsy mode of disposing of matters arising under the operation of the Public Works Act. He admitted now, as he had admitted before, that he thought that the Crown was always at a disadvantage in the trying before a jury claims against the Board of Works or any other public department; and he thought that such cases should be tried entirely without the intervention of a jury. In such cases the jury generally looked on the Government in the light of a large corporation, of which they were not members, and in which they had no interest, and thought that it was well always to give the verdict against the Crown. He therefore thoroughly approved of the limitation proposed by this Bill, under which the Court should judge of fact as well as of law, and if this were provided, what was the use of a reference to a Court of Arbitrators? He thought that, in this respect, they might take an example from the United States. There they had a Court of Claims, the judges of which, like those of the Supreme Court, held office during good behaviour. The Court of Claims was a High Court of Justice. The gentlemen

who were selected to preside in it were professional men, and their decisions were looked upon as being as solemn adjudications as those of the Supreme Court itself, or very nearly so. He believed that in the United States no preliminary enquiry was necessary, but that any party could file a petition of this character against the Government of that country. As a matter of course, he brought the action at his own risk and it was adjudicated on. He (Sir John) thought also that the court of claims judged of fact as well as law. Under all the circumstances he would press upon the Government the advisability of doing away with the official arbitrators, and leaving all these matters to be tried by the Supreme Court and the Court of Exchequer.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) said he agreed very much with what his hon. friend had said with regard to Courts of Arbitrators. Every person who had ever been engaged in arbitrations must be very well aware of the great amount of time they occupied and the large expense they involved; and must be ready to admit that the results of them were sometimes anything but satisfactory. He thought that the Minister of Justice should have the right of saying whether the *fiat* should be issued or not, because that hon. gentleman would not be likely to refuse it when it ought to be granted; and that these cases should stand on the same footing as others. He must confess, that with regard to this particular case which had been the subject of discussion this afternoon, he had been unable to see anything wrong or unfair in the conduct of the Minister of Justice. He could not help thinking that there were circumstances connected with the administration of new laws, under which the gentleman occupying that position should be very careful with respect to the course he took. In England, when the Attorney General had the right to refuse Petitions of Right, there had during the last three-quarters of a century been only three cases made the subject of discussion in Parliament which had not been allowed to go before the Judges. In two of those instances the Legislature maintained the view the Attorney

General had taken; and in the third, the celebrated case of Baron Vokes, it was decided, but without at all reflecting upon the Attorney General that the petition should be granted. He (Mr. Cameron) hoped with his right hon. friend from Kingston that if it were possible the Government would revise this whole measure as far as it related to submitting cases connected with public works to arbitrators, and placing the decision of such matters entirely in the hands of one tribunal, he ventured to assert that this change would be satisfactory to the whole Dominion.

The Bill was then read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Scatcherdin the chair.

The first eighteen clauses passed without discussion.

On the 19th clause,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said that he would now make some remarks which he had been prevented by the Rules of the House from making in reply to the observations of hon. gentleman a short time ago. The Committee would see that this Bill did not propose to extend the power of reference to official arbitrators. All that it did was to provide that all cases under the existing law which the Minister of Justice might refer to arbitration, he would be permitted to refer under this, with the consent of the Governor in Council, within a certain time after the petition was presented; and that would prevent the Minister of Justice making a *fiat*. The observations that his hon. friends had made were, no doubt, deserving of great consideration. When the Act had been tried, as it perhaps would be before next Session, they would be better able to judge how far it would be practicable and prudent to repeal entirely or to restrict the provisions with reference to official arbitrators; but it would be acting rather hastily with the measure to blot out the existing remedy of arbitration before a single petition under the Petition of Right Act had been tried. He was not prepared to say that it might not be found expedient to propose, within a year, the change which his hon. friends on the other side of the House had suggested. He

ventured to ask his hon. friends if he was not acting on true Conservative principles in taking this course.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said that he supposed he must accept the statement of the Minister of Justice, that he had intended no discourtesy, and the statement of the member for Cardwell, that there had been nothing to complain of in regard to this matter. That did not, however, alter his (Mr. Tupper's) judgment on that point in the slightest degree. He held that it was the duty of the Minister of Justice, when these suitors asked if they were to be allowed a certain privilege which they claimed to have under an Act of this Legislature, to have answered them at once, yea or nay. He (Mr. Tupper) went further, and said that the hon. gentleman had exercised the power of the Crown in regard to this matter in a way in which it would have been impossible for this Parliament to have exercised it between subjects. It would be *ex post facto* legislation, and to remove rights acquired under the law and attached to a pending suit would be a course no Government should venture to propose to Parliament, and no Parliament should ratify. It was quite sufficient to prevent any Bill becoming law if it proposed that existing rights conferred by the law were to be taken away. He thought that the hon. gentleman would admit this; but what had he done? He had claimed that he had widened the privileges of the subject; but this he (Mr. Tupper) denied. The hon. gentleman, in his own statement, had not ventured to say that these parties did not enjoy such rights under a law on the Statute Book, and it did not matter whether it had been enacted one year or twenty years ago. The Minister of Justice had not imperilled his reputation as a lawyer by asserting that the party had no claim; and if this was the case he should have frankly so stated to the applicant. The hon. gentleman had deferred action until Parliament met, keeping the party in suspense for six months; and finally the petitioner had been informed that the Government refused to come to any decision, which nevertheless they were bound to have rendered. Was no injury inflicted by delay of justice? It was

often a denial of justice, as it was in this instance. The parties who had been suing at the feet of the Minister of Justice for an answer as to whether their claims could be tried judicially under a Bill of Rights, had gone into bankruptcy, and this no subsequent legislation could retrieve. He asked if this was the condition of things for which the hon. gentleman took credit, and he declared that he could show that the hon. gentleman had narrowed the rights of the subject. The hon. gentleman had taken away their privileges by an introductory clause. At present claims were to be submitted to a judicial tribunal; but the amendment said in effect to these very persons—"Although you have the right under the law to proceed; although the Attorney General would be compelled to grant a *fiat*, the Minister of Public Works can step in at the eleventh hour between you and your legal rights and take them away; and instead of giving you the Judges of the Supreme Court of Canada to decide upon the justness of your claims, he can commit them to the discretion of those men, who depend for their living from hour to hour on the word of the Minister of Public Works." Was this right? He thought not. The Government as was urged by his right hon. friend, should not have the power of placing one suitor upon one footing, and another upon another footing; this was not desirable for the Government themselves, as it would lay them upon the charge of unfairness and partiality, even when such condemnation was unmerited.

When this Administration came into power, what was one of their first acts? They deprived of his position Mr. Compton, an able officer at Halifax, who was replaced by Mr. Elliot, one of their supporters, who held another position entirely incompatible with the duties of an official arbitrator of the Public Works Department, being also Inspector of Public Works under this Government. The anomaly to have been expected consequently occurred the other day—the report of Mr. Elliot, as Inspector, was rejected by the Minister of Public Works. Let it be supposed it had been in the other direction—that he

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had refused to certify a claim, and the Government adopted his recommendation, and that it finally came again before this gentleman as arbitrator! Every man in this country should stand on the same footing. The power it was proposed to confer upon the Government was a dangerous one; and the Administration should not be so placed as to be open to temptation in this connection.

These claims, in nine out of ten cases, as the Minister of Justice said, were between private individuals and the Minister of Public Works; the former charged the latter in such cases with denial of justice; and yet in the Minister of Justice would be placed the power of deciding as to the manner in which their claims were to be adjudicated upon. This was contrary to the interests of the whole country, as well as to those of the Administration.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE stated that with reference to the charge of discourtesy which the hon. gentleman had reiterated, he had not previously thanked his hon. friend from Cardwell for answering it, but as it had been repeated he must say that the hon. member for Cumberland was a bold man indeed. The hon. gentleman reminded him of the famous Six Hundred at Balaklava; although cannon to the right of him, and cannon to the left of him, volleyed and thundered, he went on, but like the famous Six Hundred again, the hon. gentleman also came back very small.

With regard to a more serious, and another personal question, the hon. gentleman naturally misapprehended his position altogether; the hon. gentleman said that he (Mr. Blake) had not ventured to imperil his reputation as a lawyer by pronouncing an opinion on the right of this particular individual in regard to the petition. He appealed to the hon. members for Kingston and Cardwell whether in the present state of this Bill, pending as it was before Parliament, he would not be inflicting a fatal stab on his professional reputation if he had not kept his mind perfectly free and unprejudiced on a subject on which he might yet have to give a decision.

With reference to the hon. gentleman's argument as to the arbitrators,

he (Mr. Blake) was sorry to hear him pass such a bad compliment to the legislation of the late Government. The House had now learned from the hon. gentleman that the arbitrators who were the servants of the late Ministry, appointed by and dependent on them, were not impartial in their decisions. Reckless as the hon. gentleman was in his assaults on the character of his opponents, he should never have been so base as to attack men who were not present to defend themselves, or to insinuate that they had done injustice to the subject whose judge they were, unless he had some ground for it. This law was not confined to the Public Works Department. Other Ministers adjudicated on claims. It was only when the decision of the Minister was unsatisfactory that there was reference to the arbitrators. In all these years during which this law was on the Statute Book these same difficulties occurred, or they did not. If they did, the hon. gentleman should have amended or abolished the law; if they did not, there would be no harm in allowing the law to remain as it stood until next Session.

In the first place, the power to refer under the Statute was guarded, the whole Government being collectively responsible. In the second place, wherever the principle was one of law it would be good policy to refer it to the judicial tribunal. Lastly, if the point were one of accounts, and not involving any question of law, the arbitrators' tribunal might be simpler, cheaper and more effectual than the Court.

He had no knowledge of the manner in which the arbitrators had discharged their duties, but he had no doubt they had done their work well.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER observed that he was glad to find, that although he did not have the advantage of being a lawyer, the Minister of Justice had felt the necessity of sheltering himself under the guns of the right hon. member for Kingston and the hon. member for Cardwell. He (Mr. Tupper) had read from the Act itself the definition in this relation; it stated that in any case in which either before, or within two months after the presentation of the petition the claim

is under the Statutes in that behalf referred to arbitration by the head of the proper department, who is thereby authorized, with the approval of the Governor in Council, to make such reference upon any Petition of Right. So the hon. gentleman would see that under the clause to which he was adhering with such tenacity, that power of referring to official arbitrators the claims sought to be brought before the Supreme Court was not only conferred, but also the rights which the petitioners held under the law; they were prevented from ever going before the Court mentioned. He left the House to decide whether he had said a single word reflecting upon the impartiality of the arbitrators; it was not from himself that the hon. gentleman learned that these arbitrators held positions under the Government, being liable to discharge at anytime, for this was stated in the Statute Book. A difference existed between the appointment of the arbitrators and Judges, the latter being perfectly independent of the Administration.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the Hon. Minister of Justice had hardly been fair in stating the hon. member for Cumberland had made a charge against the Dominion Arbitrators. What the hon. gentleman did say was that there must be greater confidence in a tribunal where the Judges were independent than in one which was not. That involved no charge against the arbitrators, who he believed had discharged their duties well. The Minister of Justice had also stated that he (Sir John) was responsible for forming that tribunal. He had introduced the Bill in 1867, taking it from the old Act which was in existence before he was Attorney General at all.

After some further discussion the clause was adopted.

The Bill was reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.

At Six o'clock the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

SUPPLY.

On the motion to go into Committee of Supply,

Mr. WORKMAN said—When I had the honour, Mr. Speaker, of addressing

you this day week on the question now before the House, I moved an amendment to the resolution then in your hands. That amendment I discovered afterwards was ruled out of order, and very properly so, I believe, according to the practice of the House; but I was not aware when I proposed it that such was the case. I told you then I would take the very earliest opportunity of submitting that resolution again to this House, and getting a clear and distinct vote upon it. With that view I have now risen, and I wish to state that since I offered my amendment on the first occasion I have had the satisfaction of visiting some of my constituents in Montreal, and they have requested that I should bring this measure squarely and fairly before the House and get a distinct and plain vote upon it. In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the nature of the resolution, I will now read it—That all the words after “that” in the original motion be struck out and the following inserted instead thereof: “This House deeply regrets that the Government has not proposed to Parliament a policy of increased protection to our various and important manufactures, the large amount of capital now invested therein, and the present depressed condition of the country rendering such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity.” I do not intend to detain the House on this question, because it has already been very fully discussed; but, as I have stated, I wish to get a vote on this resolution. To my mind it is very plain and straightforward, and admits of no trimming and no dissimulation. When I had the honour of addressing my constituents previous to the election, I stated distinctly the line I intended to adopt. The amendment is in accordance with the policy I then foreshadowed, and it is with that view I now bring it forward.

The gentlemen who have addressed you on this subject, and especially those entertaining what they are pleased to term free-trade proclivities, have spoken very fully as to their adherence to that policy. I maintain that free-trade is a perfect absurdity, and that we have no such thing in this Dominion. A very large portion of

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the revenue has to be raised by the imposition of duties upon imports; therefore, to say that this is a free-trade country, or that we can pursue a free-trade policy, is, to my mind at least, a perfect absurdity. Those gentlemen have dwelt very much on that theme, and have talked with a great deal of force as to the injustice of placing taxes upon the farming and lumber interests to their injury, merely for the benefit of a few manufacturers. I stated last Tuesday, and I repeat it now, that the result of discriminating duties on our manufacturing industries, instead of increasing the prices of articles required by the farmers and lumbermen, have in almost every instance decreased the price to the consumer. I am prepared to prove that, and in support of the statement I then made, I may say that three gentlemen were brought before the Committee on Commercial Depression—

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman is not at liberty to speak of what took place before the Committee.

Mr. WORKMAN—I stand corrected, then. I may state that I had a conversation with three gentlemen who are thoroughly competent to give an opinion on the subject; and if you will permit me, Mr. Speaker, I shall mention their names. One was Mr. Perley, of this city, a very large lumber merchant, carrying on an extensive business; another was Mr. Baldwin, and the other Mr. Booth. I put this question to these gentlemen:—Has the increase of the duties on the articles you consume in your shanties, mills, &c., increased the price of these materials to you within the last few years? Their answer was plain and distinct, that it had not, but on the contrary, their plant (such as saws, augurs, spades, shovels and everything almost that is used in their establishments) are manufactured in Canada, and are really cheaper to-day than they were a few years ago. That is a sufficient answer to those gentlemen who claim that any increase of duty would increase the tax upon lumbermen and farmers.

I am prepared to prove the same thing with reference to the farming interest; the implements used by the

farmer are cheaper, of a better quality, and better suited to the wants of the country than they were when $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty was imposed. The incidental protection we have enjoyed for the last ten or fifteen years has stimulated manufacturing industries to a certain extent, and the result is that these articles are now produced cheaper and of a much better quality. There are a great many other industries that I might mention to sustain this position, but I do not wish to detain the House too long. But there is one in particular to which I shall, and I wish I understood it enough to enter into all its details---I mean the sugar question. That very important branch is almost ruined by the policy of our Government, and by the policy adopted by the United States in allowing such very large drawbacks as they are doing on the exports of refined sugar to Canada. These drawbacks consist principally of three classes, viz.: \$3.60 per 100 lbs., \$3, and \$2.50. Such drawbacks are allowed to the refineries of Boston, New York, &c., on all sugars of certain grades exported from the country, so that sugar coming from the United States here gets this bonus, and the effect has been to close our refineries and throw the refiners out of employment. Hundreds of men are idle and families in almost a state of destitution in consequence of the want of a proper policy by the Government in meeting this unjust proceeding on the part of the United States. I hope this Government, before the House rises, will take this question into serious consideration. A gentleman whom I had a long conversation with lately declared that a refinery in Canada has worked at a clear loss of $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents on every 100 lbs. brought into competition with the United States. I state that on the authority of a gentleman well qualified to judge, and I think my hon. friend from Halifax will probably confirm my statement, or will correct me if wrong. The quality of sugar now sent into Canada is very inferior; the saccharine quality of that sugar, in some instances, is not more than 60 per cent. of what it used to be, and I believe the average is from 80 to 82, while the genuine article we got some years ago

would average 89 to 99 per cent., and the consumer pays quite as high for the article. This arises from the fact that persons in the United States are manufacturing the cheapest and commonest article to send into Canada, in order to secure the enormous drawback.

I hope, therefore, that the Government will see their way to bring before this House some remedy for this great evil. I also stated on an occasion to which I have already referred, that Canada was made a sacrifice market for various manufactures in the United States and certain kinds of goods. When I was in Montreal, yesterday, I called on one or two people who are engaged in the hardware business---in my own branch of business. One young man who is buyer for a very large house, I asked distinctly and plainly if it was the case that goods were offered to Canadian buyers at lower prices than they were to American buyers for home consumption. He replied equally plainly and distinctly that it was quite notorious, and in proof of this assertion he gave me a memorandum of some articles. First, take locks: These are used extensively in our houses. There is what is called the price list. They are all fixed. There is no alteration or change in the prices, but there is an alteration in the discount. The nominal prices are the same for both Canada and the United States, but in the United States the manufacturers allow a discount of 50 and 2 per cent. to purchasers for home consumption; but for Canadian purchasers they allow a discount of 50 and 2 and 10, making a discriminating duty of 10 per cent. against Canadian manufacturers and in favour of themselves really. The next article he gave me was that of enamelled hardware. We have one manufactory up at Hamilton. The discount in the United States is 20 per cent. off their lists, but for Canada, in order to compete with or to drive out our struggling industries of the same, as at Hamilton, and one or two at Montreal, a discount of 50 per cent. is allowed. That is they charge 80 cents in the United States, but only 50 cents for them when the articles come into Canada. The price in the United

States for cistern pumps, or the discount allowed rather, is 35 per cent. for American merchants, but if the goods are coming into Canada a discount of 45 per cent. is allowed. In scales a discount of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ is allowed for home consumption, but if they come into Canada a discount of 50 per cent. is allowed. I think that my hon. friend from Hamilton, who is in the hardware line, will confirm me in this statement.

Mr. WOOD—Hear, hear.

Mr. WORKMAN—I was contradicted when I made these statements before, but I am prepared to prove that this state of things does exist, and I quote the figures now. I defy any hon. gentleman to contradict them. There may be certain branches of dry goods and certain lines of goods sold exactly at the same price in the United States as in Canada, but there are a great many descriptions that are sold cheaper in Canada than in the United States for the purpose of crushing out our own manufacturing and industries in this country. American manufacturers are determined to do it if they can; and in proof of this I have to quote you the prices I have just read. There is another article, manufactured both in Quebec and Montreal to a considerable extent, viz.: India-rubber goods. The price of these goods is nearly one-third less if they are exported to Canada than if they are for home consumption in Boston, New York, or any other large city in the United States. The difference is so great that I am almost afraid to read it, but I have it from undoubted authority. There is another article—galvanized wire. If for home consumption in the United States, the price is 9 cents per pound in United States currency, but if the order is from a Canadian hardware merchant, the price is 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents in gold. The one is equal to 8 cents gold and the other to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents gold. Therefore, we have to compete with what I call an unjust and sacrificing system in the United States. They send their surplus stocks into our markets and dispose of them almost for whatever prices they will bring. They know very well that Canadian merchants, as a rule, pay

promptly and in cash—and they take care that all of these sales are for cash—for in 10, 15 or 20 days they have their money, while our merchants are obliged to sell at large credit, and very often they make bad debts. These are some of the difficulties we have to contend with in this country and under the system at present advocated by the Government of the day. These are the great and the trying circumstances under which our manufacturers labour. Is it therefore to be wondered at that there is a great outcry for some change? I certainly had the best reason for believing that some change would have been introduced to meet this crying evil that is to be heard of all over the country, in every town, in every village almost throughout this Dominion. You will find that the statements I make here are confirmed by facts that are patent to the people. The hon. gentlemen who to-day control the destinies of this country, and are responsible to it for the policy they introduced last week, will find that they are mistaken if they calculate upon our people submitting quietly to have a continuance of this system. If I am out-voted in this resolution to-night, it will be my duty to try and impress upon my constituents, and also upon different constituencies throughout this country, that we must educate public opinion up to this point. We must try to impress upon them the importance of a protective policy to our manufacturing industries here in Canada. And if we cannot succeed in doing that, if we are out-voted by a decided majority, then it will be time enough for us to submit to the dictates and decision of the House. In the meantime, I am determined by every possible means to bring this question squarely and fairly before the House. With that view I drew out my resolution without consulting any one, and with very short consideration indeed. I placed it in your hands this day week, and I then stated, Mr Speaker, that I should insist or endeavour to force a vote upon it. I do so now. I make that motion, seconded by Mr. Devlin, the hon. member for Montreal Centre.

Mr. COLBY— I, perhaps, may be

Mr. WORKMAN.

pardoned for making a few observations upon the resolution introduced by the hon. member for Montreal West. I did not care to take part in the debate to which we have recently listened at considerable length, upon the resolution of the hon. member for Hamilton, for the reason that the debate was somewhat discursive, and was taking a broader field than I thought was necessary for the consideration of the House in connection with the important question of the tariff. I believe that the question which is interesting this House and the country is not a question between free-trade and protection. I believe there is no hon. gentleman on the floor of this House, however enthusiastic he may be in his free-trade sentiments, who would urge that free-trade, pure and simple, was suitable for this country; and I believe there is no gentleman, although there are some very ardent protectionists here, who would advance the proposition that it would be to the interests of the country to surround it with a Chinese Wall, and to make an insurmountable barrier around it.

Our present policy is the policy of the late Government, that which we have had for many years, viz.: protection to the industries of this country. The question is whether the protection we now have is an adequate protection. It is a question as between the protection that is at present afforded, and one of a greater degree. There are many who are not out and out Protectionists, who believe, that in view of the present distress, especially amongst manufacturers, we should increase the protection.

In view of the unfair and fierce assaults upon our manufacturers from parts without this country, and of the present situation, I think that if manufacturing industries were desired, we could well afford, even at a little sacrifice, to come to their relief at the present moment. The solution of this question will, however, depend very largely upon the light in which these interests are regarded. I have heard, I must confess, hon. members of this House denounce those who were engaged in these enterprises as *corporants*—as persons who had interests distinct from the mass of the people—

who were preying upon this country, and whose only idea and wish was by rings, monopolies and other unfair methods, to promote their own cause. Now, this is not the opinion to which I have been educated, nor do I think it is an enlightened opinion. I have always been led to believe, and hold that the great industries of this or any civilized country are inter-dependent; that the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests work concurrently for our well-being and prosperity. Those of the manufacturer are not necessarily adverse to those of the farmer, nor *vice versa*; they are coadjutors, working for the common benefit, and an appeal to the farmers as a class, as against the manufacturers as a class, is the purest demagoguism.

If I thought, as some hon. gentlemen seem to think, I should say that we should sweep these industries out of existence; but my observation has taught me to consider, and I have been educated to believe that the state of the arts and manufactures in any country is almost a measure, and certainly an index of its prosperity and greatness.

If their encouragement then is desirable, how shall it be effected? I would appeal to any gentleman in this House, and ask if he thinks, that our manufactures can exist and flourish with a system of free-trade, pure and simple? Everybody knows that they cannot; our circumstances are such that this is impossible.

An Hon. Gentleman—Why?

Mr. COLBY—An hon. gentleman enquires why? The reason is obvious to my mind, though it may not be to this hon. gentleman; they could not, in such a case, compete with the rivalry of Great Britain and the United States, two great nations with which we have commercial intercourse; their manufacturing establishments have been founded for many years, and with their unlimited capital and acquired skill, and business reputation, possessing, moreover, the trade market of the world, while we are excluded from our nearest mart, it would be quite impossible for us, with our limited means and peculiar conditions to prosper in this relation under a system of absolute free-trade, and build up these industries.

I am quite aware that perhaps the hon. gentleman who made the enquiry, as well as other hon. members, may be extreme in their views regarding free-trade; but I had hardly supposed that this was at present a point in controversy. I imagined certainly that the initial difficulties incident to the establishment of manufactures in a young country situated as ours is, would appal anyone if we had a system of free-trade, pure and simple.

If then, I am correct in the belief that some measure of protection must be granted in order to make these enterprises successful, the amount to be granted comes into question; and I venture to assert that it is impossible for any man, I do not care how conversant he may be with theories, or how enlightened he may be, to elaborate in his closet and propound a tariff which, evolved by any system of (*a priori*) reasoning shall be adapted to the changing exigencies of a country like this. Any tariff devised must be experimental, it must be tentative, it cannot rest upon pure, abstract principles, it cannot be procrustean; it ought not to be such as will compel the varying industries and conditions of the country to conform to certain fixed rules, but rather a tariff which will yield to our changing necessities, and conditions. Whether protection should equal ten or fifteen, or twenty, or twenty-five per cent. is I assume, a matter to be tested; and in this manner alone can it be determined. Our tariff when prepared, gave a fair degree of protection to manufactures; but it now appears, if the evidence by which we are surrounded is to be credited, as well as the testimony of those most interested, that in consequence of the fierce competition to which they are exposed from our neighbours over the line, and of other causes, it is insufficient to accomplish the end in view. That very great distress exists is not controverted; it is admitted; the Finance Minister acknowledges it—also that it has been largely aggravated by the system of bringing in American goods, which are sold at reduced slaughter prices. He further admits that there are cases of extreme hardship, but he does not feel

MR. COLBY.

it to be the duty of the Administration to intermeddle. He lays down the proposition that a Government cannot be free and at the same time paternal—that a Government cannot properly exercise a paternal influence over the industries of a country unless it has the power of limiting production as well. I must dissent from that idea; in the strict sense no Government can be free; the very conception of Government is contrary to the idea of freedom, and in that sense no Government can be free. I believe that it can be free and paternal to a certain extent, having a fair solicitude for our industries, and adapting its policy from time to time to the varying exigencies of the country, it may yield to the stress of the times, and yet be a free Government.

I don't think that a Government, in order to be free, should be rigid and unelastic, and incapable of adapting itself to the exigencies of the country. The Finance Minister seeing, as he freely acknowledges, the distress of the country, might very fairly, without doing violence to his views on that subject, have met this condition of affairs.

There is no doubt, that being a new country and our relations being such with the two great nations with which our business has most to do, our circumstances are somewhat peculiar, and I believe if there ever was a country in which the Government might strain a point in order to encourage industries, that country is Canada. We have valuable resources, and all the elements essential to success in manufacturing enterprise. We have iron, coal, water-power, and as tractable a population as can be found in the factories of any country.

I am not an extreme Protectionist. I would not surround this country with an impassable barrier by way of a tariff, but I am one of those who believe that the circumstances in which we find the manufacturing industries of the country are such that the resolution proposed by the hon. member for Montreal West may fairly be supported by the members of this House.

MR. DOMVILLE—I have listened with great attention to the speeches on this subject, and I must confess I am

unable to arrive at any decision from the statements and arguments I have heard. We have been told that the Government were induced, by the threats of Lower Province members, to adhere to their policy, or rather to change it, because I am led to believe their original intention was to bring in a just and reasonable tariff. Now, I should like to know what men from the Lower Provinces did that. I never was invited by members from New Brunswick to attend any meeting to discuss the question.

We have heard the Premier talk about rings resulting from protection, but are there no rings in Canada? Have we not heard of them here where we have no protection?

I think the present depression is nothing new, following, as it does, a period of prosperity; but that is no reason why we should not adopt a policy to meet the occasion. I do not believe any man who is sound on the question of political economy believes in a high protective tariff, but I believe in incidental protection which will help our manufacturers for the moment and prevent their being slaughtered by the introduction of cheap goods from the neighbouring country. We are told that a protective tariff would make goods dear. I do not believe it, and in proof of it I point to the United States where iron is cheaper than it can be procured in Great Britain. Coal can be sold at the pits-mouth as cheap or cheaper than in England, and even cotton and other manufactured goods are exported to the Mother Country. If a protective tariff ranging from 40 to 60 per cent. *ad valorem* does not enhance the cost of goods there, why should a moderate tariff increase the price of wares here?

To my mind the cure for high prices is this: A high protective tariff stimulates industries and causes over-production. But do you find over-production here? On the contrary the country is crying out for protection to enable our manufacturers to produce more. We find in Nova Scotia the coal, iron and limestone almost together, and labour not much dearer than in Great Britain. Iron could be produced there to compete with the world. Instead of depending upon England for our

iron we should be able to export it to Australia, the East Indies and South America.

The United States manufacturers have a home market, and send their surplus productions to other countries, even though they cannot realize a profit. That is the way they regulate the supply and prevent the home market from being over-stocked.

I should like to see such a tariff adopted as would enable Nova Scotia to produce 200,000 tons of iron and steel a year. That would necessitate the consumption of 400,000 tons of coal, and the employment of a large number of men. Allowing \$25 per ton as the cost of production, that would give an annual expenditure of \$5,000,000 in the Province, that now goes abroad to pay for foreign labour. Ontario would supply the flour, but although the people of the Lower Provinces complain, it would be levying a tax of \$300,000 a year on them to protect it they would send back to Ontario pig iron to pay for it. The people of Nova Scotia are mistaken if they think protection would do them any harm. If any Province would have a right to complain it would be Ontario.

What we want in this country is such a tariff as will enable us all to get along. The Government, no doubt, think they are doing the best in the interests of the whole country; but there are many industries that require protection, and it is the duty of this Parliament to legislate for the benefit of all classes of the community.

I believe in free-trade if we can get it, but our shipping is deprived of the coasting trade of the United States, while their vessels trade in our waters. Now, I say that is not free-trade. Let them open their markets to us and we will be happy to trade with them on equal terms. I heard the hon. member from Carlton say that he believed in free-trade—that he did not believe in taxing special industries—and at the same time he enunciated the doctrine that the stamp duties should be done away with.

Mr. SPEAKER—That was in another debate. The hon. gentleman is out of order.

Mr. DOMVILLE—I will say, then,

that I would be surprised if I heard an hon. member from New Brunswick say that he was in favour of free-trade, and at the same time argue that stamp duties should be done away with and direct taxation resorted to. Is not the stamp duty a direct tax. How can you have free-trade and not have direct taxation? The Hon. Minister of Finance said that this crisis came upon us unanticipated. I think he was mistaken in that. I think he might have foreseen for a long time that there was going to be distress. We had seen it in the United States for a long time, and as we trade with that country a great deal the hon. gentlemen might have known that we would have it here too.

The hon. gentleman in referring to the banks spoke of one of them, the Bank of Montreal, as a great institution. I admit that that bank is a great institution, and one that the country ought to be proud of; but at the same time I hold that no one bank should be built up at the expense of others; and to place a slur on the smaller banks at this critical juncture is unfair, inasmuch as it is calculated to injure the value of the stock and their position before the country; and to give one great bank an advantage not enjoyed by the smaller ones, must injure the latter and prevent them making the money for their stockholders which they ought.

The question has been raised as to the desirability of protecting the farmers, and it has been said that if manufacturing industries are protected the farmers must be protected also, because everything the latter require and do not produce will then cost them more than it does now. Well, I believe it can be shown that such an incidental tariff as would protect the manufacturers would not enhance the price of such goods to the farmers; but even if it did, would not the farmers at the same time be stimulated to raise all the various cereals which can be grown in the county, by the increased demand which would come from them from the people engaged in manufacturing? An if the public generally suffered from an advance in the prices of cereals, would they not at the same time enjoy the

advantage which would result from a large amount of money being spent in this country which now goes abroad? Here is the Intercolonial Railway spending a large amount at the present time for rolling stock which ought to be built in this country. I would advocate a policy under which all such things as these would be produced as far as possible in this country. The West should supply the flour, wheat, grain, &c.; and the east, coal and iron, &c. Our shipping should not have a burden placed upon it because it brings money from abroad. It should rather be stimulated, and if this were done our marine, instead of being the seventh in rank might be the third, second, or even the first in the world.

It is said that England is a free-trade country. I admit that; but why is she so? It is because of the cheapness of money there. Any Political Economist will tell you that money represents so much labour, and that if we have to pay dearly for money we have to pay dearly for labour; and I would like to see the Finance Minister provide some scheme under which we could get money cheaply here as is done in England, where, taking the average of sixteen years, it will be found the Bank of England's rate has only averaged a little over (4) four per cent. per annum. England is the centre of the wealth of the world, which accumulated there because the country is highly civilized, and everything that wealth can purchase can be obtained there. She is also a country in which there is freedom for everybody; and people who have made money abroad—Englishmen—go back to the old Mother Land once more before they die, educate their children there, and send them out to the colonies to endeavour to do what their fathers have done before them. There are not the same chances for the investment of money there that there are here, in a broad country extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific; but here the interest is higher than it is in England because the security is lower. I do not think it came with very good grace from the Minister of Finance to say that factories in Montreal had shut on the eve of the opening of Parliament in order to coerce Parliament.

Mr. DOMVILLE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT — The hon. gentleman must excuse me. I made no such statement.

Mr. DOMVILLE—I apologize to the hon. member. It was a Ministerial supporter; and as hon gentlemen on the other side of the House form so compact a body under all circumstances, that whatever emanates from one must of necessity, emanate from all. If not the Hon. Minister of Finance might say that he did agree with that assertion and I would be satisfied. I must apologize to the House for speaking so long, but I wished to have my views on this subject understood. I did not wish to be put down as a Free-Trader or Protectionist; for I want to see such a policy brought down as will, if possible, meet the emergency of the moment and contribute to the happiness and welfare of all classes.

Mr. PALMER — The constituency I represent is rather a peculiar one in regard to the question now before the House. It contains nearly sixty thousand of a population. In the city there were a great number of mechanics and manufacturers, and at the same time a large number of merchants engaged in the shipping business, so that with the exception of the farming interest, I may be considered a representative of all the interests in the Dominion. My views are of what I call a free-trade character, that is, I think that it is to the benefit of a country to have the freest trade with the world that the condition of the country will admit of; and such a view I hold to be not at all incompatible with that fostering care of all industries without which there would not be any trade whatever. But before I proceed further I would like to have a point of order called, viz: whether I can refer to anything which has been said on this subject in a previous debate.

It would be impossible representing the interests I do, to vote upon such a resolution without expressing distinctly the views I entertain upon the question of the tariff and the principles of trade involved therein. It cannot be denied that the principal industries of this country, which have hitherto prospered, are at the present time in a depressed state, and that those engaged

in those industries have asked for that protection which they think the Government should extend to them under existing circumstances. They feel that may be done in a great measure by a revision of the tariff, and therefore whether they are mistaken or not, it does not become any member of this House to taunt them, as some hon. gentlemen behind me have done, by saying they are suing *in forma pauperis*—that they are asking assistance from the charity of the country.

Mr. SPEAKER called the hon. gentleman to order. He must refrain from referring to what hon. members had said in a previous debate.

Mr. PALMER was under the impression this was one debate.

Mr. SPEAKER said the whole question of free-trade and protection was before the House, but this was an entirely new debate, and it was improper to refer to what had previously been said in the House. If that were allowed the hon. members referred to could not be prevented from demanding an explanation, and the whole subject would be gone into just as if there had been no debate at all.

Mr. PALMER was of opinion that this was a continuation of the late debate, and that it was in order to refer to statements previously made.

Mr. SPEAKER said if the hon. gentleman would reflect a moment he would see that it was not one debate.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the ruling would materially affect his hon. friend; it would only prevent him from alluding to the speeches of hon. gentlemen on a previous motion, but he could reply to their arguments without referring to the individual members. There was, however, a question in his mind as to whether this was not substantially one debate, just in the same way as if an amendment was proposed where a measure had previously gone into Committee, which allowed discussion on the third reading of a subject introduced on the second.

Mr. SPEAKER said the question that he should leave the chair might be put fifty times during the Session; would it be proper for any member

to refer to subjects which had been brought forward on similar motions?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD thought so, if the motion to retain the Speaker in the chair was on the same subject.

Mr. SPEAKER--I have left the chair.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD was of opinion that every time Mr. Speaker was prevented from leaving the chair by a motion like the present, in intercepting the main motion, it was practically a continuation of the same subject. A similar motion was made the other day by the hon. member for Halifax, and it was but fair that on the pending resolution allusions to the previous debate should be permitted.

Mr. PALMER said he did not view the question in the same light as Mr. Speaker. This was not merely a question to leave the Chair, but the question before the House was the policy initiated or maintained by the Budget Speech. However, he bowed to the ruling, the only effect of which as regards himself would be to shorten his remarks. Mr. Palmer continued: It is a pity that those gentlemen who have asked protection from the Government have not been treated with courtesy.

As I said before the question of protection or free-trade is one as to which I have always accorded my views in favour of free trade. My hon. friend from Stanstead says it is no use talking about free-trade because we cannot get it, and because it is actually beyond the scope of legislation. Not having free-trade, it is the duty of the House to foster, by all the means in its power, the industries of this country, he cared not whether they were the manufacturing or agricultural interests. It is simply a question as to the best mode of legislating for the purpose, without doing wrong to any. I have the idea that manufactures cannot flourish nor can anything else, without the country is made cheap to live in. If there is a large expenditure the money will have to be taken from the pockets of the people. I will hold up both my hands in favour of any measure that will prevent an increase of the expenditure.

Mr. SPEAKER.

Of course the country is justified in creating a debt for the purpose of fostering industries and for building up the country. In the matter of immigration a considerable sum is spent; but it is for the purpose of developing the country, although it is no less a bounty than a sum would be to benefit manufactures. I agree with the hon. member for Stanstead that no one industry can flourish without others. The farming population would be very poor if it were not for manufactures. I was surprised to hear the Finance Minister say that protection would build up towns but would deplete the country. I always believed that if a large town is built up that a large country adjoining it must necessarily be benefited, as the farmers would have to supply the manufacturers.

Some of my hon. friends, and particularly my hon. friend from Cumberland, enumerated the doctrine that a duty should be placed on coal and flour. I must record my dissent from my hon. friend. I would like to foster them, but I don't believe this would be brought about by paying duties upon them. I don't apply these remarks to the coarse grains, but more particularly to flour and also to coal, both of which are absolutely essential to manufacturers. I must confess that my views upon this question are very nearly in accord with those of the hon. member for South Waterloo; but I want to say that the hon. gentleman in his speech, and in the statistics that he gave to the House contradicted his argument. If I remember rightly, the hon. gentleman started with the idea that protection to manufacturers meant nothing but an increase cost to the farmer. A little further on, that gentleman quoted from, I think, an American authority to prove what he wanted to prove, viz.:—That protection was destructive to workmen themselves. He showed that the cost of living under protection in the United States had increased in a greater ratio than the cost of wages, and then he showed that the cost of everything had increased five-sixths, and that farmers' produce cost double what it would have done under another system. And then he replied to the assertion that our markets were being slaughter-

el by foreign productions, that if protection was put on it would so stimulate manufactures that it would absolutely reduce the articles absolutely below the value of these slaughtered articles. So that arguing from the same standpoint we have the farmer ruined by higher prices, and then the declaration that by this system the slaughtered articles would be half the price they are now. I think the true theory is that the home market is of the greatest importance to the agriculturist. If a farm is taken in the vicinity of a town it is worth double the price of what it would be if further off; because the transportation of the produce would not cost so much. It is very important, therefore, to farmers that manufactures should be built up; but how this is to be done is another question, and a more difficult one. It is important not only that living should be cheap, but that the Government should impose the duties to the best possible advantage. Take for instance the main industry of my own province—shipbuilding. You find the very materials that go to make ships—which necessarily are free-trade, they going to compete with outsiders—are taxed. The yellow metal put upon the bottom of ships is taxed, although this was done in no other country, and the metal could not be produced in this country. This tariff required revision. Many articles were entered at prices which they were never produced for. A specific instead of an *ad valorem* duty ought to be imposed. A great many of my constituents engaged in manufactures complain bitterly that articles that enter manufactures were charged an absolutely higher duty than upon the manufactured articles. This was protection with a vengeance. I was pleased to see the Finance Minister enter into the question of economy. I looked at the estimates with a great deal of curiosity. I find in the first year that the Government have spent upon the administration of Government and for services that do not enter into the construction of works fairly chargeable to capital, \$115,000 more than their predecessors. This year I looked carefully to see whether they reduced the salaries, but they did not.

Of course public works cannot be stopped now, if they can be done without being destructive to the credit of the country.

The hon. gentleman at that time resorted to, what we on this side of the House, considered an extraordinary step; he raised the tariff in order to benefit the country; and I was rather surprised to see that in the course of one year he has taken a directly opposite course. If I understood him aright, he said, "There is going to be a deficit this year of something like two millions, and yet he is going to trust to chance and the future to make it good." He has, however, proved the truth of what he affirmed twelve months ago—that it was destructive to our credit to have a deficit, and such loss of credit was to lose an enormous sum of money; and Canada is not only going to suffer from the loss of her manufactures and the distress of her people, but also in the money market; and if my hon. friend's policy is carried out, the credit of the country will be destroyed. I am delighted to find the Government disposed to be economical; but I fail to see how they have done it, save in stopping important projected public works. We had in the estimates from year to year, a sum for the construction of the Bay Verte Canal.

An Hon. Member--Don't name it.

Mr. PALMER--I will name it. This sum is not now in the estimates, and I think that this is a great mistake, for it is folly to say that this Canal must not sometime or other be built by the Dominion. A contract was given out, I believe, for the St. Peter's Canal; and in my own city there is the work of extending the railway around Ballast Wharf, in which connection the Government must have spent at least \$100,000; these works are stopped; and not only so, but the portions partly completed are going to destruction. I doubt very much whether this is real economy. as the works could be finished much cheaper during these hard times than under other circumstances; and if incidentally some employment to citizens of St. Johns, it would certainly do no harm.

On the Intercolonial Railway, I have understood, that the wages of trackmen have been reduced ten cents; but this, I believe, has not been the case with officials having large salaries; which, on the contrary, are said to have been increased. This road is entirely under the control of one man—an unfortunate fact for the Maritime Provinces, because he has managed to ruin all the industries along the line by altering its tariff of rates.

An Hon. Member—Who is he?

Mr. PALMER—Mr. Brydges.

Our mechanics also complain that the work done along the road is not let by tender as formerly, Mr. Brydges, it appears, discovered what mechanics in New Brunswick would perform it for; and in about a fortnight afterwards it was undertaken by persons hailing from the United States, or Ontario, or some other Province, at their own prices. Then, of course, they referred to the old files of the *Globe*, and observing that Mr. Brydges was there abused as guilty of all sorts of crimes, and of all kinds of jobbery, stories were circulated that he was interested in the execution of these works. This system, which was very bad, should be changed, and tenders should be invited. I would support any Government measure that would make the necessities of life as low in price as possible, and foster our manufactures, but not to the detriment of any other class of our population. The present tariff in many respects is destructive not only to our industries, but to the production of raw material, and it should be revised. The exhibition at St. Johns last year showed that our manufactures were in a very high state of cultivation. The manufacturers and mechanics of St. Johns have passed the following resolution:—

“Whereas, during the present depressed state of trade, the manufacturers and mechanics of St. Johns feel more than ever the necessity of an increased protective tariff to enable them to compete successfully with foreign markets,

“Resolved, That we, the manufacturers and mechanics of St. John's, do memorialize the Dominion Government to increase the duties on all imported articles which come into

“direct competition with domestic manufactures.”

I may not go to this extent, but they are familiar with their own business and form a numerous body; and of course they share the sentiments of my hon. friend from Montreal West.

I would be very much pleased if the resolution of my hon. friend was drawn up in different shape, but I can certainly go with him as far as the revision of the tariff, in any direction that would afford relief to the manufacturers of this Dominion, is concerned. I would look for such advantages first in every other way possible; I would allow every article that enters into their productions to be admitted free of duty; I would favour the cheapening of the cost of labour and of all their materials; but I do not say I would stop there, though I certainly should do so unless I was thoroughly convinced that such manufactures could ultimately succeed in this country, and such articles be made here as cheaply as elsewhere; therefore, if I cannot vote for this resolution, I shall seize the first opportunity afforded to offer a motion which I can support. I am not at all disposed to treat these manufacturers and mechanics with derision; for their case demands and ought to receive the serious consideration of the Government and of this House, which, as far as possible, should alleviate the depressed condition of every one of our suffering industries; and the Government which refuses to extend such aid, refuses to discharge the duty of a Government to the country over whose destinies it presides.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness)—Having spoken at some length at a previous stage of this discussion, I would not have taken part in the debate now but for the remarks of the hon. member for Stanstead. The hon. gentleman referred to a few words I used on a former occasion.

Mr. COLBY—I made no reference whatever to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. MACDONNELL—The hon. gentleman, in a discourteous manner, said the manufacturers had been stigmatized as paupers, because they came here and asked for protection. On that occasion

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the words I made use of were, *in formá pauperis*. I did not refer to the manufacturers or any particular class of this Dominion, but took a broad ground, and asserted that any set of men, be they farmers or anything else, who, having invested a certain amount of money in any industry, and finding they were becoming bankrupt, came to this House and asked us to tax one portion of the people of this Dominion to contribute the means by which they could continue their business, came asking for charity, and in the strict sense of the term *in formá pauperis*. If the hon. gentlemen had allowed me the opportunity which any one conversant with the decorum—

Mr. COLBY—-I fear the hon. member is wasting his ammunition. I made no use of such an expression as "pauper" in my remarks, consequently he is astray. I made use of the word "cormorant," mentioned by another gentleman altogether.

Mr. MACDONNELL—The hon. gentleman, extending his remarks, said an attempt had been made to set one class against another—the farmers against the manufacturers. The false rumour became contagious, and the hon. member for St. John followed the same line of argument. I made no distinction whatever between any class of people of this Dominion, but I did say what I have repeated here to-night, and I am sustained in my position by the ablest writers. I am not the inventor of the term.

The hon. member for Stanstead said the fiscal policy of this Dominion has been for years one of protection. I say it has not, but has been a revenue policy.

There are two principles which guide legislators in raising revenue. The first and the statesman-like principle is that the revenue shall be raised in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the commerce of the country. That principle has been observed heretofore in raising our revenue. The second is that the revenue shall be distributed over the whole population so as to fall as equitably as possible on all classes. The term incidental protection, quite an absurd ex-

pression in itself, has arisen from this policy, but it is not protection.

The hon. member for Montreal West, not deigning to offer this House any arguments why the policy he advocates should be adopted, gives the valuable evidence of two gentlemen he met, their *ipse dixit* delivered on the street, that protection is necessary for this country. I am not satisfied with such evidence, nor can I understand by what reasoning or logic the hon. gentleman arrives at the conclusion that by raising the tariff and making things dear they will at the same time become cheap.

As to this wonderful and very sweeping amendment which the hon. member for Montreal West has submitted, it asks this House to increase the tariff upon the various industries of the country, and that irrespective, whether it is necessary for the necessities and Government of the country. The resolution asks this House to protect every industry in this country; in other words, to give protection to none, because the labourer, having to pay more for his food, clothing, and everything he uses, would claim and be entitled to more wages. The consequence would be the enhancing of the cost of every article consumed in the country. Therefore, the principle that I lay down is, that protection to all industries means protection to none.

Mr. BOWELL called attention to the fact that the resolution proposed to protect manufacturing industries only.

Mr. MACDONNELL having read the resolution, said it is all the same. What does the word manufacturing mean? It covers almost every industry. Therefore, I say it contemplates protection to every industry, *ergo*, protection to none.

Mr. OLIVER—I am very much pleased that the amendment is couched in such plain and unmistakable language. I was rather amused at the logic of my hon. friend from Montreal West. He said that notwithstanding the increase of 2½ per cent. on the duty two years ago, he had a conversation with two gentlemen, who stated that the duty of articles entering in to the manu-

facture and support of the lumber interests and the articles required by the agriculturists had not been increased. If we take the statements of gentlemen we meet in the streets and hotels as evidence, any of us can furnish proof that the object of this movement is to increase the price of every manufactured article in the country. The hon. gentleman says that sugar is manufactured at a loss of 12 cents per 100 pounds. Suppose the Americans were excluded from our markets, the cost of sugar would be increased to that extent, and it is an article required by all classes of the community.

I do not understand the sugar interest, but it is evident from what I have heard debated by gentlemen intimate with the subject, that if an increase in the tariff on sugar takes place, those who consume it will have to pay two cents a pound more than they now do for it. There are two refiners in Montreal and I believe one in Halifax, and although I admit that these are important establishments, and give employment to a large number of hands, I ask, is it right to take one or two cents out of the pockets of the consumers of this country to support one or two institutions? My hon. friend from Montreal West says that if his motion is not carried he is going on a mission to convert the whole of the people of Canada to protection. Well, I think that if he does go upon such a mission, that it will be more difficult to convince the agriculturists that to put duties on the goods which they consume, which will only benefit the manufacturers of those goods, than even to secure the passage of such a resolution as that which he has proposed. I invite him to take the field in favour of protection, and I tell him that if he does, he will find that there are enough advocates of free trade in the Dominion to cover all the ground that the missionaries of his policy can cover throughout the length and breadth of the country. He says, and we see it in the press and hear it at every public meeting, that the people of the United States have slaughtered goods in Canada. Well, that may be the case, but I ask the hon. gentlemen from Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton,

whether those cities have not slaughtered more goods in Canada than the United States has done, whether they have not forced goods on the merchants throughout the country, and whether through the agency of the Insolvency Act of last Session those goods have not afterwards been sacrificed. Go into any hamlet town in Western Canada, and I have no doubt but it is the same in Eastern Canada, and you will see an auctioneer, or perhaps two or three, selling bankrupt stocks from Montreal, or Toronto, or Hamilton, and not American goods.

But supposing that the Americans do come in here and slaughter goods at prices ten per cent. less than they sell them for in the United States, who gets the benefit? Is it not the large consuming population? And are these people going to ask their representatives in this House to press an Act to prevent them from getting cheap goods? In my opinion it is impossible to benefit both the manufacturers and the farmers by raising the tariff, unless the cost of raw material and labour is reduced.

I have heard it stated in the course of the debate, and also outside of the chamber, that the agricultural interests, as well as the other interests of this country, should be protected; that the surplus of products of this country was very small, if there was any at all. Now, even if this were so with respect to flour and wheat, there is a good and sufficient reason for it; but I find, after going carefully over the trade and navigation returns, that we exported last year a surplus over and above our imports (if we do import largely of American wheat and flour) of 1,150,000 bushels, (in round numbers) realizing to the country \$883,000. The Dairymen's Association of Canada, with all the other dairymen, exported last year \$5,000,000 worth of cheese and \$2,500,000 worth of butter, besides which it is estimated that \$1,000,000 worth of those products were consumed in Canada, making the total value of dairy products of the country during the last season \$8,500,000. This is an interest which is growing very rapidly—more rapidly perhaps than any other interest in the country. I find on looking over the

returns that not more than ten years ago \$250,000 worth of dairy produce was imported. The development of this interest is destined to bring about a revolution in agricultural pursuits, and it is proving not only a direct but an indirect benefit to our farmers; direct on account of the large amount of money which it brings to them, and indirect inasmuch as it is a means of causing them to improve and enrich the soil.

I heard a number of hon. gentlemen state that at all events Indian corn ought to be protected. Well, I find—and the statement I make here will be found correct—that we have produced for consumption in Canada 1,629,328 bushels of that product, costing \$891,502, or a little less than one cent. per pound; while the other coarse grains which have been exported by the people of Canada have realized one cent. and four-fifths per pound. The idea has been expressed that the coarser grains should be raised in this country, and Indian corn kept out by a protective tariff. Well, if that were done it would be a losing transaction to the people of Canada. However, I am not going to follow out that argument.

The hon. member for West Montreal has not given us a single particle of proof that the manufacturers of our country require protection. He stated that there is a depression. Well, everyone in this House admits that. But, Sir, we find that there is depression all over the United States as well as in Canada. In Philadelphia, at the present time, where there is perhaps more labour employed now than in any other city in the United States or in Canada, there is a large number of persons requiring employment and who are destitute for want of it. Again we see that at a meeting of the Board of Trade in Boston, at which the subject of the existing depression was under consideration, a reduction of the duties between Canada and the United States, instead of an increase, was proposed as a remedy. I hold that there is proof that the manufacturers of Canada are in quite as good a position as the manufacturers of the United States; for we find that a manufacturing institution in the

town of Dundas has just been purchased by Americans, who intend carrying on the manufacture of screws there very extensively. We find, also, that Americans are coming over to establish a musical instrument factory in the town of Guelph, and a large cotton factory is being organized near the city of Montreal, with a capacity of producing six million yards a year. Do the people who are engaging in these enterprises believe that the tariff of Canada is too low, and that the goods of the United States are being sacrificed here? In the village of Ayr there is one of the largest agricultural implement factories in the country, and I heard the proprietor of that state in a speech not long ago, that he was able to manufacture goods enough to supply his customers not only in the Canadian market, but in the United States to which he sent a large amount, notwithstanding a duty of forty per cent.

I am glad that the Government, instead of increasing the duties, have determined to reduce the estimates, and I believe that when the Minister of Finance stated that that was their policy, the statement was hailed with satisfaction by nineteen-twentieths of the people of this country.

Mr. ORTON—I regret that I cannot vote for the motion of the member for Montreal West. The hon. gentleman forgets that great depression exists, not only in the manufacturing interests, but also in the agricultural districts of the country. There are large sections in which the crops have been badly damaged by frost; and the farmers can hardly get a market for their coarse grains. I know that in the northern part of the County of Wellington there are a large number of settlers who have gone into the back woods and made themselves homes, but who this year are scarcely able to live. The manufacturers have shown a contracted spirit in this matter, and it is with considerable regret that I observe my hon. friend cannot look further than Montreal. He might have so framed his resolution as to meet with the approval of a large number in this House and country. It might have been so constructed as to do justice to the agricultural interests of the country

by giving them the first choice in the markets, which was nothing but fair. For one, I do not believe that an increase in the tariff would advance the cost of manufacturing goods, and I think the resolution might have fairly included the agricultural, mining and other interests. I do not believe in class legislation, and I think the resolution, in ignoring the claims of the consumers, will fail to secure its objects, as it is necessary that the consumer should be prosperous in order that the manufacturer may have a market for his goods. I was rather amused at the remarks made by the hon. member for North Oxford, who referred to the immense increase in the production of cheese and butter. The hon. gentleman did not tell us that that increase was owing to there being 4 per cent. duty on these articles. I must again express my regret that the hon. member for Montreal has not looked a little further than the manufacturers in introducing his amendment.

Mr. BROWN—I wish to make a few observations relative to what has been said by the hon. member for Oxford with reference to Americans establishing factories in Canada. I know an instance. One of the largest factories was established by Americans, but it has suspended and thrown a large number of men out of employment. As a manufacturer, and from my position as representative of a large manufacturing town, which has contributed largely in subsidising establishments, I can say that we do not ask any exclusive tariff, or anything but fair competition with the United States. All we require is to be placed upon an equal footing with the Americans, and I think we will be able to produce goods as cheap as they. At present we are working at a disadvantage. The rolling mills in Toronto, Kingston and Montreal have had to stop on account of our inability to compete with their bar iron. We give scrap iron to the Americans and purchase it back again in bars. I may mention a number of articles which are imported here free. Mill machinery generally is admitted at a rate of 10 per cent., but the larger

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portion comes in free. Such an arrangement does not give us a fair chance of competing with them. Agricultural implements are also, to a great extent, admitted free. All a man has to do to import these articles free is to belong to an Agricultural Society.

Had we the same scope of markets the Americans have, we could compete with them even with the disadvantages we now labour under. It takes a long time to educate our workmen into skilled mechanics, and every country has to go through the preliminary stages before becoming great in manufactures. England was protective until she was enabled, through her superior workmen and machinery, to compete with the world. Canada should take a lesson from that, and our statesmen should remember that it is not until manufacturing industries are prosperous that we shall rise to be a great nation. A great deal has been said about the agricultural interests, but it should be borne in mind that if the manufacturing interests are crippled farmers would suffer to a great degree. The Government makes every effort to bring immigrants to our shore, and yet we have not employment for our young men who have served their time as mechanics, who go to the other side to get higher wages and steadier employment. I hope the motion will be the means—although I do not suppose it will be carried—of bringing the matter fully before the country, and that by another Session of Parliament the people will render such an opinion as to induce the Government to take measures to aid and foster our manufacturing interests.

Mr. SINCLAIR—I am glad this question has been brought before the House in a proper manner. We have had a great deal of discussion, but now we have the matter fairly before us, and I hope there will be a square vote upon it. As far as I understand, the manufacturers are the only class that are looking to this House for relief from the existing depression, but if we look abroad, we shall find other classes are suffering as much as they are. I believe the mercantile and lumber interests are as much depressed as any, but persons engaged in these branches

know perfectly well that we cannot legislate in their behalf, and therefore they have not applied to us for relief. The manufacturers claim that the want of protection is the cause of the depression. When the Committee to report upon the state of manufactures sat in 1874, Mr. W. E. Sanford, member of a large wholesale clothing firm in Hamilton, stated that our prices were fully 12½ per cent. lower than those of the United States, which has a protection of 100 per cent. I think that is an admission which shows clearly that the more protection manufacturers have the higher goods are. It has been stated that protection will not increase the price of manufactured articles. I can hardly conceive that such would be found to be the fact in practice, and it will be difficult to convince any person that such will be the case.

I find here another man who was very honest in his expression. He was asked how many of them would undersell each other. He said about one-half dozen. Then there would be a union amongst them to keep up the prices of their goods. "We are obliged," he said, "to unite to keep up the prices of goods." If you give an advantage to anybody, no matter whether he be a farmer, manufacturer or lumberman, you must expect him to make the most of his position. The farmers of Canada were not included in this resolution, and therefore the hon. member for Centre Wellington cannot support it. I think if the farmers of Canada were left alone they would be better pleased. They do not want anything of the kind, and I think if the mercantile community and the lumbering classes gained anything by it, and if the tariff was raised to a protective tariff then the business of the country would be placed in the hands of a few wealthy manufacturers and importers about our sea-coast. If you raised it to 25, the percentage asked for, you will find that the wholesale business will be in the hands of one or two people. In Great Britain, where free-trade is the order of the day, you find goods at low prices through competition; but the manufacturers are combining by every possible means to keep down the wages of their employés. This was a very serious

question with British statesmen—to settle labour and capital—and it is only of late years that they have been able to accomplish anything in that direction which is at all satisfactory. At present, Great Britain with free-trade is in the most prosperous condition, and manufacturers at last have been compelled to pay proper wages. They took the advantage whenever they could, and we ought to consider that it will be a difficult matter for farmers to get the trade of the country out of the hands of manufacturers and importers when once the latter have it. In the States, not many years ago, the railway contractors had got control of the railways, and the farmers had great difficulty and would not but for legislative pressure have secured their rights. If we raise the tariff to a protective point—and I am glad the question has come squarely before the House—I think it will be the hardest day for Canada she has ever seen. I hope the tariff will be kept at a revenue rate, even if it might be necessary to make a revision of the duties. If we have a protective tariff we will drive away foreign competition, and will at once give the monopoly to manufacturers and wealthy importers to make immense sums of money. I hope there is intelligence enough in the House to see that the country would prefer that the tariff was lowered instead of increased. It is rather high already for revenue purposes. Some hon. member stated not long ago, that the Government ought to make a change on account of the depression. I beg to differ. The more the tariff is kept to one standard the better for business men, as they would have a sure basis upon which to make their engagements. I fully agree with the Government in not meddling with the tariff at present, because I do not believe it had anything to do with the depression. Legislation did not bring it and legislation cannot cure it. Countries with free-trade are suffering, and the United States with a heavy protective tariff of 100 per cent. upon some articles felt the depression sooner and to a greater extent than Canada. It is impossible to believe that a protective tariff would remedy the depression. I am

glad the vote is to be taken on a clear issue, as I cannot vote for a protective duty.

Mr. COOK—I will not detain the House very long. Probably I would not have spoken but for the remarks of the hon. member for Carlton. I am puzzled to know how lumbermen can be protected unless you give them a bonus. Nearly everything used in their operations is imported. Most of the provisions are imported.

Mr. PALMER rose to a point of order. The hon. gentleman was referring to a previous debate.

Mr. SPEAKER said the hon. gentleman was out of order.

Mr. COOK continued—The mover of this amendment stated that he had a conversation with some lumbermen who told him that it was to the interest of the trade that it should be protected, and that, although most of the articles which they used were subject to an increasing rate of duty in recent years, they were not any dearer on that account. The great staple article used is pork, of which we import very largely for the use of the shanties. There is a specific duty of \$2 per barrel upon pork, and an *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the barrels, which brings it up to a considerable sum. Some arguments may be used by hon. members who represent the lumbering trade in this House, that from the fact of the importation of lumber it is necessary to protect that trade. In 1871 there was a volume of importation into this country, subject to an *ad valorem* duty of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., of \$51,403.

In 1875 we find the quantity had very much increased, the amount of dutiable lumber being \$396,086. There was exported from Canada in 1871, lumber amounting to \$213,352,211; in 1872, \$23,685,382; in 1873, \$23,586,816; in 1874, \$26,817,715. In 1875, when there was such depression, especially in the lumber trade, we find \$24,781,780, making for the last five years, \$126,224,904 of lumber exported. It was stated that there should be duties on lumber imported from Michigan, but I would like hon. gentlemen to know that most of the lumbermen in Michigan are Canadians. When they

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bring their lumber to Quebec we have the benefit of the carrying-trade and the money being left here. The amount of money invested in the lumber trade, less that which was passed out for manufacture, made a volume of \$27,000,000, or nearly one-third of the whole floating capital of the Dominion of Canada.

A vast amount of money is invested in mills and in the operations of the lumber trade, in which, according to the census of 1871, there were interested directly about 250,000 people of this country; then perhaps there is double this number indirectly interested in it. The great depression that exists has been without doubt due to over-manufacture and the falling off in the demand of the American and home markets, where the commercial crisis has been still more severe than here. This interest should be fairly dealt with by hon. members. The Finance Minister very properly said that it was only second in importance to any industry in the Dominion, and I accordingly hope that this resolution will be supported by such a minority that all who propose a protective tariff will abandon the project.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Mr. Speaker—My hon. friend from Montreal West and myself row in the same boat for a similar purpose. My hon. friend was fortunate enough to catch your eye first, and on the whole I am rather pleased that he was successful in so attracting your attention, because it was of infinitely more importance than an hon. member occupying his position in Parliament should move such a resolution than that I or any member of the regular Opposition should have done so. It is a fair, straightforward and perfect want of confidence motion in the policy of the Government. It is a censure upon its policy, and while this might be expected from those who like myself have not the good fortune to place implicit confidence, or any great confidence, in the Administration, the position of my hon. friend adds to its significance. He recently came to Parliament—and he was recently elected as a supporter of the present Administration, as it were, by my hon. friend at the head of the Government, as his special candidate for West Mon-

treal. If rumor speaks true, my hon. friend the First Minister used all his blandishments for the purpose of inducing my hon. friend from Montreal West to cast aside his modesty and come forward again into public life; he succeeded, and, therefore, we may fairly suppose that the hon. gentleman had a warrant from my hon. friend the First Minister to speak on behalf of the Government to the people of Montreal, and these whose suffrages he was seeking had a right to believe, when he was speaking and avowing his sentiments on this subject of free-trade and protection, that he spoke with the sanction, with the knowledge, and not only without the disapprobation, but with the positive approbation of the hon. member, the leader of the Government, and so of all the members of the Cabinet. I am not surprised, therefore, at the deep feeling which my hon. friend from West Montreal has shown; he, I have no doubt, felt, and still feels, that he was, beyond question, made the means of deceiving the people of Montreal when he asked their suffrages as a supporter of this Administration, and at the same time a supporter of the Protectionists and manufacturers. There must have been some misapprehension in this; my hon. friend at the head of the Government, I take it, did not design to deceive my hon. friend or convey false impressions; but it is a most unfortunate circumstance—a circumstance which has worked badly for my hon. friend from Montreal West, and, obviously, greatly to the injury of the manufacturers and importers, and every commercial interest of this country—that this misapprehension should have existed. My hon. friend was misled, not intentionally, of course, by the head of the Government, and not only so, but he was also misled when he supposed that he was speaking with the authority and sanction of the Administration, under the shadow and wing of the Premier, and was making the positive statements he did during his candidature, at his election and after his election, inducing not solely the people of Montreal but of the whole Dominion of Canada to understand that the Government had adopted a policy of afford-

ing some relief to the manufacturers of Canada, and effecting some alterations in the tariff. •

Sir, my hon. friend therefore felt it due to his own honour, as well as the principle he upholds, to place on record at the earliest possible moment his vote of censure as expressed in this resolution, regarding the policy of the Government. While, however, the first portion of it commends itself to me, I think that the concluding portion falls far short of the extent to which he ought to have gone; and I think so, for the reason given by my hon. friend from Centre Wellington a little while since. While I consider that the hon. member for Montreal West, when pleading as it were on behalf of the manufacturers of this country, ought to have gone further, and that our agricultural interests should be included in the motion, I will not pursue the course of my hon. friend, who says that he will vote against this resolution owing to that exclusion. I think that he is mistaken, and I hope that he will reconsider his position in that respect.

Sir, I believe, that the manufacturing interests of this country, in their present state of depression, require the adoption of a policy similar to that announced authoritatively as it were by the hon. gentleman in Montreal. I also think that the agricultural interest of Canada requires and calls for the protection, which is spoken of; but, Sir, because this resolution only goes half way, that is no reason why I should vote against it. I shall be in favour of the resolution of my hon. friend from Montreal West, and I shall endeavour hereafter, when I have the opportunity, to extend the resolution in the direction I have indicated. This resolution I shall read at once as a notice to my hon. friends opposite and the country of what I intend to propose. When the opportunity offers, during the course of the present Session, I shall move
 “That it be resolved, that this House
 “regrets that His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to
 “recommend to Parliament a measure
 “for the re-adjustment of the tariff,
 “which will not only tend to alleviate
 “the stagnation of business, deplored in

“the speech from the Throne, but also afford encouragement and protection to the struggling manufacturers, and to the struggling agricultural productions of the country.”

This is the resolution, Mr. Speaker, which if I had the good fortune to have preceded my hon. friend from Montreal West, I would have moved, and which I intend to propose hereafter.

Now, Sir, at this late hour, and after the long speeches already made, I do not intend to enter into any long series of remarks on the great theories of free trade and protection; but one thing is very remarkable—that in all this discussion, and in all the various discussions which have taken place since the beginning of the Session, hon. members, or some of them, think that free-trade is political economy. Political economy in a great science; and a tentative science, as yet experimental—a science which embraces in connection with the political system, in the widest terms, all that concerns the material progress and prosperity of a nation and of all nations. Free-trade is a very subordinate branch of it, but it is a branch; it has been elevated, and it was raised in the time of Cobden, owing to the great success of free trade in bread, almost to be a religion, and since his death it almost seems that it has been degraded into a superstition; but, Sir, free trade, as has been said again and again *ad nauseam*, must be reciprocal. Free trade, free intercourse between nations, means what the word expresses; it does not signify that one nation must bind the other to that phrase, without regard to disturbing causes, or the situation of the nation itself, or of foreign nations, or the difference of tariff. Free-trade does not mean that a country, under all circumstances, must open its doors to all nations, no matter what their customs may be, no matter what their financial system may be, and without exercising any judgment, or using any guard, or employing any protection with regard to the country itself; this is not the opinion of any really great Political Economist. This view is perhaps held by the minor lights of the Manchester School;

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but the great Political Economists have always admitted the existence of disturbing causes, and have always held that there are other things as important, and more important to a nation, than the mere aggregation of wealth, and the supremacy of free trade or protection. The collective interests of a nation must be considered. They are various, and a nation must stand on its own ground. Theorists, with regard to free trade, have laboured under a misapprehension, and have advocated a false science, opposed to the protection of the industries of a country under any circumstances. Now, that is not the opinion, as we all know, of John Stuart Mill. His celebrated passage, in his book, which has been so often quoted, I will quote again. It has been repeated by him in the last edition of his book in the same words that it was in the first. His position has been attacked; I myself have heard it assailed by political economists in the Political Economy Club, in England; but this man, superior, as we have been informed by the hon. member for Welland, to Adam Smith, lays down in this work, which he leaves as his legacy, the principle that there are circumstances connected with the manufacturing interests of a nation which not only excuse, but justify protection.

Mr. YOUNG—Two years ago when the question was up with regard to beet-root sugar, I quoted that very statement of Mills. My right hon. friend declared that on second thoughts, and on the advice of his friends, Mr. Mills had withdrawn that passage from his book.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman must be mistaken. If he turns up the last edition of this book he will find it there. The hon. gentleman is altogether wrong. This is the passage:—

“The only case in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation) in hope of naturalizing a foreign industry in itself, perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country. The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part, or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience.

A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire, may in other respects be better adapted to the production than those which were earlier in the field, and besides, it is a just remark of Mr. Rae, that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals should at their own risk, or rather to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture and bear the burthen of carrying it on until the producers have been educated up to the level of those with whom the processes are traditional. A protecting duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment. But the protection should be confined to cases in which there is good ground of assurance that the industry which it fosters will after a time be able to dispense with it; nor should the domestic producers ever be allowed to expect that it will be continued to them beyond the time necessary for a fair trial of what they are capable of accomplishing."

This is the principle laid down by Mill, the leader of the modern school of political economy in England, a Free-Trader in the best sense of the word. I say this extract I have now read applies to the circumstances of Canada. We are a young country, just emerging from the first struggles with the forest. We have but little realized capital as yet; the manufactures of the country, with a few small exceptions, having scarcely taken root. They are lying alongside of a country which has had the advantage pointed out by Mr. Mill, of having commenced first. The manufactures of the United States have been going on for a long period of time, and large amounts of capital have been realized: all these things we have to fight, in addition to the fact of our industries being in their infancy, and the other disturbing influences not alluded to by Mr. Mill, which add to the reasons why our manufactures have the same right to be encouraged that the child has to look to the parent for guidance until able to walk alone. Mr. Mills, the Free-Trader, goes much further than many gentlemen in this House who will vote against the resolution. He does not speak of a revenue tariff which would afford incidental protection to our manufacturers as being justifiable, but he lays down the broad principle to encourage native industries; if they are fitted for the circumstances of the climate, soil and people of a country, protection ought to be given, and is justified on

the true principles of political economy.

But we hear hon. gentlemen say it is not for the interest of the manufacturers themselves to have protection. It would create monopolies, and monopolies bring on apathy and lethargy. If Mr. Mills thought it was not in the interest of the manufacturers to protect them, he would not have said so in the passage I have read. He holds it out for the purpose of encouraging infant manufacturers in their struggling state, and lays it down that it is not only excusable and defensible, but justifiable. He thought reasonable protection would be for the benefit of the manufacturers themselves; but in this country we are not called upon to break our heads upon theories. We know perfectly well in the circumstances of this Dominion, a young country extending from sea to sea, almost without bounds, that the development and improvement of our resources, the great works that will be undertaken by the country, will be for long after we who are here will be no more, call for a large revenue. If this be true, as a matter of course in the adjustment of the tariff taxation should be so imposed as to do the least harm and the most good. We cannot have in a young and comparatively poor country like this, direct taxation. We have handed that source of revenue over to the Local Legislatures and municipalities. When you take our local rates and the certainty that in the not distant future the Local Legislatures must resort to direct taxation, you will see that source of revenue will not afford hopes of our being able to resort to it. We must trust to our customs, therefore, as the principal source of our future revenue. Now, what can be more reasonable than to so adjust the tariff for revenue purposes that it will enable us to meet our engagements, and to develop our resources, the duties falling upon the articles we ourselves are capable of producing. The Government of which I was a member since 1854 pursued the same course. They laid down this principle, that the taxation should be adjusted in such a way as to be as little burdensome as possible upon the people, and be placed on

those articles which we can profitably produce ourselves. That policy was laid down strongly by my colleague at that time, the present Hon. Sir Alex. Galt. He laid down for us the principle of a national policy, that we should consider our own interests only, and that in an adjustment of the tariff we should endeavor to foster all these various industries of which I have spoken. We steadily adhered in practice to that principle. Sometimes when the principle of free trade or a cry for a reduction of the pressure of taxation arose we had to yield. We were overcome occasionally, and had to make some steps backward, but on the whole, we held steadily to the principle and carried it out as strongly and uniformly as we could. We were forced at one time to reduce the tariff to a considerable extent; at another time, not very long ago, we took up the national policy, which has been made a matter of ridicule, and carried it, certainly not by a large vote. With a very short sighted policy on the part of the manufacturers of Canada that national policy was opposed by them. If they had known their interest they would not have joined in the attack made upon it, and if they have, to a certain degree, had it recoil on their heads, it is because they opposed it so blindly. I believed then, and I believe now, that the two must go hand in hand—that you cannot sever them. I believe it is the interest of the agriculturist to have a certain market at his own door. I believe it is not in the interest of the great agricultural community to be forced to look to a foreign market altogether for the sources of their prosperity and for their purchasers. I believe no nation has ever heretofore, or will ever hereafter, rise to any eminence in civilization, the arts and sciences, or prosperity of any kind, unless it honours agriculture and encourages manufacture. To be sure, we heard from the Finance Minister—a gentleman whose parliamentary courtesy is only exceeded by his financial ability—that it would have the effect of driving people from the country into the town. It is not every man can be or likes to be a farmer, and the man who is unwillingly made one will always be a

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failure. There is no life in* the world in my estimation more happy and enviable than a farmer's, under the circumstances in which he is placed in Canada. It is a pleasant independent life, bringing domestic happiness and all that the expression implies, but still, all men are not to be farmers. There is the man of constructive genius, who feels that his function in life is to become an artisan or mechanic, to enter into a trade, or some of the other various pursuits. These aspirations of the young men of the country are not to be checked or discouraged. On the contrary, that country is the best and will be most prosperous where every man has the utmost freedom to choose that mode of life, and exercise the abilities God has given him freely and without limit. It would be almost pedantic to refer to the those of antiquity, but looking at all those which have been civilized in the earliest history, sacred or profane, you will find that wherever a nation has merged from barbarism they have built up great cities. So it is in modern times; look at the Hanseatic towns, the commercial cities of Italy and the Low Countries. But it is said, as a reason why we should not encourage manufactures, that it has a tendency to induce young men to leave the country and go into the towns. Why, the policy of the Government will not keep the young men chained as serfs of the soil in our land. Their policy will not send them into our towns, but into the towns of the United States, where they encourage all kinds of mechanical pursuits. We have heard a great deal about this "Chinese wall." As I said a little while ago, the principle of protection to a moderate extent is justifiable, and the true principle of political economy. If you build this wall it will be like a dam which backs up the water of a stream until it overflows the country and does a great deal of mischief, but if the dam is raised so as to allow a moderate part of the water to go over, that water can be used for fertilizing, manufacturing, and for other good purposes. Therefore, the proposition I would hold up is simply that the dam should be raised high enough not to retain the water altogether, for that would ravage the

country instead of doing it a service, but that we allow a certain amount of the stream to percolate over.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Do you want to dam protection.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Mr. Speaker, if you were a magistrate I would take up the hon. gentleman for swearing. But I tell the Hon. Finance Minister that he admitted there was such a thing as a slaughter market, and he had too much reason to believe our market was occasionally used for that purpose. Now, our manufacturers may be interfered with by this slaughter process from other sources, as has been argued. When there is a depression of trade in the neighbouring country, goods must be sold; that happens also in our own country. We see frequently in time of great depression, similar to the present, when merchants are becoming insolvent, every kind of goods thrown upon the market, and slaughtered, so to speak, to the great injury of solvent traders. That cannot be avoided, and it is right that it has the compensatory advantage of giving cheap goods to the purchasers. But it gives no real compensating advantage for the permanent real injury that is done to the trade of the country by the ruin of those merchants, and by the want of confidence thus induced by the spread of ruin, for the actual insolvent whose goods are slaughtered will make other insolvents. But while we cannot avoid that, and it is greatly to be regretted that we cannot do so, we can, to a great extent, regulate our trade so as to protect our dealers against the depression which exists in the neighbouring country. When it happens that there is a forced sale of stocks in that country, in consequence of which the honest trader is compelled either to shut up his shop, or enter into competition with insolvent estates, it is possible so to regulate the tariff as to protect our own people. But besides the evil of making this country a slaughter market, there is another very serious one of sending goods into this country for the purpose of bringing down prices here, injuring our manufacturers, and driving them out of the market and afterwards getting control of the market. It is

said that such a thing never happened. Why, do we not see it happening in our own country? Have we not seen, for instance, one steamboat line trying to drive off another steamboat line for the sake of getting a monopoly? Did we not see the Syracuse salt manufacturers sending in their salt some years ago for the avowed purpose of destroying our infant salt works? Do we not see at this moment the ruinous competition of two cables from Europe to Canada? Do we not see the Anglo-American Company trying to sweep out the Direct? Do we not know that in England railways are run against each other at ruinous rates for the purpose of getting control of trade? And then there are combinations of workmen all over the world together with associations of employees of labor. We have also the Iron Masters Association of England, and the Iron Masters Association at Pittsburgh in the United States, both of which act as one man: and therefore it is not strange that persons in the United States think it to their interest to crowd our market with their goods for the purposes of destroying our infant manufactures. If this is permitted to go on, the confidence of our manufacturers is destroyed, and their capital lost, it may be years and years before that confidence can be restored and that capital replaced. In the mean time, we shall have come to take the goods of the foreign manufacturers at their prices.

We are informed in the Speech from the Throne that there is stagnation in trade. We are informed, also, that this has arisen, not from any fault of our own, but in consequence of the depression in trade that has taken place in the neighboring country. That is the statement which His Excellency the Governor-General was advised by the hon. gentlemen opposite to make to this House, and if it be true, I say that if there ever is a time when it is lawful, or allowable, or wise, or expedient for a Government to interfere, now is that time. Besides, the general principle which I have been advocating, that our manufactures, being in infancy, require encouragement till they grow to majority, there is this particular exigency to be considered. There is an avowed and admitted stag-

nation; there is an avowed and admitted depression in trade; and when this is put along with the principle I have just mentioned, I say that if there ever are circumstances in which the Government is justified in coming to the assistance of those engaged in trade, they exist now. In the first place, our manufactures are in their infancy; in the second place, there is a great depression; and in the third place, there is an admitted deficiency in the revenue. All these reasons combine to show that the Government—a paternal Government, which it is the boast of the hon. gentlemen opposite that they are—should intervene to alleviate the misery (because it amounts to misery) which now exists in this country, and to protect our credit. As to what the deficiency may be we cannot tell. Strange to say, the Finance Minister, in the long and able speech which he made, did not state that, although it was the purpose of that speech to state what he estimated the revenue to be, what he estimated the expenditure to be, and what the deficiency was to be if there was to be any deficiency. I ask any hon. gentleman who heard that speech, if he can tell me now what the deficiency is to be on the 1st of July next. We are told that a system of economy is to be followed, but how can this House tell whether those economies will be sufficient unless the hon. gentleman tells us what the deficiency will be? For the hon. gentleman not to tell us was like performing the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. I can only account for his omitting to give us that information on the supposition that his speech was prepared for delivery before the Government changed their intention of bringing down an alteration in the tariff. I have heard it stated—I think my hon. friend the Minister of Justice stated it the other day—that the Government had had no intention of altering the tariff. Well, of course, my hon. friend would not have stated that if it were not true. It may be perfectly true that the Government did not reduce the change to an Order in Council, and that they did not submit it to the Governor General. I assume that something of that kind would have would have justified the hon. gentle-

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man in making that statement; but on the whole the circumstances show that the intention of the Government—or at all events that the intention of the leading members and the head of the Government—was to bring down some alteration in the tariff, and an alteration in the direction of protection to our manufacturers. Why, the member for Montreal West stated in his place that certainly the deputations which waited on the members of the Government on their invitation left them with the impression on their minds that there was going to be an alteration. Every one of those parties who communicated on the subject with hon. gentlemen opposite, left them with the firm belief that an increase in the tariff would be announced; and I have no doubt that when the member for Montreal West made a statement to that effect in Montreal, and afterwards told us here he was too busy in considering the question of the tariff to sit on the Committee of my hon. friend from Bothwell, he must have thought he had received sufficient information to warrant him, as a public man and as a trader, in making that announcement. Some of those gentlemen too whom I saw up here the other day from Montreal, one of them I was told was a leading Grit, said it was an insult to them. We have been asked, he said, in Montreal to make some suggestions about the alterations in the tariff, and we interested ourselves in that subject, and if the Government had had no intention of making an alteration in the tariff, why did they give us the trouble of addressing ourselves to such a task? Why ask us to go into the question of the tariff at all? Why ask the hon. member for Montreal West to go and study the matter, if the Government had not come to the conclusion to make any alteration? Why should hon. gentlemen have allowed it to go abroad that they intended to make a change, to the great injury of the trade of the country, for it is a fact that the slightest hint of that kind disturbs the public confidence, and works instantaneous and direct mischief? As I intend to make it my duty to ask this House, if I am spared, to accept the resolution I have already read, I shall not occupy the House at this late

hour any longer, but just to say this, that in this matter the Government lost a great opportunity. The country at one time believed, and always will believe, that the Government had made up their minds, until a few days ago, to avail themselves of it. Men who can put this and that together, and who can draw inferences from facts, thought it was the intention of the Government, in some way or other, to come forward with a measure of relief. These gentlemen from Montreal said they were received with great courtesy by the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, and he led them to believe that he was only prevented by the pressure of his friends in Parliament, and the fear of not being supported by them, from bringing in such a measure. Now, I can scarcely believe that a pressure of that kind would have induced them to change their fixed policy. There are only two solutions to the question why they have acted as they have. One is this,—that my hon. friend the Premier desires to please the gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces by a return to the free-trade principles which he enunciated in Scotland. He was hampered on the one side by free trade pledges which he made at Dundee and elsewhere, and he was hampered, on the other hand, by promises made to his friends in this country and by the supposed necessity of electing my hon. friend from Montreal West. He was also hampered by his Sarnia speech. He had a choice of difficulties. He was a Free Trader in Scotland, and a Protectionist in Montreal. Therefore, my hon. friend was exceedingly glad to have this pressure brought to bear upon him, and he returned to his first love—his Dundee love. He threw over my hon. friend from Montreal West, and made him the scapegoat, and sacrificed him and his friends. Perhaps there might be another object—that when the Hon. Premier came to look at the difficulties of the tariff he got frightened. He remembered the horrible mess the Finance Minister made of it the Session before last, and his unsuccessful attempt to deal with the various articles; and my hon. friend—joining perhaps in his secret heart in that want of confidence which

everybody expressed in the Finance Minister's ability to make a sufferable, decent policy—was able to say to his colleagues, "Well, you see, these Maritime people won't vote for us, and this will be a good way of getting out of the scrape." And so, notwithstanding all the previous labours of the different Boards of Trade, and of the people from Montreal and elsewhere who were invited to express themselves as to the alteration of the tariff, and notwithstanding the expectations held out by my hon. friend from Montreal West, everything is thrown over, and here we are back where we were last summer. The hon. gentleman opposite has lost a great opportunity. The country would have been grateful if he had come forward with a measure for its relief, and I believe he might have expected the hearty support of hon. gentlemen on this side.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — Hear! hear!

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD — My hon. friend smiles ironically. Perhaps the hon. gentleman, judging from the manner in which he acted when in Opposition, cannot conceive it possible that any party, rising superior to any party triumph, could sacrifice party questions for the good of the country. This is, however, the principle which actuates us upon this side. I am as strong a party man as my hon. friend, and will go as far for party as he; and parties can fight and have their struggles, triumphs and defeats so long as the country is not made the victim and does not suffer. But I say that that party is unworthy to retain the confidence of the people who, in their desire for victory, will forget the country. That is not the principle which actuates us on this side, and I hope it will never actuate us. Surely there is a wide enough field to fight political battles and urge political principles without injuring the country. My hon. friend must have felt in his own heart that he might have expected the strong support of this side to any reasonable proposition that could have been made for an incidental tariff to protect our manufactures and give them some aid, some alleviation, com-

for: and assistance in this time of distress.

The manufacturers of this country have been hoping against hope. Some have been working half-time, some three-quarters time, and some have scarcely been keeping their doors open, hoping and believing they would get assistance; and now at this last moment, just as they thought the time of relief was coming, just when their tether was strained to the utmost, when they were keeping on their work-people—not by spending their own money—but by their credit and by pledging their resources, in the hope and belief that they were going to get assistance from the Government, no aid was given. The disappointment was dreadful, and there was deep indignation—curses not loud but deep—at this heartless policy which led them up to the very last moment to expect relief, and at the last moment, owing to some apprehended difficulty which if faced manfully would have disappeared, they were disappointed, and the manufacturers and those who depended upon them, the working people and their families, were left in a state of suspense, and now almost in a state of despair. But not only are the manufacturers—who had a right to expect that they would be assisted—not only are they driven to despair by the callous timidity of the Government, but the merchants in every city and town in the Dominion, who thought and believed from the assurances of the Government, from the inferences they drew, that there would be an alteration in the tariff, pledged their credit in order to get their goods out of bond, and that is a great addition to the commercial suffering, depression and stagnation which exists in the country.

This Government had an opportunity which may never offer itself again. Notwithstanding their very many faults, which have ripened to maturity in a very short time, if they had come forward with a measure of the kind I indicate, and which was indicated by my hon. friend, and by the motion I had the honour to read just now, the country would have condoned all their offences and given them plenary absolution for all their sins of

omission. They would have spoken with renewed confidence, and held their position, and we would have been left in the cold shades of Opposition year after year. They would retain the confidence of the country by having come forward, in the time of need, commercial stagnation, ruin and misery, to the rescue. It is no compensation to us that this mistake, this gravest error of the hon. gentleman opposite, will redound to the credit of the Opposition. I know and feel that it is no compensation to us that the party to which I belong are very many steps nearer a return to power than they were a week ago, in consequence of the Government having adopted this policy. It is no consolation to us. It were infinitely better that the Government should have been sustained for years and years if they had come forward at this time of trouble to the relief of the country, the relief of the manufacturers, the operatives and their starving families.

I have spoken principally about manufacturers, as the resolution of my hon. friend is confined to the protection of that interest. I am sure it can be shown that the agricultural interests have the same rights as the manufacturing and the same claim on this House. Although not a farmer myself, nor the representative of a rural constituency, from the position I hold I am overlaid with correspondence from rural constituents and from the farmers of the country—men whom I know to be farmers and not amateurs—real, hardy, intelligent sons of the soil. They all point in one direction—that the farmers, are now awaking to their claim, partly sentiment I admit, but partly from a spirit of justice, and that they will no longer suffer Canada to be flooded with American agricultural products, whilst our productions are literally excluded from crossing their borders. But I shall not enter upon that subject now, but bring it up on a future occasion. It is not because this resolution does not go as far as I wish, and does not embrace all classes, that I do not vote against it; and I call upon all those who are in favour of agricultural protection to come forward and assist the manufacturers first and they will have a claim

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upon them afterwards. Let both these interests go together, and not even the strength of my hon. friends opposite, nor the strength of the majority behind them, can withstand them.

I believe confidently, as I said before, that that majority, if the Premier had used a little more of his ordinary courage, would have followed him in this direction just as blindly as they are now following him to the injury of the country, and the injury of himself and friends when they return to their constituents. Believing thoroughly and sincerely in what I say, I venture to affirm that if to-morrow there was an appeal made to the people on this question, the answer would be returned from one end of the country to the other in favor of the policy I advocate, against the culpable and I was going to say almost senseless policy proposed by the Government on this occasion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I congratulate my right hon. friend on having at last found some resting place which he may call a policy. It is true he has only brought his goods to a slaughter market, but he says he will be able to drive British competition from Canada in a very short time, although he has not told us what that interesting process means. The hon. gentleman has not indulged in any of the extreme statements which he made at public meetings where there were none to answer him—where he attributed the commercial and manufacturing distress wholly to the Government. Why, he attributed every kind of misfortune, including the Colorado bug, to the presence of a Grit Government. The hon. gentleman has very carefully abstained to-day, and will continue to abstain, I have no doubt, in this House from imputing any disaster like that to anything that the Government has done or is about to do. But, Sir, before proceeding to discuss some of the matters the right hon. gentleman referred to, let me call the attention of everyone for a moment to his remarks regarding John Stuart Mill. The hon. gentleman may not have made the statement that my hon. friend from Waterloo attributed to him, but he may find, if he recalled a certain circumstance, that he might have done so. He must surely remember

that even John Stuart Mill wrote a letter to Mr. Greeley, of New York, withdrawing that passage from his book. He may remember the disappointment felt by the Protectionists of the United States with reference to Mr. Mill's passage—how they distorted it, when Mr. Mill really withdrew it, and expressed his regret that it had ever been put in. But in order to make doubly sure, I had the pleasure last summer of meeting with a well known English writer—whom the hon. gentleman no doubt knows—Mr. Newmarsh, an intimate friend of Mr. Mill; and I called his attention to this circumstance, sitting at the dinner table one day in London. He said: "Oh, yes; that is well known. "We all expressed our exceeding "regret to Mr. Mill that the passage "should have been written, as it was "liable to be misunderstood. He with- "drew it, however, unmistakably and "completely." So Mr. Mill cannot be quoted. I will call the attention of the hon. gentleman to Mr. Newmarsh. I have no doubt he (Mr. Newmarsh) will recall the conversation which took place at Mr. Potter's dinner-table.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I don't understand the "hear, hears" of hon. gentleman.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Was the hon. gentleman going to "Potter's Field?"

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Both the right hon. gentleman and I were going to Potter's Field one day, but he has gone there now, and is likely to remain there. Now, Sir, the right hon. gentleman has taken the ground to-night that he has always advocated—a national policy. Well, Sir, who doesn't advocate a national policy? Who is there that never did? The right hon. gentleman considers that he advocates a national policy which was right and that nobody else was capable of doing so. Every Government has advocated a national policy. We have expected in this country that a revenue tariff was a desirable financial policy. Under many circumstances I would not agree with that. But in consequence of our geographical position I have been driven to agree to it. I have never

wavered in my adherence to free-trade doctrines. I am amazed to hear the hon. gentleman say that free-trade is not even an important fact in political economy.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I did not say that. My expression was not synonymous. I said it was a branch and a subordinate branch of political economy.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I can only say that I am surprised that any political student should say that the entire freedom of commerce and trade is a subordinate part of political economy. Why, Sir, I believe it is the very height of political economy. I believe there is nothing that conduces so much to the welfare of a great people as to have entire freedom of commerce. Who does not recollect when British shipping was hampered with all kinds of harassing legislation? Who does not remember when British shipping was not able to move about in the harbour without great annoyance, simply because the tonnage dues were imposed according to the size of the deck? Who does not know that whilst this tonnage was in existence, whilst this embarrassing protection lasted, whilst every British port was shut to every foreign vessel, and when British owners demanded British shipping for themselves, whilst no American ship could go to a British port or to a port of one of its colonies—who does not remember that the United States showed their power as an able nation, and that they were rapidly outstripping British shipping. But the moment the ports were thrown open to all parts of the world, and foreign vessels traded with Glasgow, London, Leith, Hull, Liverpool, or Quebec with the same ease as the British shipping—when the tonnage laws were repealed, when there was perfect and complete open competition for all kinds of shipping—who does not know, what student of political economy and history does not know, that from that moment British shipping took a start forward that has never been checked to this hour. My hon. friend behind me the other day said the check to American shipping was caused by the war in the United States. No doubt the war did

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a great deal of injury to the shipping, but it is a fact that the American shipping declined more rapidly after the war than during the war. It is a fact, as shown by a statement recently published, that the foreign traffic of the United States carried by American ships is at this moment less than it was at the closing year of the war, shewing that at the time of the excessive protection, where protection is admitted as a principle, that the shipping is being rapidly destroyed, while on the other hand the shipping of Great Britain and her colonies promise to soon absorb the entire foreign commerce of the world. And yet the right hon. gentleman says that freedom of commerce is but a subordinate part of political economy. But the right hon. gentleman guards himself; he goes for moderate protection. At one part of his speech he would seem to indicate definitely that he had decided to adopt protection as his political creed, but he took care to qualify this. He says he favours a moderate protection, and he illustrated it by suggesting that it would be a very good thing to let a little water out of our lake in order to drive machinery, but it would be very disastrous if we let the whole lake out, as it would sweep the whole machinery away. I am afraid his illustration is unfortunate; for if a little protection will drive trade a little, a great deal of protection will sweep away the trade altogether. The right hon. gentleman admits this by his illustration, if it means anything; and the hon. gentleman is right. It would be the worst thing that could happen to adopt protection as a principle, because that means that everybody must be protected alike, or else some person is to suffer injustice. Who is to suffer injustice? The right hon. gentleman says Canada is young, and that it must be led gently until it grows up to manhood, and able to take care of itself. But who is to be its nurse? Who is to take care of the child?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It's dry nurse!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—A very dry nurse! The hon. gentleman reminds one of the man standing in a tub and trying to lift himself by the

two handles. If protection is to be adopted as a policy, and all parties are to be protected, then we are the worse for the protection by the cost of protection itself. If, on the other hand, only certain classes are to be protected, I want to know what the classes are. To whom is the protection to apply? The hon. gentleman took a great deal of care to tell of his interest in the farmers. And, unfortunate man! he has his post office box crammed every day with letters from distressed farmers calling for protection. I only wish he would send me a dozen of them to read. It is very unfair that all the distressed farmers should go to the hon gentleman and never to myself. I represent one of the largest and richest farming constituencies in Canada, I believe. It is one of the largest in population and area, and one of the best farming districts, and yet I have not received one letter from any of my farming constituents complaining that we were not protecting them. The fact is, farmers in my county are an intelligent class. They know as much as my hon. friend from Kingston with reference to protection. The farmer knows that it is the merest sham thrown in to delude the people. He knows it is merely trying to coat over the pill with sugar. But surely my hon. friend will give the farmers of this country more credit than to imagine that a few honied phrases and pleasing expressions are sufficient to seduce them from a sound policy, and to induce them to adopt a protection policy. But the right hon. gentleman says it is a shame that the Government of the country should permit the United States to crowd their cereals into this market to the injury of our farmers. Does the right hon. gentleman pretend to say that it is possible to affect the price of wheat of these markets by wheat being sent from the United States. Does not my right hon. friend know very well that wheat comes here as merchandise, and makes us the richer by the carriage? What was our canal system constructed for? Was it merely to carry wheat from the borders of Lake Huron? Did he mean that every person who established a mill should grind Canadian wheat and Canadian wheat only? If

we adopt a protective system it would shut out all trade from other countries and compel us to trade with one another in any way we thought best.

The hon. gentleman did not venture to deal with another particular question; he did not tell the House, as he was bound to do, in what way we should provide a revenue if this policy were adopted. I was compelled, as a member of the Administration, to listen to every representation made to the Government during the last few months; and it gave me a great deal of pleasure to receive the deputations on this subject with courtesy and kindness. I hope that I gave no one any reason to complain in this regard. But it seems that the very fact that I did so receive these deputations is now turned against me, and I am told that, on this account, these deputations had good reason to believe that I intended to accede to their wishes; this is indeed a new doctrine. "But suppose that we do adopt this protective policy," I asked one of these deputations. "You represented a certain manufacture." I will not mention, for I do not desire to state names. He answered, "Yes." "Very well," I said, "if the duty is increased, what will be the result. Let us talk business regarding this matter. You want 7½ per cent more protection?" "Yes." "Well how will that benefit you?" "Oh!" he replied, "it will raise the price." "But how will it raise the price," I continued, "if they are now able to compete with you from the United States, unless you exclude their articles." "Ah!" he rejoined, "it will exclude their goods." "Oh! then you will destroy our revenue with respect to this article to the extent of \$175,000; how will you replace it?"

Sir, there was no answer; and this question the right hon. gentleman is bound to answer, if he is bound to give his policy to the House, as he seems obliged to do. So it will be with almost every article; to the extent a revenue tariff is abandoned, and a protection policy adopted, the revenue of the country is destroyed, and must be supplied in some other way. The hon. gentleman says that in the Act of Confederation he gave away the power of

direct taxation to the local governments, but I do not agree with that.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—Oh, no! I did not say that. What I stated was, that power was given to the local legislatures and municipalities, and that if we exercised it as well, it would amount to confiscation.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.—That is very true. I would like to see my hon. friend adopt his protective policy. I do not wish him any ill, but if I did I could desire nothing worse than to see him on this side announcing a protective policy, and the imposition of a poll tax on the people, in order to make up for the taxation required to carry on the Government. I would like to see him carry it out.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—I dare say you would.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.—And I tell the hon. gentleman that it would have delighted him two or three days ago, if he had us bringing down such a policy as would have made this course a necessary consequence. That was what the hon. gentleman desired and hoped.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—The hon. gentleman raised the tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent. That was a protective policy; and yet it increased the revenue.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.—No, Sir; that was purely a revenue policy.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—It was both; try another rise and to get more revenue.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.—I would much rather take a rise of my hon. friend.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.—You have already.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.—My hon. friend says that I have already; I will not do it again.

The increase from 15 to 17½ per cent. was made in order to secure a revenue policy.

It is quite true that I have always said, as I reiterate now that so far as such a policy encourages manufactures, I will not on that account complain. If the country was so situated geographically that our system of taxation could be so re-

adjusted, I believe that nothing would enrich it so much as to relieve trade and commerce from every species of restriction imposed upon them. I look upon every restriction as regards trade and commerce between man and man as simply a relic of a barbarous age; and if we are compelled in our fiscal system, as is and will be the case as long as our neighbours are so diametrically opposed to the views I personally hold, we must take this means to raise the revenue. We require from Customs and Excise duties, as I told my hon. friend from Montreal—and so I tell him now—and as I have always said in my speeches at Hamilton, &c., the necessities of the country are such that it is impossible that we can succeed in raising sufficient revenue with less than 15 per cent. And when I spoke at Hamilton I remarked that my impression was that we would soon require an advance. This proved to be the case, and we imposed an increased tariff without hesitation; but the Government were bound in this particular juncture in our affairs to consider whether it was possible to obtain any more revenue by means of an additional percentage on certain classes of goods. It may be reasonably doubted whether it would be possible, or if so at all, it would have only been possible to the extent of excluding certain articles from which we now derive revenue, every cent of which we require for our expenditures. This was a policy which the Government was bound to consider in the interests of the country as well as in the interests of manufacturers and farmers.

It was a very easy thing for my right hon. friend, in his position, to criticise and to offer a policy which he knew he would have no opportunity of putting in force for many years to come, if ever. This was a safe course to pursue; and if the right hon. gentleman derived much pleasure from contemplating the effects of that policy among the farmers of the country, then I am sure that as far as I am concerned he is quite welcome to it.

My right hon. friend also took serious objection to the policy of the Government, because he said it had produced

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serious derangement in trade in consequence of merchants having taken their goods out of bond, in anticipation of a change in the tariff. I have only to say that the Government never directly or indirectly stated to anyone that the tariff would either be advanced or lowered, and we would have been as much to blame if we had indicated to any person that we would not alter it, as if we had announced that a change would take place. The Administration had no right whatever to intimate anything that would give any justification for derangement in trade; but, Sir, it was very natural for my hon. friend from Montreal, and for all men in his business who examined the returns published in the *Gazette*.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—And who knew that a deficit this year would be inevitable.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear, hear!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It was quite natural for them to suppose that there would be a change in the tariff in order to meet these circumstances, also that this agitation would increase, as the time drew near for the meeting of Parliament and the delivery of the Budget Speech; and that every man who could command the means should withdraw his goods from bond, to save himself from the disadvantage of a possible increase. But for this no Government could be held accountable—no Government could be charged with dereliction of duty merely because people drew inferences from facts that were published, not for that particular time only, but in accordance with a custom that had prevailed for years. Only to this extent, Sir, is there any excuse or justification for the right hon. gentleman's assertion that we were in any way responsible for such a state of things.

I have no doubt that when my hon. friend from Cumberland was Minister of Customs, if there was any change in the tariff—I do not recollect, that there was—he found, repeatedly, questions addressed to him by letter; and the hon. gentleman will remember, that during the last two Sessions members

behind him put questions on the paper enquiring what increase would be placed on certain articles. People did not consider that the Government had no right—it would indeed be a violation of their duty—to make any statement then either as to any intention to create new duties, or let the duties alone.

I was a little surprised, Sir, to hear the right hon. member for Kingston speak of my hon. friend's tariff measure, two years ago, as to the mess made of it; but if the hon. gentleman should hold his tongue about anything, it should be with regard to making a mess of a tariff, for who does not remember the time when we had one tariff in the afternoon and another in the evening; and who does not know of the right-about-face movement of the right hon. gentleman? I am not aware whether my hon. friend was ever in the army or not; but if so, he was familiar with the manœuvre of right-about-face; and if there was ever a right-about-face, it was shown in that change of the entire tariff. I do not think that the hon. member for Cumberland was in the Cabinet at the time when he was credited with applying the whip very liberally from behind, bringing the pressure to bear upon the Government, which, it seems, the people from the Maritime Provinces are always credited with using. I believe that my hon. friend from Cumberland did not then deny the soft impeachment; but my hon. friends from the Provinces do deny the charge now made, and I also do in their name. I saw many of these gentlemen, who discussed the matter calmly and quietly with me. I heard all their views, as well as the opinions of many other members; but no member, nor any deputation from this House, held out any threats of any kind in this relation; and we have no reason to doubt that any course the Administration might pursue in the interests of the country would be supported by their opponents in the House as a general thing.

I have merely to say, in conclusion, that the Administration will feel bound, while they occupy these seats, to endeavour to administer the affairs of the country in the interest of the great

mass of the people; but, in so doing, they cannot avoid, apparently, trampling upon some interests which they have no desire to treat in this manner. And if commercial men at present imagine that we have wantonly neglected their interests, and wantonly avoided giving them any relief in our power, I have only to state that it was impossible for any Government to give a more earnest, serious, dispassionate and prolonged consideration to their interests than they have done.

The hon. gentlemen opposite say that the course we have taken has placed them many years nearer to power than they were three weeks ago; and this expression seemed to give the hon. gentleman infinite pleasure, judging from the gusto with which he delivered it. Well, Sir, it was not necessary to affirm anything of that sort to keep up appearances; and I do not grudge the hon. gentleman any little satisfaction he may obtain by expressing such an opinion. Sir, I do not care if in the exercise of our duty to the country—for I believe that the Government ought to act in the interests of the great mass—this course brings the hon. gentleman nearer to power or not I do not want to retain power at the expense of principle. And if it be the only object of an Opposition or a political party to get several steps nearer to power, why, Sir, the hon. gentleman knows that some of us might have occupied such a position many years ago. I believe that we are firmer now than on the day when the Finance Minister announced the policy of the Government. The course we have pursued dissatisfies some of our own political friends in the House, whom I grieve to say are opposed to our policy; but nevertheless, although it may have alienated them in this or in anything else, we have pursued the only course open to us as a Government under the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed. I believe that it will commend itself to the House and country; and instead of bringing my hon. friends opposite several steps nearer to power—to that power for which they long so much, and which is ever on their lips—I am conscious that it removes them a great

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many steps further from it than they were before; and if they attempt in this country to act in the interests of a class instead of in the interests of the whole people, the whole people will not, Sir, sustain those who support a partial principle.

Mr. MACDONALD (Centre Toronto)—I think I must, in justice to myself, detain the House for two or three minutes before a vote is taken. The resolution of the hon. gentleman from West Montreal is so worded that it must succeed in securing the votes of those who have the most opposite opinions. It propounds a principle without defining a rate, and therefore those hon. gentlemen who have the most opposite views may equally vote for it. I may state, however, that this juncture is not the time to amend the tariff. I listened with very great regret, (as many hon. gentlemen did in this House,) to the announcement made by the Finance Minister of his policy. I conceived that during the recess he should have patiently, prudently and carefully examined into those industries that were languishing, that he should have made provision for them, and be prepared to announce a policy that would meet with general approval. I was disappointed, and I am quite sure that others were disappointed, and yet I feel as others, must, that that policy having been announced that the changes in the tariff have, to a large extent, been discounted, that the spring trade being in the country now being commercial, a change now made might be most disastrous. I have listened to a great many speeches in this House attacking positions that were never raised, and assailing a policy that has never been suggested. I have heard attacks on the policy of a "Chinese Wall," nobody having proposed such a policy. I believe no one who advocated protection wished for anything unreasonable, or anything that would have been detrimental to the agricultural interests, or to any other interest in this country; but if carried out in the mild spirit as proposed would have been productive of the best results. While gentlemen on this side of the House have expressed their desire to foster

languishing industries, so have gentlemen on the Treasury Benches. I have taken down for example the words of the Finance Minister on the subject, and before recording my vote I wish to ask him what he means by the following:—"I do not wish to lose sight of the fair play due to our manufactures." I wish to ask the Minister of Finance if by these words he understands that if new dangers should arise to our industries, no remedies are to be provided for those dangers? I wish to ask if, in the ever-changing phases of trade, manufactures languish, there are no remedies to be found. I wish to know if there is such an undue desire to provide for the nineteen-twentieths there is no determination shown to make provision for the other twentieth. The Minister of Finance said that he was not prepared to legislate for one-twentieth part of the population to the exclusion of nineteen-twentieths; but I ask whether if the latter have rights, the former do not also possess them? If the hon. gentleman would pause for a moment, he would have thought that the class which has invested eighty millions in plant and in the development of the industries of this country, annually expending forty millions of dollars and employing two hundred thousand persons were entitled to consideration. If three pensions are allowed to each of the 200,000, which would be a fair allowance for each family, it would give a total of 600,000, equal to more than one-eighth of our population; and if you add those who are dependant for support upon other industries, you have as many more, or fully one-fourth of our entire population interested in manufactures. He will agree with me that this is something more than one-twentieth. I will simply ask in conclusion, whether the Finance Minister will announce to this House--because I hold that a hasty adjustment of the tariff would be a dangerous experiment--whether after he has patiently investigated and looked into the claims of these languishing industries, he will provide such measures as will save them from destruction. It is due to me that this question should be answered before I record my vote.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I do not propose at this hour to enter on my reply to the right hon. member for Kingston, or to make any reference to matters that have arisen in this debate, I merely rise to answer the question of the hon. member for Centre Toronto. Undoubtedly circumstances may arise—we have never denied that they might arise—which will require further action at our hands. Our position is simply that we see no occasion at present for taking further action.

The members were then called in, and a division was taken with the following result :

YEAS :

Messieurs.

Baby,	Lanther,
Benoit,	Little,
Blain,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Blanchet,	Macdonald (Kingston),
Bowell,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Brooks,	McDonald (C. Breton),
Brouse,	McDougall (Three Riv),
Brown,	Macmillan,
Cameron, (Victoria.)	McCallum,
Caron,	McQuade,
Cimon,	Masson,
Colby,	Mitchell,
Cuthbert,	Monteith,
DeCosmos,	Montplaisir,
Desjardins,	Mousseau,
Devlin,	Palmer,
Domville,	Pinsonneault,
Dugas,	Platt,
Farrow,	Plumb,
Ferguson,	Pope,
Flesher,	Robinson,
Fraser,	Robitaille,
Gaudet,	Rouleau,
Gill,	Stephenson,
Haggart,	Tupper,
Harwood,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Hurteau,	White (Hastings),
Irving,	White (Renfrew),
Jetté,	Wood,
Jones (Leeds),	Workman,
Kirkpatrick,	Wright (Ottawa,)
Langevin,	Wright (Pontiac,)—64.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Appleby,	Huntington,
Archibald,	Jones (Halifax),
Aylmer,	Kerr,
Bain,	Killam,
Bannatyne,	Kirk,
Barthe,	Lafamme,
Béchar,	Laird,
Bernier,	Lajoie,
Bertram,	Landerkin,
Biggar,	Langlois,
Blake,	Laurier,
Borden,	MacDonnell (Inverness),
Borron,	MacDougall (Elgin),
Bourassa,	McKay (Cape Breton),
Bowman,	Mackenzie,
Boyer,	McCraney,

Buell,
 Bunster,
 Burk,
 Burpee (St. John),
 Burpee (Sunbury),
 Cameron (Ontario),
 Carmichael,
 Cartwright,
 Casey,
 Casgrain,
 Cauchon,
 Charlton,
 Cheval,
 Christie,
 Church,
 Cockburn,
 Coffin,
 Cook,
 Costigan,
 Coupal,
 Cunningham,
 Davies,
 Dawson,
 Delorme,
 De St. Georges,
 DeVeber,
 Dymond,
 Ferris,
 Fiset,
 Fleming,
 Flynn,
 Forbes,
 Fr chet te,
 Galbraith,
 Gibson,
 Gillies,
 Gillmor,
 Gordon,
 Goudge,
 Greenway,
 Hagar,
 Higinbotham,
 Holton,
 Horton,
 McGregor,
 McIntyre,
 McIsaac,
 McLeod,
 McNab,
 Metcalfe,
 Mills,
 Norris,
 Oliver,
 Paterson,
 Pelletier,
 Perry,
 Pettes,
 Pickard,
 Pozer,
 Ray,
 Richard,
 Ross (Durham),
 Ross (Prince Edward),
 Ryan,
 Rymal,
 Scatcherd,
 Sriver,
 Shibley,
 Short,
 Sinclair,
 Skinner,
 Smith (Peel),
 Smith (Selkirk),
 Smith (Westmoreland),
 Snider,
 Stirton,
 St. Jean,
 Taschereau,
 Thibandeau,
 Thompson (Haldimand),
 Thomson (Welland),
 Tremaine,
 Trow,
 Vail,
 Wallace (Albert),
 Yeo,
 Young—119.

The amendment was then declared resolved in the negative ; majority, 55. The following gentlemen paired upon the question :—Mr. Rochester for the amendment, with Mr. Blackburn against ; Mr. Currier for, with Mr. Power against ; Mr. Ouimet for, with Mr. ——— against.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

The item \$9,550 for Administration of Justice was passed, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

The House adjourned at Twenty minutes past One a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 8, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at ten minutes past Three o'clock.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. BABY—To amend the Criminal Law relating to offences against the person.

Mr. WORKMAN—To incorporate the Atlantic and Pacific Mutual Fire and Marine Insurance Company.

ELECTION ACT OF 1874.

Mr. TASCHEREAU—To amend the Dominion Elections Act of 1874, declaring ineligible for election to the House of Commons all persons disqualified for election to the Local Legislatures.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I invite an explanation of the object of the Bill.

Mr. TASCHEREAU—It is intended to amend section 102 of the Dominion Elections Act of 1874.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—How does the hon. gentleman propose to deal with cases in which the judges have declared parties disqualified under the law, who after such disqualification have been whitewashed through a Bill introduced into a Local Legislature for the purpose of destroying the decision of the judge. This House has not adopted such a policy, and I trust that it never will. I hope that having adopted the system of trial of controverted elections by judges, their decisions when rendered will be respected by this Parliament. As the hon. gentleman has introduced a Bill, which is to cause action to be taken in this House upon disqualifications in connection with the Local Legislatures, I trust that he will provide that this Parliament will only regard the judicial decision, and not any act of any Local Legislature by which contempt is thrown upon these judgments.

Mr. TASCHEREAU—I will take the suggestion of the hon. member into consideration.

Mr. OLIVER—To empower the Canada Southern Railway Company to issue preferential stock.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I beg leave to introduce a Bill entitled an Act respecting the Intercolonial Railway.—

This is simply intended to remove

all doubts as to the power of the Government to act under a former statute regarding the Halifax extension.

TRANSLATION OF THE DEBATES.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—I ask for information concerning the translation of the debates. We have received only a small portion as yet in French, and I would like to know what progress is being made.

Mr. BOWELL—The Chairman is not here, and I am unable to give any information. The Committee has not been called together, and I have no knowledge whatever of what has been done. The whole matter is in the hands of the Chairman of the Committee, who has apparently assumed all responsibility.

QUESTIONS BY MEMBERS—HALIFAX STATION.

Mr. DOMVILLE—Was the iron station now at Halifax awaiting erection purchased privately or by public tender, and from whom?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have already stated that the iron roof was not obtained by tender, but purchased from Clarke, Reeves & Co., of Philadelphia, at a cost of \$12,800.

THE DECK-LOADS' LAW.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Whether any report has been made by the Port Warden of Quebec to the Collector of that Port, or to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, in relation to a violation during the season of 1875 of an Act intituled "An Act respecting Deck-Loads," 36 Victoria, Cap. 56 by the barque *N. Churchill*; or whether such violation of said law has been brought to the notice of said department in any other way; also whether such vessel before clearance by the Customs Department, had the certificates required by sections 5, 6 and 7 of said Act, and whether any prosecution has been taken against the master of said vessel for violations of the Provisions of said Act for the penalties provided under sections 8, 9 and 10 of said Act or the punishment of imprisonment to which the master of said vessel is liable?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Some correspondence in this connection is now before the House, and I presume that my hon. friend has seen it. Steps have been instituted to prosecute, but the vessel in question has never returned.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The captain and vessel have been in the country all winter. I am glad to learn that my hon. friend has taken steps in the matter, and this is quite satisfactory to me. My hon. friend has not, however, stated whether before clearance by the Customs Department, the vessels had the certificates required by sec. 5, 6, and 7.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—My hon. friend will see by the correspondence, that there has not been so great a violation of the law, as he anticipated the correspondence would show. The Government will prosecute if the law has been violated.

PORTAGE ISLAND.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Whether the arrangements and negociations carried on in 1872 and 1873, between the Canadian Government and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, for the transfer of Portage Island in the Bay of Miramichi to the Canadian Government, have resulted in the title of such Island being vested in the Government of Canada?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I believe that the title is not complete. I am not aware of the existence of any return in this regard.

JUDGE AT SOREL.

Mr. GILL—Is it the intention of the Government to take the necessary measures to have a resident Judge at Sorel during the leave of absence granted to the Honorable Mr. Justice Loranger?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The Government have taken steps to supply his place during his term of absence. Some correspondence which has passed on the subject is at the disposal of the House, if the hon. member will move for it.

CHENAL ECARTÉ.

Mr. STEPHENSON—Will any sum be put into the Supplementary Estimates, or be otherwise provided this

year for the purpose of prosecuting the work already begun for the improvement of the navigation of the Chenal Ecarté at its confluence with Lake St. Clair?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to touch that channel this year.

INLAND REVENUE.

Mr. BECHARD—Is it the intention of the Government to have published in French the book intituled "Laws and Orders in Council affecting the Inland Revenue of Canada, 1875," which the Department of Inland Revenue has just published?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes.

THE SUPREME COURT.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET moved for a return of the number of suits instituted before the Supreme Court, and of the number of judgments recorded.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the Supreme Court was one of appeal, and suits were not instituted there, but brought from other Courts. The Government had no power to ascertain what decisions had been rendered, but he would take steps to communicate with the officers of the Court, and obtain a return, which he had reason to believe would not be voluminous.

The motion was carried.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE.

Mr. OLIVER moved for a statement of loss to the Post Office Department by the sending of certain papers and documents free of postage during the last Session of the Ontario and Quebec Legislatures.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said the Post Office Department was not in a position to give the information desired. It was provided by the Post Office Act that certain documents and other matters mentioned therein might be sent free of postage. There had been no record kept, and therefore no return could be furnished. The motion of the hon. gentleman, however, would place the Government in such a position as to be able to furnish the information next year.

Mr. STEPHENSON.

Mr. OLIVER said he was confident this information would be acceptable to the House and country if it could be furnished in the future.

The motion was dropped.

GLACE BAY HARBOUR MASTER.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) moved for a return of moneys paid to Mr. Henry Mitchell, Harbour Master of the Port of Glace Bay, in Cape Breton. Mr. McDonald said it was claimed that this harbour was private property. The appointment was very unpopular and altogether unnecessary in the public interest. The appointment was not asked for by any one interested in the matter, and he understood a few months after it was made the official was asked to resign. The impression at the place was that the appointment was made for the political services of the official. He (Mr. McDonald) wished to see the correspondence to ascertain whether such was the case or not, and that the public might know the facts.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said he was not aware that this gentleman was a friend of the Government. He (Mr. Smith) could furnish the information off hand if it would satisfy his hon. friend, but was quite willing to bring down the papers if he desired it.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) thought the hon. gentleman was a little astray in supposing that the harbour is private property. If the hon. gentleman took the trouble to look into the subject he would find that under the rules and regulations of the Government of Nova Scotia, the Governor in Council before Confederation had power to make the appointment. The same power that then was given to the Governor in Council was now vested in the Marine and Fisheries Department. There was another reason why the appointment of harbour master at the Port of Glace Bay was necessary, and that was that the Dominion Act gave certain powers to the harbour master whereby he could compel obedience to any orders he gave in connection with the safety of the harbour. This harbour being located almost immediately on the Atlantic ocean, required a good deal of supervision to prevent masters of vessels from throwing ballast or

other materials into the water, and thereby interfering with the navigation. Unless the harbour master received an official appointment there would be no one to compel obedience to the orders which it would be necessary to give for the purpose of keeping the harbour free from obstruction. He did not believe the appointment would be regarded as unpopular, and if it was unpopular with any one, the dissatisfaction could be only with the proprietors. He thought the appointment was one the Government could justify.

Mr. MACDONALD reiterated the statement that he regarded the appointment as one not in the interest of the public, and he thought it should be known whether or not the office had been discontinued. Fees had only been collected by the officer the first few months after his appointment, and it was doubtful to him whether the gentleman still held the appointment.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said the appointment was made in July, 1874, and in the year 1875, the harbour master received \$142. Therefore, the hon. gentleman was clearly under a misapprehension when he said there were no fees collected in 1875.

The motion was agreed to.

THE SALT TRADE.

Mr. FARROW moved for a Select Committee to enquire into the salt interests of this country, with power to send for persons, papers and records. He said he was glad he had now an opportunity of bringing this matter before the House, having brought the subject up too late last Session for it to procure the necessary consideration. The salt interests of the country were in a very languishing condition, and it might not be generally known, but in the western part of the Province there are the best salt mines to be found in the world: There was something like \$500,000 invested in these wells, and it was an interest which, on account of various circumstances, was unprofitable. They had heard a great deal about the protection of numerous products, but not a word about the protection of salt. Those products which had a duty of 17½ per cent. were represented to

require more protection, while salt had none. The United States prevented Canadians from sending their salt into that market, whilst the Americans could flood the Canadian market free, and slaughter their goods. If the other manufacturers were placed in such a position, there would be a hue and cry sent down to the House which could not be withstood. He trusted this matter would secure the attention of the House. What were the circumstances of the case? In the first place the interior of Canada was flooded with Syracuse salt from Oswego, and at the mouth of the St. Lawrence they were met with an abundance of Liverpool salt which came over in Quebec ballast ships at very little cost. That salt was thrown on the Canadian market at a less price than it was sold for in Liverpool. At the time the Washington Treaty was consummated they were promised that the Americans would repeal their duty, but this promise passed as a matter of history merely; consequently they had to look to this House for redress, and they asked for nothing more than they had a right to expect. They asked for a small duty on foreign salt, and he thought, considering the condition of the exchequer that such a tax would contribute considerably to the revenue. There was another point. The bags in which the salt was shipped to Canada were allowed to come in duty free, while the Canadians had to pay a duty on bags they imported. The House could not fail to see the unfairness of this condition of things. Even a small duty placed on those bags would help the struggling industry of salt a good deal. The Americans sent their surplus lumber to Canada for the purpose of slaughtering the market; and he contended that the interference of the Government was urgently required to remove this disability from which they suffered.

We produced 20,000 tons of salt a year, and what were we to do with it? The Americans sent their salt here to be sold even at half price, making the best of the matter they could, and this was done repeatedly, to the great detriment of our interests, which had attained great importance. They were not to be trifled with; one-half

million of capital was interested in the works; and in 1874, there were manufactured in Canada, no less than 350,000 barrels of salt, equal to 98 millions of pounds. If they could only run on full time, the product would amount to one million barrels a year, sufficient to supply this country and the Western States also, if the latter market was open. These industries employed a large number of men, and had caused the establishment of large and fine foundries and cooperages in their neighborhood. Timber was required in great quantities for the barrels, and in this manner, the farmers benefitted to a great extent, owing to the existence of these interests, when prosperous. It had been said that manufacturers did not add to the well-being of the agricultural community; but this was not the case. Previous to the negotiation of the Washington Treaty a small duty was levied on imported salt, but it was removed in this relation with the understanding that the Americans would abolish their protective duty, but this had not been done. Our neighbours played a game of grab; they obtained every possible concession from this country but gave none in return. The Canadian industries would thrive with one-half the duty which impeded the exportation of our salt to the United States. The present price was very low; and the manufactories were not closed simply because if they were stopped the machinery would be destroyed by rust. The importation of Liverpool salt was the chief obstacle. It was to be remembered that England during the reign of King William imposed an enormous tax on foreign salt, about 22s. a bushel; in 1823, it amounted to not less than 15s., two years later it was reduced to 2s., and shortly afterwards taken off altogether. England protected her interests until they were firmly established; she now manufactured about two millions of tons per year, exporting of this nearly one million. One-half of the American duty was 35 cents per barrel—not too much protection to ask under the circumstances, our population being only four compared with the forty millions across the border. A small revenue

Mr. FARROW.

duty should be levied on both Liverpool and American salt. Free trade said that if they could not stand competition they could go to the wall; they only desired a fair field, and no undue favour. Our salt, made in Huron and Bruce—to this fact he called the attention of the Minister of Justice particularly—was the finest in the world, and for this he had the testimony of the most noted chemists, who proved that it was superior to Ashton salt, factory filled salt, Syracuse and Cheshire salt. As to any objections members from the Maritime Provinces might have to extending the protection required, he thought that Confederation was intended to bind us together commercially, hence Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island ought not to trade with the United States in this relation. The Lower Provinces had rich coal fields. If that interest required protection, it should obtain it, but he knew that no industry was suffering so severely as the salt manufacture. Vessels taking salt to New Brunswick, could bring back coal, which was placed on board, he understood, at \$2.37½ a ton. He could promise for it under such circumstances, and they would be well paid if they received \$1.50 per ton for the salt, which could be laid down in Quebec and Halifax, at from \$5.00 to \$5.50 per ton. Coal could be taken in return at \$2.50 per ton, and sold at \$4.50 or \$5.00 in Toronto and Ontario generally. That would be as cheap coal as we could get in the west from the United States. Would it not be better for us to leave our money in our own country? That was the true national policy; the other policy was one which would ruin the Dominion.

There had been a good deal said about increasing the cost to the consumer, but it had been admitted that the late advance of 2½ per cent. in the tariff had not produced that effect. The only result of it was to diminish the profits of the middlemen. A small duty put on salt would not increase the cost of that article to the consumer. The high duty in the United States had not been attended by any such result, the competition between the Syracuse and the Saginaw

companies keeping down prices. To such an extent had the competition gone that a meeting of the Michigan salt producers was recently held to consider what they should do. They decided on sending 10,000 barrels of salt into the Eastern markets and selling it at even lower prices. That was the way Protection worked in regard to that interest.

He merely asked for a small committee, the expense of which would be very trifling, as they intended to call only one witness. He trusted the finances of the country had not fallen so low that the expense would be objected to. There were no less than twenty-five salt wells in Huron and Bruce, in which \$500,000 capital was invested. He was glad the hon. member for South Bruce, who had the ear of the Premier, was present to give his assistance.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I understand that the hon. gentleman does not propose sending for many witnesses.

Mr. FARROW—There is only one, or at the furthest two, I intend to send for.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I shall not object to the motion.

The motion was carried.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE DEBATES.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET asked what progress had been made with the translation of the debates. He had received only 16 pages yet, and on the last one he saw the word "millenium." was it to end there?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It is a good stopping place.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I will see to it immediately.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE suggested as there was a certain amount of arrear, perhaps it would be well to get some extra assistance. If the regular staff was kept working up arrears he was afraid they would never catch up.

After some further discussion the matter was dropped.

THE THOUSAND ISLANDS.

Mr. BROUSE moved for an Address to his Excellency the Governor-General for a Return of the names of

occupiers or holders of land on the islands of the St. Lawrence between Brockville and Gananoque, called "The Thousand Isles;" the number of acres in each holding; the value and appraisal of each holding. He said during the administration of the late Government these islands were ordered to be surveyed and valued. Much dissatisfaction existed among the settlers on those islands at the prices that had been placed on these lands. A owns land next to B. A's land is valued at \$1.50 per acre, while B's is placed at \$10 or \$12, both being similar. As a large number of persons had settled on these islands, there was a good deal of dissatisfaction among them on this account. Another cause of complaint was that where an individual bought out the claim of some former settler he found he did not get the improvements. They were placed in the possession of his neighbour, while he got nothing but rocks. The difficulties which these settlers experienced, separated as they were at certain seasons of the year from each other and from the mainland, ought to be taken into consideration. They should not be dealt with more harshly than those on the main shore. He asked that this matter should be considered seriously, because it affected those people deeply. He was exceedingly anxious that the Thousand Islands should be kept in the natural condition which makes them valuable to the Dominion. This was not a local but a national matter, in which all were deeply interested.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there was no objection to the motion, but he apprehended the principal object of the mover was to give him an opportunity of expressing his opinions. With reference to the islands which were available for sale, it was the duty of the Government to act with regard to them as they would with land elsewhere—get their value irrespective of the prices which lands had sold for at previous periods.

The Government had felt from the first that it was exceedingly desirable to prevent the destruction of the natural beauty of the smaller islands, and steps had been taken in that direction by the payment of an officer who had

other duties to perform, to have supervision over them. Some had been resorts for smugglers; others had been frequented by camping parties who destroyed the timber. The officer had prevented this. It was not the intention of the Government to sell those islands which were ornamental, although several parties had sought to purchase them for summer residences. The Government thought it much better to keep those islands in their natural state and leave them open to all who observed the regulations for the preservation of lumber and natural appearance of the islands. The returns would be brought down.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I believe these islands are the property of the Indians.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Nearly all.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said in that case the hon. gentleman was right in saying the best price should be obtained for them. The object was, while it was exceedingly desirable that the beauty of these islands should be maintained as one of the most striking pieces of scenery in the world, that the interests of the Indians must be guarded. It seemed to him a judicious system to grant leases to persons of means who desired to occupy them as summer residences, making it strictly necessary they should preserve the lumber and erect such buildings as would increase the beauty of the scenery.

He was very glad to hear from his hon. friend that it was intended to take this action. The money would be well spent, and he presumed that the expense was chargeable to the Indian fund. These islands undoubtedly should be protected. On the American side there were beautiful residences. He did not know what means were taken on the other side of the dividing line to protect the islands, but it was lamentable to see some points which were formerly beautiful, utterly ruined by the wreckless barbarism of excursionists who lighted fires that had destroyed and ruined them.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) agreed that means should be taken to protect the smaller islands, and if possible derive a revenue from them. What they complained of was the mode of apprais-

ing. Some of these parties living in these islands had surveyed their own property at the request of the late Government. After they had gone to the expense of having their farms mapped out, a new survey had been made, showing a difference of from 40 to 60 acres. With regard to the appraisalment, he stated that adjoining some valuable farms which had been appraised at \$1 and \$2 an acre, there were farms not so good as those rated at this low figure which had been appraised at \$5, \$6 and even \$7. There was great discontent in consequence. In some cases the settlers had been located on their farms for 80 years, the property having been handed down from father to son. The men who lived on these islands were under great disadvantages compared with those on the mainland. They had no schools and no roads, but they had to pay their municipal taxes, and their claims should be well considered. He thought the Government might realize a high price by the renting of the islands. He trusted the Government would bring down the papers asked for.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said with regard to the papers he could not promise to bring down private correspondence regarding the appraisalment of land. Some of these papers were confidential and would not be brought down in the usual course, but any papers that were not so regarded the Government would have no objection to produce. With regard to the Indian lands it had been the custom of the Government for many years never to sell them without the consent of the Indians themselves. It was only when the Indians agreed that the Government either leased or sold Indian lands. It was a great mistake to imagine that Indians were not capable of looking after their own affairs, for they showed a great deal of astuteness in a way. The Government always consulted them in respect to the sale or leasing of their property, and were very particular not to act against their will. He would bring down those papers which were not of a confidential character, and he hoped his hon. friend would be satisfied with that.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

BRITISH COLUMBIA MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. DECOSMOS moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a Return shewing the tenders received in 1875 for the conveyance of the mails between Victoria and San Francisco, with a copy of any correspondence respecting the said tenders and mail service generally; also a copy of the contract for the performance of the said service.

He drew the attention of the Government in making the motion to the fact that the coast between San Francisco and Victoria was almost harbourless, and that in the event of an accident overtaking a steamship on this route, it would be very difficult indeed for the vessel to make a harbour unless it was able to reach the Straits, or as was the case last year, when a vessel was tugged to the Columbia River. Sufficient means had not been taken to rescue passengers in case of danger; and the coast was most inhospitable. The steamships which performed the service should be well furnished; at present they were miserable and unsafe. A great deal of interest was taken in this matter by the people of British Columbia, and the travelling public in that region. Representations had been made to the Government in the hope of having the contract placed in British hands, and of having Victoria as the headquarters of the line instead of San Francisco; nevertheless, it had been entrusted to a foreign company—the Pacific Mail Steamship Company—to whom is paid \$24,000 per annum. Victoria is also made a mere way station between Washington Territory and San Francisco. In addition, under the present system, the coal industry of the Washington Territory instead of Vancouver was being built up. Lifeboats were only provided on the steamers for 75 persons, when there should be sufficient to accommodate both passengers and crew. The tables, moreover, were badly supplied; and there was not enough room provided for the steerage passengers, the convenience of women also being shamefully neglected. The tables was placed on deck, and the passengers were obliged to eat standing. More attention should be paid to steerage than to cabin pas-

sengers, as the former were essential in order to ensure the advancement of British Columbia.

Mr. BUNSTER stated that these American steamships resembled floating coffins,—they were wretched affairs and dangerous. These circumstances formed a serious obstacle to the passage between the countries in question. He wished to impress on the Government the importance of subsidizing a British line. They had already paid a heavy penalty in the loss of some of their most enterprising and esteemed citizens with the ill-fated steamer *Pacific*, on which 325 souls perished. They had no Government Inspector, and people were frequently afraid to trust themselves on the steamships in question. The contract was not properly performed; and he hoped that the Postmaster-General would see that a better class of vessels was secured on the next occasion, for this service especially, in view of the fact that two first-class steamers had been ordered on the Clyde, in the hope that the contract would be awarded to the owners, who were not foreigners. The Americans sought to make of Victoria a mere way-port, and they boasted that the Dominion should not be allowed to have a flourishing capital on the Pacific coast. Still, he had sufficient confidence in British enterprise to believe that we would there succeed in building up a city. He trusted that the contract would be cancelled, as he knew that its terms had not been observed.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo), thought that these terms had been violated. He agreed that the present steamship service was most inadequate, and stated, as an objectionable feature, that the crew, with the exception of the captain, mates, quarter-masters and engineers, was composed of Chinese, with whom no one would care to trust his life in case of accident.

Mr. CASEY explained that though he was not a representative of British Columbia, he took a peculiar interest in this question, owing to the fact that a personal friend of his had for a long time been supposed to be the only survivor in connection with the steamship *Pacific* disaster. He had had full infor-

mation regarding these matters, and all accounts fully corroborated the representations made by his hon. friends from British Columbia. It was generally admitted that the Government should secure efficiency of service under such circumstances, and he trusted that the value of the money spent would be procured.

The fact of this subsidy being granted tended to create a monopoly and to drive competitors off the route. Passengers who had travelled by that line since the loss of the *Pacific* said the management was intolerable. The *Pacific* was not in a position to go to sea. Her boats were not in order, and her crew was composed of Chinamen. Everything was in disorder the moment the accident occurred. The state of the other vessel was described as being bad also, though not perhaps to the same extent. It was quite proper this appeal should be made to the Government by the British Columbia members, and backed by the representatives of other provinces. The means of communication with our most distant provinces should be made as efficient as it was intended to be when the contract was given.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN quite agreed with the hon. gentleman who had spoken of the necessity of a direct line from San Francisco to Victoria. The steamers of the line which at present received the subsidy called at Puget Sound, merely running into Victoria to land passengers, mails and freight, while the advantage of coaling them at Nanaimo was lost altogether. They got their coal from the American side altogether, and the Province lost in this way as well as from not remaining in the harbour of Victoria.

When he (Mr. Langevin) went to British Columbia some years ago, the steamer that plied between San Francisco and Victoria, though not first-class, was nevertheless manned by white men, and great care was taken for the safety of the passengers. He did not put much faith in Chinamen in case of accident. Experience had shown that in the hour of danger they took more care of themselves than of the passengers. It was important that the conditions of the contract

should be adhered to, and if the line was found to be useless, it would be a great deal better to cancel it and subsidize a proper line.

Mr. BUNSTER said the vessels did not even go into the harbour, but landed passengers and freight in a dirty old coal tug.

Mr. DEWDNEY said the contractors intended, when they took the contract, to utilize some English boats that were then lying at Japan, but immediately after getting it, they learned this English Company had failed. They then made the best arrangement they could with one of the most powerful steamship companies in the world. He thought the Pacific Mail Company had been treated rather unfairly by hon. gentlemen who had spoken on that subject. The Company made contracts with the Vancouver Island coal mine owners for a supply of coal, but they were not able to furnish it as fast as they could take it away. They agreed to take 4,000 tons a month from a company and pay for it whether they took it away or not. It was only when they found it could not be supplied fast enough that they went to Seattle, where they were obliged to take coal of an inferior quality.

It was true the *Pacific* was rotten, but the steamers that were doing the service now were new vessels, the *City of Panama* not being more than four years old. The harbour of Victoria was not large enough to accommodate large vessels.

Mr. DE COSMOS—No! no!

Mr. DEWDNEY said the steamship *Panama* in entering it had run aground.

Mr. BUNSTER said that was the result of bad pilotage.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said there could be no objection to the papers being brought down. When they came it would be found the Government had made the best arrangements possible under the circumstances for the transmission of the mails. There had been the ordinary advertising and acceptance of the lowest tender. It was to be regretted the first-class steamers referred to by the hon. gentleman were not in British Columbia waters, and ready to tender for the ser-

vice. The amount of subsidy was very large—some \$54,000—about half as much as the Atlantic service cost. The Government would be glad to receive any suggestions from the representatives of British Columbia or other hon. gentlemen who had information on the subject.

Mr. DECOSMOS said vessels of a proper size to do the business between Victoria and San Francisco could get all the coal they could take in at Vancouver Island. As to the capacity of the harbour of Victoria, it had been floating the largest vessels for eighteen years to his own knowledge. The accident to the *Panama* was due to the fact that the pilot took a wrong course.

The motion was carried.

THE LOSS OF THE PACIFIC.

Mr. DECOSMOS moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a copy of all correspondence or reports in the possession of the Government respecting the loss of the steamship *Pacific*. He said his object was simply to learn what had been done on the part of the Marine and Fisheries Department with respect to enquiries into that great disaster. He noticed an allusion to it in the report of the Department, and also mention made of rewards given for saving life. He believed some steps should be taken to make arrangements with the United States Government by which vessels of that country in our ports could be subject to the supervision of our officers.

It had been suggested that if an officer, well qualified to form an opinion as to the sea-worthiness of vessels, were appointed by the Government, that the existing danger would be to a great extent removed.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said they had no objection to bring down the papers on the subject. He might say that the Government was in no way responsible for this matter. The vessel was an American one and wrecked in American waters. With regard to the question as to how far they had power to supervise vessels coming to Canadian ports from foreign countries, he was not prepared then to state.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL regarded the suggestion of the hon. member for Van-

cover as a most important one, and said it had occupied the attention of the Government for many years past. He considered that in the future there ought to be a clause inserted in the contracts entered into by the Government with owners of these vessels, providing that they should be subject to examination by an officer appointed by the Canadian Government. He spoke next of the necessity of the Government investigating the cause of all marine disasters, although he admitted there were a great many difficulties in connection with the prosecuting of such investigations.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) dwelt upon the necessity of the supervision of vessels carrying passengers and freight to Canadian ports. They all knew that the vessel in question had a certificate, but it had been granted by a negligent officer without examination. The *Pacific* was a mail steamer six months previously to the accident, at which time she was considered to be a good, although an old boat. This illusion, however, was dispelled when the collision occurred. He hoped the Government would be able to take some steps in the future to prevent the recurrence of such accidents.

The motion was carried.

THE TRANSPORTATION OF FREIGHT AND PASSENGERS.

Mr. DECOSMOS moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a return shewing the respective sums paid in 1875-76 for transporting freight and passengers, in British Columbia, belonging to the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey—the said return shewing the rate per pound for freight, whether packed or waggoned, the distance carried and where carried; also the fare for each passenger, the distance carried and where carried; and also showing the persons other than Indians to whom the same may have been paid; also copies of any tenders and calls for tenders for transporting the said freight and passengers; also copies of any Departmental instructions issued to the Paymaster or Chief Engineer in charge of the Western Division of the C. P. R. R., or any correspondence respecting the giving of the said freight and

passengers to any one or more persons.

He said that it was rumoured that the contract for the conveyance of freight and passengers had been given to one person only, without tenders being advertised for. If the statement were untrue it was the duty of the Government to bring the facts to light. It had also been stated that from two to three cents more per hundredweight had been paid for railway freight than would have been if competition had been solicited.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) thought in justice to the contractor and the employees that the information should be supplied. Rumours were abroad that excessive prices had been paid to the different parties concerned. He had no reason to believe the rumours, but as they had been scattered broadcast he thought it was the duty of the Government to accede to the motion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE had no objection to the motion; he had no personal knowledge of the abuses of which complaint was made; but if they were found to exist they would be rectified. The great distance of British Columbia from the centre of operations here, where the Chief Engineer was stationed, rendered it necessary that the Chief Engineer of that Province should be entrusted with a very great deal of authority—much more than any officer in any other part of the Dominion. He did not doubt that this executive officer had used this power wisely; but, nevertheless, mistakes might have been committed. The utmost expedition would be used in bringing the information desired before the House; and he would only suggest, that in addition, the hon. member might also ask for a return respecting those who had paid no fare on Government steamers.

Mr. DEWDNEY observed that he had been on the point of making the same suggestion.

Mr. DECOSMOS replied that he was aware of the position held by the Chief engineer mentioned, who had, however, nothing whatever to do with the contract; consequently, the allusion of the Premier to this officer did not strike him as quite proper. The First Minister had suggested an amendment which

Mr. DECOSMOS.

he was quite willing to accept; he was aware that the distinguished gentleman who led the Government referred to himself (Mr. DeCosmos), and he would state the case. Last autumn he proposed, as one of the representatives of the City of Victoria, to visit Bute Inlet, as he considered was his duty in view of the fact that it was proposed to build the Pacific Railway to this point. He accordingly asked the chief officer in charge of the Marine and Fisheries Department there for permission to go on a Government steamer; this was given, and he went on board. Subsequently he received a note stating that he could not proceed, but as he had made his arrangements he replied that he would not go ashore unless forced. He thought that the reference of the Prime Minister in this regard did him no credit. He believed that the paymaster had acted in this connection through personal spite, being also, no doubt, inspired by fear lest he, as a journalist, might discover something out of the way in that gentleman's department. He was willing to accept the amendment, unless the Premier was prepared to apologise for mentioning the matter.

The motion was carried.

DUTIES ON LOCOMOTIVES.

Mr. THOMSON (Welland) moved for a statement of duties levied on locomotives or parts thereof since 1st July, 1867, &c., &c.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER seized this opportunity to ask the Minister of Customs whether he had supplied the missing portions of the correspondence in order that it might all be printed in detail, having been referred to the Printing Committee.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE replied that all this correspondence would be shortly laid on the table.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton), moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all correspondence in relation to the dismissal of Mr. McDougall, Postmaster, Christmas Island, Cape Breton; and also, all correspondence in relation to the appointment of a successor.

He explained that Mr. McDougall was one of the most respectable and weal-

thy men in the County of Cape Breton. He put this notice on the paper in 1874; but at the request of the Postmaster-General, who assured him that this gentleman would not be dismissed, he dropped it. Afterwards the dismissal took place; and in 1875, he gave a similar notice of motion, but was unable to carry out this intention. He had no opportunity for doing so, save on one evening, and the Postmaster-General being then absent, he had deferred the matter. He believed that the removal was due solely to political reasons. In 1874, at the general election, the Ministerial candidate in the County had threatened Mr. McDougall with dismissal, unless he voted for him. This might be denied, but it was susceptible of proof. The Postmaster-General had informed him (Mr. McDonald), that the discharge was due to such causes that he did not wish to have it brought before the House. The late Postmaster-General having made the same statement, he had communicated this to Mr. McDougall, who requested him to bring the question before the House. He was informed that Mr. McDougall knew of no charges having been preferred against him, and was not aware for what reason he was removed. Mr. McDougall did not care for the position, save to suit his own convenience, as he did fully one-half the correspondence in that quarter.

The hour being six, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

LETTERS PATENT.

Mr. IRVING moved the second reading of the Bill to enable William Smith Amies to obtain Letters Patent for a new and useful Artificial Manure.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Will the hon. gentleman explain the nature of this Bill?

Mr. IRVING said it was to obtain, in favour of the present assignees of the patent, an extension of time, which by law they were entitled to had they filed their petition in time, and which, by an oversight, they permitted to pass over the five years. The Premier,

when the Bill was introduced, had cautioned him it was so at variance with the principle of the general law that the Government could hardly permit it to pass; but on explaining that it was a patent which had already been granted, he (Mr. Irving) was allowed to have the Bill printed, read the second time, and referred to the Private Bills Committee to be dealt with by them as they thought proper.

Mr. BOWELL asked if the Premier gave his consent to the principle of extending patents by special legislation after the patentee had failed to comply with the law in case he required an extension of time. In the past, when the law was not as liberal as it is now, the Government and the Private Bills Committee, of which he was then a member, on every occasion refused to extend these patents on the principle that the patentee, having allowed whatever right he might have had for extension to lapse, it was in the interest of the public that no special privilege should be given him, particularly if he had received the profits arising from the article patented.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had warned the hon. gentleman at the time the Bill was introduced that the House would not likely consent, and the Government certainly could not consent to give patent rights by legislation where the law was not complied with. The claim in this case was that the parties meant to apply for an extension of a second five years, but were late by a few days. One consideration that arose was how the House might be disposed if it turned out to be the result of neglect on the part of a clerk to recommend that the Bill should be allowed to become law. It was a serious question whether even that should be done, and he had only consented to the introduction of the Bill on the strict understanding the Government did not commit themselves to allow it to become law unless it was clearly established the delay was the result of accident. He remembered a Bill similar to this, which Mr. Wood of Durham had in charge, was allowed to pass, it being proved that the delay was due to the neglect of an attorney.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he would not oppose the second reading, but he called attention to the wording of the second clause. There might be acquired rights between the time the patent lapsed and its restoration by this Bill. This second clause should be so worded as to ensure that the rights and privileges of third parties should not be interfered with.

The Bill was read the second time and referred to the Committee on Private Bills.

SECOND READINGS.

The following Bills were read the second time:—

To grant to the Canada Landed Credit Company enlarged powers of borrowing and lending, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

To amend the Act 38 Victoria, Chapter 93, intituled: "An Act to incorporate the Canadian Gas Lighting Company."

To amend the Act incorporating the Canada Shipping Company.

To amend the Act intituled: "An Act to incorporate the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company."

THE AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

The debate being resumed on Mr. Orton's motion for the appointment of a Select Committee regarding the agricultural interests of the Dominion.

Mr. WALLACE (Norfolk) stated, that it had been said that the farmers did not require protection. He had the honour to represent a farming constituency, and he knew that in it there was a very strong feeling against the existing state of things. The farmers held that it was most unjust that they should pay taxes on almost everything they consume, while respecting all they produce they were compelled to enter into competition with the whole world; also that it was highly unfair that American produce should be permitted to enter Canada free of duty, while our Canadian produce must pay duties ranging from 15 to 20 per cent. and even above the latter figure. These anomalies should be remedied. The Premier and some of his supporters declared that the agriculturists were perfectly content, but he knew from

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his experience in his neighbourhood, that anything except content existed amongst them. It was represented that there was no distress among the farming population. It was true that there was much individual wealth; but an examination of the registry offices would disclose a very large number of mortgages on farm properties, which were daily fyled. Their property was not as remunerative as it ought to be and this was one of the evils with which they contended. They had raised to too great an extent wheat and other crops, for which they could readily obtain gold, reducing inordinately the producing power of their lands. A proper rotation of crops was not followed, else they would be more prosperous than they were to-day. The mass of the farmers were Free-Traders, but they were beginning to understand that free imports did not mean free-trade. He knew that in his own and the adjoining Riding a very strong feeling existed among the farmers in favor of protection to manufactures, as these furnished a home market for products either of so little value as not to bear transportation to distant markets, or so perishable in their nature that they could not be shipped, when time was one of the essentials to this end. He believed the farmers were being convinced that one of the great reasons for their increased prosperity since 1867, was due to the establishment of manufactures in the country; and they were perfectly willing to bear their share of taxation in order to build up a home market; but they were not willing to do so while the Americans enjoyed the same position as themselves in their own market, and they were in a great measure excluded from the American markets owing to the heavy duties levied. Many members had, at the last election, carried agricultural constituencies almost by false pretences, as they did not dare to appear before the electors as upholders of the present state of things; and he was confident that when these hon. gentlemen again went to the polls, unless they changed their tone they would be left at home. The farmers remembered that they were prosperous when no Reciprocity Treaty was in existence, and while they were not unde-

sirous of re-obtaining reciprocity—which after all did not prevent their suffering greater adversity than at present—they were dissatisfied with the present system, and would be equally willing to do without such a measure on condition that justice should be done to the Canadian people, and that the Americans should not possess greater advantages in Canada than Canadians enjoyed in the United States.

On these grounds he supported the motion for this Committee, and in order that the causes of the depression from which the farmers were suffering might be ascertained. Hon. gentlemen who said the farmers were in a prosperous condition, had only to examine the books of the Registry Offices and see the amount of mortgages which had been registered against farmers, and which could not be regarded as evidences of prosperity.

Mr. ORTON said he only wished at this point to review some of the arguments that had been advanced against the appointment of this Committee. It had been contended that the agricultural societies and farmers of the Dominion did not desire the Committee, whilst, however, a different state of things existed. He had read resolutions contradicting that statement from several agricultural associations, and at that moment he held in his hand a letter from the Master of the Dominion Grange, thanking him for the action which he had taken in moving for this Committee. That in itself was a sufficient evidence of the interest taken by agriculturists in the action of the House in this particular. It was next argued that it would be an excuse for manufacturers of this country to have additional protection placed on their manufactures, that it would act injuriously to the farmer, the chief consumer. He believed the farmers of the country were perfectly aware that the prosperity of manufacturers would also contribute to their prosperity by affording a market for their products. No system of protection which would injure the mass of the people—the farmers—would ever be carried by this House; and the farmers consequently had very little fear on that behalf. With regard to a duty on Indian corn

it might, perhaps, reduce the profits of the distiller. He did not think the farmers would suffer by it, because he was not aware that it was used to a large extent by them. He knew that in Canada we could produce coarse grades sufficiently good for cattle feed. In Essex, Kent, Oxford—

An Hon. Member—No, no.

Mr. ORTON continuing, said that in Welland also a considerable quantity of Indian corn was raised. The argument that a duty on United States cereals would increase the price of bread-stuffs was a weak one; for Liverpool ruled the bread-stuff market of the world, and no duty placed on American cereals would affect the price of bread-stuffs in Canada. He considered that gentlemen on the other side of the House had entirely failed to show that American produce coming into Canada is not injurious to Canadian farmers. The \$9,000,000 worth of American products which were consumed in Canada must be injurious to Canadian farmers. Canada lost 15 cents a bushel, the sum paid to the American miller for converting the wheat into flour, on the enormous quantity of flour imported into Canada yearly. This alone was a large loss to us. He then alluded to the sneering manner in which the hon. member for South Wellington had referred to the motion maintaining that such conduct would not meet with the approval of his constituents. The member for West Elgin had treated it in a contemptuous manner, and had stated he would not have condescended to have noticed the motion if it had not been for the speech of the hon. member for South Brant. For this he did not think the hon. member for West Elgin would receive the approval of his constituents. In conclusion he asked that the names of Messrs. Ferguson, Monteith and McQuaig be struck from the Committee and the names of Mr. Charles Burpee, Mr. Ray and Mr. Sinclair be inserted instead.

Mr. HIGGINBOTHAM was glad his hon. friend had taken a step in the proper direction in order that this matter might be investigated. He, however, was not satisfied with the composition of the Committee, which

was composed of one British Columbian, three members from Quebec and eleven from Ontario. This he did not consider was a fair representation of the agricultural interests of the Dominion. He also thought there should be a larger number of farmers on the Committee to do the subject justice, and proceeded to state that Canadian farmers used a large quantity of Indian corn for feeding stock. He held in his hand a letter from one person who handled 2,000 bushels a month, and who gave the names of the persons who bought the corn from him, together with one man who found it to his advantage to sell the coarser and buy the better grades. He had no objection to the Committee. It would be unfair to refuse it simply because on previous occasions the hon. member had been unfortunate.

Mr. TROW said his business led him to travel pretty extensively in Western Canada, and he knew the farmers as a rule held mortgages instead of giving them. They were, with little exception, a prosperous class of people, and though he had the honour of representing an agricultural constituency, he had not received a single letter with reference to any change they required. If they had grievances they ought soon to be removed, because it had been stated the other night that an army of Grangers was to be organized to see that the rights of the farming community were protected. He did not see any necessity for such a movement, since the hon. member for Norfolk, who was a representative of the press, could through his widely-circulated journal say all that was requisite. The hon. gentleman argued for rotation of crops, and contended the land became impoverished by not adopting that system. When land becomes impoverished it is more adapted for the raising of vermin, that destroys the crops. The farmers required medical men to prescribe for the destruction of their enemy, and if the mover of the resolution was not a practical agriculturist, he might aid the farmers by prescribing some remedy against the Hessian fly, the weevil, or even the Colorado bug. If he could, the farmers would be glad to find a champion in him.

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Mr. GORDON denied that the farmers were in a depressed condition. Some of them had their farms mortgaged, it was true, but it arose from the fact that they wanted to buy still more land. To say that any general distress prevailed among the farmers was to libel them. If they wanted anything from this Parliament they were not too bashful to ask for it, yet, after the attempt of the hon. member for Centre Wellington to direct public attention to this matter, they had not presented a single petition to this House. If any distress prevailed were editors, bankers, doctors or lawyers the men to investigate the causes of it? What did they know about the farming community? One would think there were no practical farmers in the House to see the way in which they were passed over. Only four of them had been named in the first place, and now two of the four were taken from the Committee. How could the farmers look upon this as anything but humbug?

The statement was true that land was not bearing as much as before, but what good would protection do for it? It was an evil which could be remedied by care in agriculture and nothing else. He believed a true grievance did exist in the mode of leasing land. The leases were too short, and sufficient care was not taken to bind down tenants to a proper course of cultivation. This was an evil to which he hoped the attention of the farmers would be directed.

Of the fifteen members of the proposed Committee only six were Free-Traders, and their report was a foregone conclusion. They would recommend protection; and suppose it were granted, what good would it do to Canada as a whole? Any increase in the price of food would come out of the pockets, not of the people of the United States, but of the fishermen of Nova Scotia and the mechanics of our towns. He was sure the farmers of Centre Wellington would scorn to increase their gains in such a manner. He hoped the Committee would be granted, because if it were refused there would be a cry raised that there was an attempt to grind down the farmers. An investigation would only prove that no depression

existed among the agricultural community.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said he represented a farming constituency, yet he had heard no expression of opinion from the farmers in favour of protection. He believed if they had been in great distress they would have communicated with him. He represented not only one of the wealthiest agricultural constituencies in Canada, but there were many wealthy manufacturers in the county, and not one of his constituents had addressed him a single expostulation against the existing condition of things.

He thought that what had occurred on the previous night must be a pretty fair indication, at least, that there was some disposition on the part of those who represented the people of this country to protest against the doctrine which had prevailed of late to such an extent, to the effect that there must be a wide movement in favor of protection. He had no doubt that a further opportunity would be presented for the discussion of the general question; but as his hon. friends from Compton and Stanstead, who like himself represented agricultural constituencies in the Eastern Townships, seemed moved with the desire to express the views of the farmers so far as they understood them, he felt that it would be unfair if he did not speak on behalf of his constituents. During his last two elections the cry of protection had been raised in his county by the people from Montreal, but not successfully, as the agriculturists could not see the advantage of having heavy burdens imposed on them for the benefit of Montreal manufacturers. He did not have a word to say against those who sympathized with the distress existing in the cities of this and other countries; and he was bound to admit that the hon. member for Wellington was pursuing a logical course. If one interest was protected, all must be equally favoured; and, of course, this amounted to no protection at all. Partial protection, they knew, amounted in fact to a bounty. The system could not be better illustrated than by the story of a blind man living near Detroit, who whittled axe handles, selling them at 50 cents apiece. A Canadian at Windsor beginning to

make them with a lathe, and underselling him at 10 cents per helve, the Yankee hurried to Washington and laid his case before President Grant, and the Committee of Ways and Means, claiming that a great American industry was being prostrated, the Americans, under the influence of the policy which forced them to create a slaughter-market here for their goods at half-cost, granted protection. The Canadian importation was arrested, and the blind man with his jack knife and axe-handles continued his former course. He was not disposed to cast reflections upon those who felt aggrieved owing to the existing depression; he could not but sympathize with the unemployed in the great centres of population, but, at the same time, they must not lose sight of the fact that if one class was to be bolstered up by protection, this must be extended to all desiring relief, making of this a purely paternal Government. His constituents desired no such aid, unless, indeed, unfair discrimination was shown by the House towards other elements of the population; in such event he did not doubt that the hon. member for Wellington would find himself (Hon. Mr. Huntington), alongside of those who represented other agricultural constituencies in Lower Canada, asking that they too should have a bounty in order that they might lift themselves over the fence by their boot straps, as hon. gentlemen seemed to think was possible.

Mr. BOWELL.—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to avow that he is a Free-Trader?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I do not make any particular avowal. If the hon. gentleman will put his question on the paper, and if it is in order, I will answer it.

Hon. Mr. POPE said that his hon. friend had fallen into the error in which other hon. gentlemen became involved, speaking of those who were in favour of a higher tariff as Protectionists. The question before the House was not Free-Trade *vs.* Protection; nor was the question which the farmers had deeply at heart, whether they themselves should be protected or not. As far as his own county, and

that of the hon. gentleman also, was concerned, he could say that the farmers of the Eastern Townships felt the very great importance of having manufactures in their midst; being quite willing that sufficient protection should be given them to enable them to prosper. This was the real issue before the House and country. We could not have free-trade, situated as we were alongside of the United States; and if this was not possible it was a common-sense view to take to declare that if our neighbours were determined to build up a wall against us, and to prevent us occupying their markets while they threw their productions into our country at reduced rates in order to crush our industries—we should protect our own manufacturing interests. He admitted that cities, perhaps, felt more strongly touching this matter than rural constituencies, but the latter felt a deep interest in it, as witness the bonuses given in many parts of the country in order to encourage the establishment of manufactures. It was important that we should look at this thing from a Canadian point of view and, as far as possible, place Canadians in a better position than they at present held. The Dominion had prospered under the revenue tariff prepared by the late Administration; also during the American civil war, which had the effect of increasing this protection; but since its conclusion, our neighbours had begun to compete with us more actively, the price of labour had fallen in their own market, and our system of protection had proved to be insufficient. It was not that he would not be willing to enter into free competition with the Americans and run the ordinary chances in connection with manufactures and everything else, for he thought that we might well do it; but when we could not get this, should we do as the Government and the hon. gentleman did—shut our eyes and say: Here are two theories; take one or the other, but do not look to the interests of Canadians. His opinion was, that as practical common sense men, the proper thing for them and the Government to do, and the only thing that would suit the country with respect to this or any other Administration, was to take the different

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articles used in this country, go through the list carefully, and wherever we could, or by a little fostering might be able, to manufacture any article as cheaply as any other country, such an industry should receive the protecting care of the Government. Such he believed to be the feeling of the Canadian people generally, and notwithstanding his hon. friend's statement, this, he considered, represented the sentiments of his hon. friend's constituents. He denied the correctness of his hon. friend's assertion, that the system of protection would raise prices, and this he would prove. He would cite an instance, of the date of 1858, when a heavy pair of boots were worth in Canada \$4, while in Portland or Boston they could be purchased for \$3. Protection was subsequently given to our manufactures in this respect, and the price of these boots fell to \$2.50, owing to the competition created by the prudent, patriotic and fostering policy of the then Government. Why should this not be the case? Have we not the raw material, the bark for tanning, and the hides, and the people to manufacture it? All then that was required was protection while the industry was in its infancy. This argument applied with equal force to other similar cases. It was nonsense to talk about taxing the farmer; there was no such intention on either side of the House. This might be so if pure protection was demanded, as the hon. gentleman attempted to show; but this he denied. His proposition was that we should protect moderately those articles which we could, under such circumstances, manufacture as cheaply as it could be done anywhere else; and such articles were many in number. It was not for the sake of protection merely that he took this position, but for the sake of Canadians and Canadian interests. They ought to look to the interests of Canadians in this matter, and whether they, as mechanics and farmers, would be benefited by a change. He concluded by appealing to the House to take a wider and more comprehensive view of the subject, and at the same time to appeal to the sentiment of the people.

Mr. BOWELL said he should not have spoken on this occasion, if the

Hon. Post Master General had condescended to answer the question he had put to him. He was not aware that it was necessary to put a notice on the paper to ascertain what were his particular views on a question before the House. If he wanted any information in respect to his department, then it would be his duty to give that notice, but not otherwise. It would appear that the hon. gentleman had had a bridle placed on his tongue by his leader, in order to prevent in future the necessity of having to withdraw sentiments which were in accord with a vast majority of the people. The question he wished to ask was whether the hon. gentleman always expressed the same views upon the subject before the House as he had on that occasion, or whether he was prepared to change his views for the particular locality in which he might then be in. He was induced to ask this question by the recollection of a speech delivered by the hon. gentleman in Montreal to a large body of manufacturers. The hon. gentleman was reported to have then said: "In the first place let me speak of protection, a question which has been so prominently before the country for some time back. To a certain extent, I am a Protectionist."

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Hear, hear.

Mr. BOWELL proceeded to read the continuation of Mr. Huntington's speech, as follows:—"I do not believe that any one will maintain that the country should support itself by direct taxation. I have had frequent interviews with the members of that body, (Industrial Association) and have been assured by them that a high rate of duties was not what they desired. The dispute is not as to excessive imposts, but a just distribution so that the nascent manufactures indigenous to our soil, so to speak, should receive the benefits." These were the hon. gentleman's declarations of opinion to the merchants of Montreal. He (Mr. Bowell) would not hesitate to take issue with the hon. gentleman as to his broad declaration that the farmers of the country do not ask any protec-

tion as against the imposts placed on the products of their farms by the United States. He did not pretend to say that if a reciprocity of trade could be established so far as related to the natural products of the soil, the Canadian farmers could compete with Americans in their market. What the farmers complained of, was, that whilst they grow certain classes of grain for exportation, they cannot get into the American market without paying a very high duty, and that the products of the farmers of the United States were admitted into Canada free. He was aware that since the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty Canadian farmers were driven into some other mode of utilizing the land on which they had formerly dwelt, and the result was that from the Dairy they obtained more money for less labour than they did under the old system. He observed that the change in the composition of the Committee was suggested by the Premier, so that if the result of the change had been to make the whole thing a humbug, he was to blame and not the member for Wellington.

If the hon. gentleman would tell honestly his opinion, he would say the whole thing was a humbug, and done for political purposes. It was not clap-trap and buncombe, as the hon. member for North Ontario termed it. It seemed from the expression of opinion given by certain members of this House that no one had a right to speak upon a question affecting his constituency, even if it was an agricultural county, unless he happened to be a farmer. If the farmers of Centre Wellington had sufficient confidence, as they had shown by electing him they had, he (Mr. Bowell) could not conceive why members should ridicule the hon. gentleman for expressing the opinions entertained by those who had sent him to Parliament. No matter whether he was a doctor or a miller, he might be able to come to a correct a conclusion on a question of political economy as those who ridicule him.

He (Mr. Bowell) believed the sooner a policy was adopted by which our tariff would be so adjusted as to protect the interests of every class of the community without being oppres-

sive to any particular class, the better would it be for this country.

Mr. MILLS said he was an agriculturist, representing an agricultural constituency, and had as good an opportunity of knowing the view of the farmers on this question, in his own section at all events, as those who had spoken in this debate. Their opinion, he believed, was that they should be let alone. It was not in the power of this House to do much for them by increasing the burdens of any portion of the people; but something could be done by economy and reduction of taxation.

Some hon. members had argued that it was of great consequence to the farmer to have a market at his door, that it would save him the cost of transportation for his products and for the goods he consumed. Those who used that argument forgot that each farmer raised four times as much as he required for his own use. We would, therefore, require a manufacturing population of 12,000,000 in this country so that the agriculturists would not represent more than 25 per cent. of the whole.

Some hon. gentlemen had advocated a reciprocal or retaliatory tariff as against the United States. They argued that such a policy would greatly benefit the farmers. A friend had furnished him a pertinent illustration of the working of such a system. West Ontario is much better suited for the production of barley than corn. A Canadian farmer sells 500 bushels of barley to a United States purchaser at 90 cents per bushel, and is met by a tariff of 15 per cent., which leaves him only \$375 from the sale. He buys with that amount 833 bushels of corn and returns with it to Canada. Suppose this retaliatory policy were adopted, he would have to pay on that corn \$125 duty, by way of punishing the Yankees for their narrow and unwise policy. That farmer would conclude the views of the hon. member for Centre Wellington were not calculated to promote the prosperity of the agricultural community.

By the trade and navigation returns of the United States for the year ending June 30th, 1873, he observed that the importations of corn into Canada

were 7,418,711, and the quantity exported from the Dominion during the same period was 6,242,976 bushels. What did the hon. gentleman propose to accomplish by the taxation of what was imported? Simply to deprive Canadians of the carrying trade.

Mr. ORTON—Couldn't that pass through in bond?

Mr. MILLS—Would that be of any advantage to Canada?

Mr. ORTON—Yes, we would have the carrying trade.

Mr. MILLS said we had that already, and we had in addition the business of converting that corn into meal before exporting it, an advantage which we would lose by the adoption of a retaliatory policy.

Mr. WALLACE said by referring to the trade and navigation returns of Canada for last year, he found the exports of corn from Canada last year amounted to only 27,000 bushels.

Mr. YOUNG—You are only taking a portion of it.

Mr. WALLACE—No, I am taking the whole.

Mr. MILLS—What would be the result if the hon. gentleman succeeded? If he examined the industries of Western Canada he would find that if the Americans excluded barley, beans, wool, cattle and sheep from their market they would almost completely cripple for the time being the Canadian farmer. When the hon. gentleman proposed a war of tariffs and a policy of retaliation—because every observation he had made in asking for a Committee pointed to that—he proposed a contest from which we could reap no possible advantage, but probably serious injury. The hon. gentleman from Compton had informed the House that the imposition of duties would not affect prices; this was a novel doctrine. But what was the object of protection?—To increase prices. What had been the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite? To admit raw materials employed in our manufacturing industries free of duty, and furnish them to manufacturers at the least possible cost. But if taxation did not increase prices, what was the objection to taxing raw materials. It

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required no analysis to show that the argument was fallacious. The only result that could follow such a system would be a general system of taxation, burdensome to all classes of the community. In the census he found included as engaged in manufacturing industries, 10,213 blacksmiths, in no way dependent upon any system of protection; 5,400 shoemakers, 2,700 bakers, and 908 persons engaged in the manufacture of cheese. All those persons—and they formed no inconsiderable proportion of those classed as manufacturers—were in every way identified with the agricultural population and their interests, and were therefore improperly classified. In fact the whole classification was absurd. Ten thousand people were mentioned as concerned in the manufacture of clothing, but they would be so employed whether the cloth which they made up were manufactured here or imported. So it was with regard to hundreds of others. It was not possible for any Government to prevent failures in business. No Government could compensate for want of judgment, skill, prudence or foresight on the part of those engaged in trade. The hon. member for South Norfolk represented that the farming population of the country were in a deplorable condition, but he (Mr. Mills) did not regard this opinion as either correct or justified. The large amount of money deposited in the banks of the country by agriculturists was entirely inconsistent with the hon. gentleman's statement. There would be, of course, among the farmers, men who would become involved in difficulty and lose their property, just as there would be among men following mercantile and manufacturing pursuits; but these failures were beyond the reach of any Government, and if the right hon. member for Kingston were in power now, he could not give to idleness and folly the rewards which alone fall to the lot of the prudent and industrious.

Mr. RYMAL was rather anxious that the Committee should be granted, for he was certain that if practical and intelligent farmers were examined they would show that they merely wanted to be severely let alone. He had been a farmer for nearly forty

years, and he did not think that the exclusion of American coarse grains from our markets would increase the price of these grains here. He had in Hamilton sold barley to an American some few years ago, and purchased immediately afterwards American corn to replace it, making in a few hours 80 or 90 per cent. clear profit, and he had frequently repeated the transaction. He thought the agriculturists of Norfolk County were on the whole as prosperous as those of other sections of the Dominion. Some farmers would always be poor, and protection could not change their condition. A number were also inflated with high ideas; they dressed like princes and were clothed in scarlet and fine linen, exhausting their resources. This was also the case with many manufacturers. This was one reason why so many of them failed. If they went to work with their own capital and understood their business properly, so many of them as do would not go to the wall. He at least recollected a gentleman who rode into Parliament some few years ago on this agricultural hobby; he saw his successor over there, for he rode in and rode out again; and his hon. friend, that gentleman's successor, had never ventured to mount the hobby which had thrown his predecessor.

He did not know if his hon. friend from Wellington was a skilful rider or not, but the hon. gentleman would find this animal was somewhat tricky. He would venture to assert the hon. gentleman would find himself thrown into the horse-pond some time or other. He thought the hon. gentleman was rather severe on his old friend and chum from the South Riding of Wellington. He had intimated that on account of that gentleman's reluctance to assist him in this great work, his constituents would not again return him as their representative. That gentleman had represented the South Riding of Wellington for a good many years, and had been elected by acclamation on several occasions. Another of his friends had also been attacked on the same grounds, but he (Mr. Rymal) was satisfied that if he continued in the same straightforward course of conduct which had characterized his political career so far, he

would long be the member for the North Riding of Norfolk in spite of the hon. gentleman opposite. He advised the Government to grant the Committee, and let the the hon. gentleman choose to serve on it whoever he pleased, for the greater absurdities he made in the selection the greater would be the absurdities in the report, in all probability.

Mr. MILLS—I can now give the hon. gentleman the statistics I referred to in the course of my observations. I find here that the exportation of Indian corn, not the produce of Canada, was last year 2,051,691 bushels, whilst the amount exported, produced in Canada, was 28,499 bushels.

Mr. WALLACE regarded the trade and navigation returns from which the statistics were taken, as erroneous.

Mr. ORTON said he had made the changes he had moved at the suggestion of the Premier. Eight of the Committee were engaged in farming, and he was perfectly satisfied with a majority connected with the agricultural interest. He moved the amendment of his Committee as suggested.

The SPEAKER called attention to the fact that the motion had already been adopted, and the hon gentleman could not move an amendment to his own motion.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie the amendment was carried.

The motion as amended was then adopted.

ENGINEERS.

Mr. COOK moved the second reading of the Bill to provide for the examination of persons employed as engineers elsewhere than on steamboats. He said that when he formerly introduced a similar Bill he had been requested to withdraw it.

He withdrew the motion, but he found that the objections taken by the Premier a few nights ago were not the same as he had made in the former Session. He (Mr. Cook) intended to change the Bill in some respects and to make it apply to locomotives. He supposed under such circumstances the Government would not oppose it. It was argued that steamboats carrying a large

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number of passengers should have competent engineers. The same argument applied to locomotives. To meet the objection that it applied to small establishments as well as large ones, he proposed to exclude all those places where steam was used from the operation of the act where less than twenty persons were employed.

Another objection was that this Bill affected trade and navigation and should, therefore, be introduced by resolution. By reference to the Statutes of 1867 it would be seen that the Act relating to the examination of engineers on steamboats was introduced and passed through the House without having been founded on a resolution. If this could be done in one case it could also be done in the other. The same remark applied to the objection to the clause imposing a penalty. Last Session the hon. gentleman who then represented West Toronto introduced a Bill to suppress gambling houses, which imposed a penalty of \$50. That Bill passed and was now on the Statute Book. If this measure was wrong so was the other. However, to meet that ground, instead of imposing a fine he would make a violation of the provisions of this Bill a misdemeanor.

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman cannot impose a penalty or fee of any kind without the assent of the Crown, and even if he had this sanction it must originate in Committee of the Whole, inasmuch as it imposes restrictions on trade.

Mr. COOK said he would withdraw the bill, but he gave notice that he would move to have it referred to the Supreme Court in order to have their decision as to whether the matters proposed in it were within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER said that the Bill had no existence on the Records of the House and he did not see how it could be referred to the Supreme Court.

The Bill was dropped.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON moved the second reading of Bill to amend the law relating to Criminal procedure. He proposed that this Bill and

Bill No. 12 should be read the second time without discussion and referred to a select Committee who should consider them carefully, and if they should report them back to the House the principles they contained could be discussed and decided upon. A resolution for which the hon. member for North York had given notice, and of which he (Mr. Cameron) did not approve, might also be referred to the same Committee to be considered and reported upon in the same way.

Mr. DYMOND said the hon. member had very kindly anticipated a suggestion he (Mr. Dymond) was about to make, that the gentlemen who constituted this Committee should also consider this resolution which he had put on the notice paper some days ago. Of course this was a subject on which he did not presume to express any positive opinion of his own. For years past a number of circumstances came under his notice which led him to believe that the concession to persons charged with felony, of the right, if they choose, to submit themselves for examination under oath, would be attended with advantageous results in the interest of justice. All legal reforms are slow in their growth. Recently in England, and more recently still in Canada, we have admitted the plaintiff and defendants in civil cases to give evidence. It is supposed that this would be productive of perjury, but the prejudice has been dispelled by experience.

It seemed absurd that witnesses should be called from distant places to give evidence of a secondary character, while the man who could, if he would tell the whole truth, stood silent before the Court, or at all events was only able to make a statement through his counsel, which was liable to be discredited because it was not verified by examination or cross-examination. The objections to this proposal mainly were, that if this right were given to the accused it could hardly be refused to the accuser; but there are limitations to taking evidence in civil cases. There are cases where persons are so situated that they are not allowed to give evidence. That being the case, precisely the same limitations could be imposed in criminal trials.

There is a dread that we should adopt the continental system of placing the accused under the examination of the Judges, who in fact become the accusers. He believed it was possible for us, proceeding step by step, to grant the privilege to the accused without going farther. This reform would tend to the morality of the bar. Instead of basing his argument on the excuse or falshood of the prisoner, the counsel would find it on his evidence. Where there was a good case the accused would be induced to enter the witness-box and submit himself to examination and cross-examination, and a higher tone would be infused into our judicial proceedings.

Mr. BROOKS did not wish to anticipate the discussion on this Bill (No. 10) when it would be reported to the House—if it ever came back—but he regarded the first provision as a dangerous innovation in criminal procedure. It was a proposal to examine witnesses under commission, not only in foreign countries but in other portions of the Dominion. It is one of the elementary principles of our procedure in criminal matters, that trial shall be open and in the face of the world; that the examination and cross-examination shall be such as will tend most fully and fairly to illustrate the truth of the evidence which is given. He feared the effect of this change would not be one which would advance the interests of justice. He was afraid we should attain to a less perfect degree the truth which was to be sought for, but would find in addition to the ordinary crimes there would be a greater amount of perjury. Upon this subject he might say there was a great danger in this alteration, from the fact that those who would be likely to commit perjury would not be liable to a penalty. If a commission were sent abroad the witness could never be punished for giving false evidence.

He was not aware that under the administration of our law as it had been administered for so many years, there had been any case—or at any rate, any number of cases—where in justice had suffered for want of the power that would be conferred by this Bill; and he might say that so far as criminals were concerned, in the large majority of cases where parties were

brought to trial for crimes alleged to have been committed by them, they might fairly be presumed to be guilty. Our laws throw around the criminal so many guards and protections to be observed by the Crown before conviction could be obtained, that it was almost impossible for the conviction of innocent persons to take place. Let them look at what would be the effect of this change in procedure. It would perhaps be greater in this than in most countries, owing to the position of the adjoining country. Under the provisions of this Bill, a criminal committed for trial might immediately apply to any Judge of the Court having jurisdiction for a Commission to examine witnesses in a foreign country; and all those who were at all conversant with criminal practice knew that one of the great means of defence on the part of criminals was to look about in order to obtain evidence. They cared very little whether it was true or false, if it might exculpate them from the charge, and they were aware from the number of cases constantly brought before our Courts, that there was the very strongest incentive, on the part of the accused to manufacture evidence. The result of the powers sought to be conferred would be this:—Any criminal desirous of obtaining false evidence would at once avail himself of those provisions, and in this way: We did not live far from the boundary line, and instead of bringing witnesses to exculpate an accused person before the Court in order that the Judge and jury might determine the weight to be given to their statements from their demeanour, they would find that in almost every case of importance applications for commissions to examine them in a foreign country would be made. Although in regard to this matter he did not at all have the experience of the hon. gentleman who had proposed the measure, what little experience he had had, though not in the same direction, in the prosecution of criminals, he still thought that this point ought to be considered before a Bill of this kind was passed. At present all the protections and guards which were practically necessary, had been thrown

around the criminal; while the Crown had no interest in, and no desire for the conviction of an innocent party.

Since this Bill was introduced a practical illustration had been presented of what would undoubtedly have been the result had these powers been given. This occurred during the trial of a man for felony, within a few miles of the boundary line. Upon his defence he adduced the evidence of the relative, whose testimony, had it been true, would have entirely exculpated him; and it was only from this fact that we were enabled—by means of the appearance of the witness, his hesitating manner, and a rigorous cross-examination, and not by the direct facts—for the statements were so made that disproof was impossible—to obtain a conviction against a party undoubtedly guilty, who had induced a witness to perjure himself in the box. With regard to this question it might be said that the innovation was only a change as to the manner of procedure. He took it that a change of procedure in our Courts, in criminal matters, was a vital change which was of the highest importance, and which should not be made unless for very grave reasons. In some single isolated cases there might be undoubtedly grounds for the course the hon. gentleman proposed; but the exception proved the rule. And he had yet to learn that in this country there has been a conviction, or any number of convictions, of innocent persons, or any injustice suffered by reason of the non-attendance of witnesses whose testimony could be obtained by commission. Again, there was another serious objection to the examination of witnesses under commission on these points—it was very difficult indeed to arrive at the truth. There was a provision inviting the Crown to attend to these matters. The practical result would be that it would have to be represented in every instance, and this might involve not only the very greatest inconvenience but the greatest possible expense. There was no limit whatever to the issue of these commissions. Again during the trial of these cases very much depended upon the whole of the evidence being in at one and the same time, and very often the

means of disproving or discrediting a witness were only given at the time of the trial, although the facts might be known prior to the trial. Of course under this provision such evidence must be taken prior to the trial; commissions were conducted almost in private, and the witness did not there, as before the Court, have before his eyes the fear of punishment if he committed perjury, or of a rigorous cross-examination under the eyes of a Judge and jury who had listened to the evidence placed before them. He would, therefore, make statements he would never dare to offer under the other circumstances mentioned. There was also, to his mind, a very strong objection concerning the matter of detail. Provision was made to enable the prisoner to make application for such a commission before any Judge of a Court having jurisdiction, whether in the district where he was held for trial or in any other district. He could understand why the privilege of examining witnesses under commission was limited, and he feared that the consequences of an act of this kind in connection with our criminal proceedings would be very serious, unless there have been or should be shown to exist practical cases of hardship, where actual injustice had been committed. The danger of doing injustice was very great. The innovation his hon. friend attempted to make in our criminal proceedings was very dangerous, and one which he thought ought to be opposed.

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria) said he was disposed to agree with almost all that had fallen from the member from Sherbrooke. Of course, on this subject he had some little experience, but nothing like that of his hon. friend from Cardwell. Although framed on behalf of the Crown, he would say this, that the Bill if it became law would open the door to very great abuses, and he agreed with the observations of the hon. member for Sherbrooke, that no case had come under his observation in which serious injustice had resulted to any persons in consequence of the absence of any such provision. All who were engaged in the practice of the law knew the valueless character of evidence taken under commissions;

that in civil cases also it was regarded as the slightest possible weight; and it was never used when it could possibly be avoided, for the reason suggested by his hon. friend—that evidence taken in writing, when a tribunal has to decide upon it without the opportunity of seeing the witness, and observing his demeanour, and thereby forming an opinion of his credibility, receives very little consideration. With reference to cases tried before juries, as criminal cases would necessarily be, he had observed that juries almost invariably disregarded or paid very little attention to evidence read to them from commissions. For these reasons it would be found that the practice would be of little value to the prisoner, and no doubt it would be very much abused. Another reason why it was not necessary that they should not have this kind of legislation—of course in civil cases it was essential, because they had to enquire about transactions occurring in foreign countries, remote distances and in places where the witnesses were not resident under the jurisdiction of the Court—was that in criminal cases the transaction has always happened at our own doors, and therefore there was not the same necessity for sending commissions all over the world as is necessary in civil cases. There was one part of the Bill, however, the last clause, about the evidence of accomplices, he thought a very necessary and proper provision. It was one that had recently attracted a good deal of attention. Recently a judge had held that the evidence of an accomplice was competent, and had advised the jury to convict on it, and they did. A new trial was moved for, which was refused, and the Court of Appeal sustained the refusal, holding that the direction of the Judge was a correct one. Those who had been engaged in the law were aware of the unreliable character of the evidence of accomplices, and he thought it was desirable that there should be some such line taken as his hon. friend had suggested by the last clause. He expressed his entire concurrence with the views of the hon. member for Cardwell as to the inexpediency of such an amendment as that suggested

by the hon. member for North York.

Mr. MOUSSEAU could not at all understand why the Courts, and the highest Courts in the country, should be in some measure placed in such a position as was proposed, in order that thieves might be advantaged. At the Criminal Court in Montreal, where Mr. Ritchie, Q.C., and himself represented the Crown, at least seven or eight pick-pockets from New York had been at a comparatively recent date tried and convicted; but if such a provision as is here presented had then existed, evidence would have been taken on their behalf before Commissioners in New York of witnesses who were their accomplices, and who had also spent several years in United States penitentiaries. The witnesses examined for their defence were proved to be accomplices, and under the circumstances mentioned they would have proved a very strong *alibi*, which under our present system would be impossible.

Besides, if these provisions were adopted, a fundamental and essential rule of both criminal and civil law would be violated. He spoke particularly on behalf of Quebec, where *enquêtes* in civil cases were conducted without a Judge being present, and sometimes even in the absence of the parties concerned. This system had proved to be far from satisfactory; and they had returned to the old method—witnesses being heard in presence of a Judge, and also of a jury in certain instances. This gave much greater security. In Quebec a law had been passed giving, in civil cases, the right to all parties to have witnesses heard before a Judge; and in Ontario it had been provided that witnesses should be heard before a Judge and jury. The provisions of this measure were generous towards the accused persons, even to absurdity; the attempted innovations were perfectly useless and inadvisable. Having alluded, at some length, to the curious and important case of Beaugard, who, some years ago, was tried at St. Hyacinthe for the murder of a man named Charron, in whose company he had last been seen, he stated that he objected to one of the clauses as not only useless but even dangerous, be-

Mr. CAMERON.

cause it confirmed a principle which did not now exist, that the uncorroborated proof of an accomplice could be accepted. He would vote against the second reading.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) said he was happy to see the Bill introduced. He had listened with a great deal of attention and considerable profit to the remarks of the hon. member for Sherbrooke. It was true, as that gentleman said, that in our system the burden of proof rests with the Crown as against the prisoner. Those who had large experience in criminal matters must know that while the duty of the officers of the Crown was simply to bring the matter before the Judge and jury, yet that rule was sometimes exceeded, and Crown Counsel, in his zeal, pressed for conviction almost as strongly as in civil cases. The provision in question was attacked because the witness could not be brought before the Court. There may be cases in which injustice has been done to prisoners because there was no such provision. He knew of instances where witnesses outside the jurisdiction of the Court were confined in jail, who could only be brought from remote parts under an Order, which had to be obtained wherever evidence was of importance to the prisoner, and his circumstances were such as would not enable him to bring the witness. In his Province, owing to recent legislation, that difficulty had been overcome, and he saw there was a provision in the second section to prevent the Court being imposed upon to a great extent. Interrogatories were to be prepared, which would be sent to a foreign country and submitted to the person appointed examiner, and by him to the witness, so that, as far as those interrogatories are concerned, the Crown as well as the prisoner will be represented. This provision might rarely be put in operation, but that was no objection to the Bill. He considered prisoners should be given every opportunity of making out their case, and particularly so in view of the fact that the Crown was, generally speaking, well represented. He did not regard it as an argument against the Bill that every man charged with crime was probably guilty, and that therefore his testimony was likely to be

questionable. As a matter of fact, the evidence was just as likely to be of a good character as of a questionable character. Then it was urged that this provision might be used for the purpose of delay. It was, however, for the Judge to decide whether the motion was made with a view to delay or on behalf of justice. He did not think it would be safe, as far as the interests of the Crown and the prisoner were concerned, to adopt the amendment of the hon. member for North York, and he hoped the hon. member for Cardwell would not withdraw his Bill, but that he would endeavour to have it passed.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON said he had not anticipated a discussion on the second reading of the Bill. In civil suits, even in the case of a claim of \$100, it was competent to obtain a commission to a foreign country. But in a criminal case which involved the life, honour or reputation of the criminal, a commission could not be obtained. It was apparent that the law required amendment in this particular, and no one could for a moment imagine that this was a matter which really ought not to be remedied. It was a subject which had been maturely considered, and when there were Acts of Parliament allowing these commissions to be issued in certain cases, there could be no reason why they should not be extended to a greater degree. It had been stated that this Act might be taken advantage of to create delay, but the Court in all cases must be asked to intervene and decide upon this point. Affidavits must be forwarded to show that the witness was a material one. He then alluded to the fact that the Criminal Court of Appeal in England had decided that the evidence of an accomplice was competent evidence; a case had also been brought before the Superior Court in Upper Canada with the same result, and the judgement of the Superior Court was confirmed by the Court of Appeal.

He did not think the fact of a man being under sentence should exclude him from giving evidence, because as he regarded it the fact of his being under sentence was a circumstance in favour of his giving truthful evidence with the hope of pardon. He looked upon

the change of procedure as one of an important character, and as an honest one in the right direction.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said although he had listened with a great deal of pleasure to the arguments of the hon. member for Cardwell he could not agree with him. He did not think the House should pass the first clause. It would be establishing a dangerous precedent in our criminal procedure to allow witnesses to be examined by commission, not only for the reasons given by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, but also because with our long line of frontier and the great facilities afforded for accomplices to escape across the line, it would be very easy for the person accused of a crime to send for the evidence of a person who would be afraid to come to this country, and who would be likely to make statements with a view to exculpating his friend. The argument, it would be better that ninety-nine guilty persons should escape than one innocent person should be punished does not apply to this case. Few cases are likely to arise where the commission would be required; but if a man should be so unfortunate as to be convicted because his friend will not come forward to give evidence, he can appeal to the Crown; and if a reasonable case can be made out, the Crown would take it into consideration; therefore, no injustice would arise. If this Act should pass, in ninety cases out of every hundred, the commission would be asked for, because in criminal cases every artifice is tried to obtain delay. Witnesses would crop up on the other side who would be ready to swear to anything, because the likelihood to be prosecuted for perjury would be very light indeed. That commissions are granted in civil cases is no reason why they should be allowed in criminal trials. There must be much stronger proof in the latter case, and the possibility of obtaining a verdict against an innocent man is very slight.

As to the second clause, with regard to the evidence of accomplices, the Bill contained the correct principle, because we should have the anomaly which exists swept away. He would have great pleasure in voting for the second part of the Bill.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) said the Bill commended itself to his judgment. It was about time some act of this kind was passed for the purpose of enabling defendants in criminal proceedings to protect, not only in some cases their honour and reputation, but also their lives. He could not see why the same method should not be pursued in criminal as in civil cases. The argument that applications would be made to procure delay had not much weight, inasmuch as there was a very considerable guard placed upon that by the section of the Bill which states the application must be made to the Judge, and he must grant an order for the commission to issue. There is no doubt great injustice may be done to a defendant by not allowing him to examine witnesses *de bene esse* on his behalf. If the witness happens to be away from the country it should commend itself to the common sense of the House, there should be an opportunity of procuring his testimony. The same argument should apply where a witness for the defendant, is unable to travel or is about to leave the Province. For these reasons the measure should meet with the approval of the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE was not sorry this discussion had taken place, inasmuch as he believed all important measures like this should receive more discussions than one. This Bill ought to be received with the greatest consideration. The long and very wide experience of the hon. member for Cardwell, in that, as in all other departments of law, with which this Bill was concerned, entitled his suggestions to the greatest respect. He (Mr. Blake) would have supposed clause four unnecessary but for the fact that no less than three Judges of the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction had expressed their opinion that it is doubtful if criminals under sentence can be examined as witnesses.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—Two Judges in England have also expressed the same opinion.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE thought, therefore, the point should be made perfectly clear. The reasoning which admits the evidence of these persons after

their sentence has been worked out, is entirely in favour of their evidence being admitted while they are undergoing their sentence.

With reference to the earlier sections three applied to the case of a commission being issued, and the proposal, somewhat cognate of his hon. friend from North York, some general observations might, perhaps, be made to which no allusion had been made in the debate. He would say with regard to the proposition of his friend from North York, that it was one of a very serious character, which he did not think could be entertained or be engrafted upon the legislation of the country otherwise than through a Bill introduced for that purpose, giving all parties opportunity for discussion and consideration; and he considered that its introduction at this stage would be an unfortunate precedent. Concerning the proposal of his hon. friend regarding the first three clauses, one or two general observations could here be offered. Many things were logical, clear and impregnable in this relation, which they did not practically see their way to attaining. Rules prevailing with regard to civil cases, could not be wholly adapted to criminal cases, and all the arguments which had been employed with respect to the right of a prisoner to have a commission, applied with fully equal force to the proposal that a prisoner who had been unjustly condemned, as he said, owing to the lack of a witness, or who had suddenly discovered a new witness, should have a new trial. He admitted that it was a practical question, but contended that they could not reach abstract justice and perfection of procedure. For this they could not hope; and how near could they come? They must balance the probable mischiefs. As to these there was, in his judgment, much practical force in the suggestions which had been made in connection with what might be the result in a great many criminal trials if the evidence were to be taken on commission. The examination of witnesses in Court was very important, and the cross-examination was the supreme test which decided what weight was to be given to the testi-

Mr. KIRKPATRICK.

mony. He was afraid that the practical result of giving power to have commissions issue would be, in a great many cases, that persons who perhaps were living in the country or within a few miles of the boundary line, would remain away and give their evidence by commission. He did not think an honest witness would act in this way, or see how any witness who was not concerned in the crime or in some improper act could do so. It was the witness who dreaded the test of cross-examination under such circumstances who absented himself. It was just such witnesses that should be examined before the Courts. The Bill seemed defective in detail, because it did not propose to give the Crown the same power. The intention was to give it, but the language of the Bill was somewhat obscure. His hon. friend, with his usual candour, would admit that they could not proceed in this relation on principles of abstract justice, of what was logically correct, or of what was done in civil cases. The question was a practical one, of how far they could with safety go, and where between conflicting dangers was to be found the safest course to be pursued. He thought a Select Committee would pause before reporting to the House in favour of the issue of such commissions, and if it should so report it was probable that his hon. friend's clauses would be guarded with some further provisions.

So much said with reference to the first three clauses, and now an observation on the 5th. His hon. friend from Cardwell had quite correctly stated what the objection to the law—so to speak—was. It was the law that a prisoner or accused could be convicted upon the evidence of an accomplice; that was the law both of England and of Canada. The accused might be convicted upon the uncorroborated evidence of an accomplice. What had been laid down for so many years, or as his hon. friend said, what was invariably laid down as the rule by the Judges, was not so laid down by the law. In charging, they tell the jury that it is the right to convict upon the uncorroborated evidence of an accomplice, without advising them to do so, but it was unsafe so to convict; and as a

rule the jury take the advice. In offering that advice the Judges were called upon to charge the jury as to whether there was sufficient corroboration or not; they were called upon to point out what was corroborative, in order to permit the jury to weigh the evidence of the accomplice and convict upon it. How far it was fit to attempt to mould into a short clause the rules of Court; how far his friend on the Committee might be successful in placing—precisely upon its present footing as appropriate—the charge of the Judge as the law upon the Statute Book was a question. There was, however, a point to which he desired to direct the attention of his hon. friend and the Committee without expressing a positive opinion on it himself. It had been ruled that this view, with reference to the uncorroborated evidence of an accomplice being unsafe ground for conviction, applied to the testimony of any number of accomplices. It seemed to him open to question how far that would be a sound rule to lay down in the Statute Book. He did not pretend to say there was not some danger in convicting upon the testimony, even of a number of accomplices, but he could well conceive a case in which the Judge, the jury and the public at large might be absolutely convinced, in such a sense as would render them satisfied that justice had been obtained, by the evidence of several accomplices, although not in the view of the law as expounded by the Judges as corroborative evidence. Then he would throw out for his hon. friend the suggestion how far it would be well to attempt to deal with the question. He was a little apprehensive that the result of the clause, if passed in its present shape, would be to leave the law precisely as the Statute is now, and in attempting to obviate an anomaly they might unsettle the unwritten law or practice of the Judges. Having been quite ready to assent to the 4th clause, deeming the 5th clause well worthy of consideration, and entertaining a favourable opinion of the others, he thought the best course to pursue was that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee before the final decision of the House was passed upon it.

The Bill was read a second time and referred to a Select Committee.

The House adjourned at Twenty-five minutes past Twelve, a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, MARCH 9.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Five minutes past Three, p.m.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. COLBY—To enable Ozro Morrell to obtain a patent for certain inventions and improvements in sewing machine shuttles.

FELONIES AND MISDEMEANOURS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill to make other provisions as to the more speedy trial in certain cases of persons charged with felonies and misdemeanours in Ontario and Quebec.

He observed that mischiefs appeared to have grown up under the operation of the present Statute, which required a remedy. The measure he submitted proposed to give the Crown the right of objecting to any speedy trial until the sitting of the next Court of competent jurisdiction. If a prisoner elected to be tried summarily, the proper attorney might consent on the part of the Crown; but if the Attorney was of contrary opinion, a warrant of remand for a time not exceeding eight days should be made out, and the attorney should communicate with the Attorney General of the Province, communicating the particulars of the case and his reasons for declining his consent. If the Attorney General approved of definite remand it was permitted; but if not the record was drawn up as under the present Act. Mischiefs had become apparent with regard to further procedure in such cases. The law required that such trials should be held at the earliest practicable moment; and as to expense, it was to be observed that what was saved in maintenance was often largely increased in the conduct of prisoners. Publicity and solemnity were two essential elements in the administration of justice; and these were lost under the present system of procedure,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

which was hardly creditable. The prisoners feared publicity, and he was informed that under this influence they often chose such a mode of trial; and frequently so little decorum was observed that it was difficult to distinguish which was the Judge, which the counsel, or which the prisoner. He proposed to remedy this, by providing for frequent and regular sittings of the Courts in question. Notice was to be given at least five days previously, in order to ensure the attendance of the public; and it was certainly desirable that there should be a decent regard for the proper forms and ceremonies under such circumstances, for which he had made provision. In case it was thought necessary and proper, the application of this measure would be extended to the other Provinces.

He proposed to repeal the legislation giving to police and stipendiary magistrates the same powers as County Court Judges, and to leave the latter alone the power to speedily try criminals.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he quite approved of that part of the Bill providing for some check being held over the summary trial of a criminal at his own request, by the Judge. In all that was said about the importance of publicity and solemnity, and a Court preserving proper dignity and holding itself as a Court in the public view, he thoroughly agreed with the hon. gentleman. The other parts of the Bill also seemed to be well considered and well advised. He also admitted the desirability that there should be similarity in our criminal procedure all over the Dominion; yet the efficient administration of justice was more important and should not be interfered with merely for the sake of securing uniformity in procedure.

The Bill was read the first time.

POSTAL IRREGULARITIES.

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) called attention to the fact that quite a number of volumes of last year's *Hansard* sent by mail from the distribution office had never reached their destination. He wished to know if the Postmaster General could furnish any information on the subject.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said he learned now for the first time, with a great deal of regret, that such an irregularity had occurred. He would take means if possible to prevent its occurrence.

CRANBOURNE POST OFFICE.

Mr. ROULEAU asked whether it is the intention of the Government to select another place for the Post Office of the Township of Cranbourne, County of Dorchester, inasmuch as the present Post Office is not in the centre of population?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—It is not the intention to remove the office. The difficulty which the hon. gentleman's question seems to indicate, will be removed by establishing an office about three miles distant from Cranbourne in the same township, between the third and fourth ranges.

LAND PURCHASE ACT OF 1875.

Mr. PERRY asked whether any correspondence has taken place between the Dominion Government and the Government of Prince Edward Island in reference to the award of the Commissioners appointed to value the lands of certain proprietors in Prince Edward Island, in accordance with the Land Purchase Act, 1875?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think the only correspondence was the transmission of the judgments of the arbitrators and certain notices of appeal. I am not aware of any other correspondence at the moment.

ESQUIMAULT AND NANAIMO RAILWAY.

Mr. DEWDNEY asked whether any proposition has been received by the Dominion Government from a private company to construct the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway; if so, what is the amount of money asked for per mile, and do the Government propose to entertain the proposition?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—A proposition was received within the last few days, but it would require too long an answer to give the hon. gentleman the information that he asks. It would be better to move for it in the usual way.

NAVIGATION OF THE SAGUENAY.

Mr. CIMON asked whether it is the intention of the Government to give to one of their engineers the instructions which they gave last spring to Mr. Symmes, respecting the works required to be executed in order to improve the navigation in that part of the River Saguenay, called "Bras de Chicoutimi," inasmuch as Mr. Symmes died before being able to carry out these instructions?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No instructions have been given yet, regarding any works there, to the engineers of the department.

CARRYING THE MAILS IN DORCHESTER.

Mr. ROULEAU asked whether it is the intention of the Government to alter the conditions of the contract for carrying the mails between St. Anselme and St. Malachie, County of Dorchester, so as to provide that the St. Claire and St. Malachie mails may be received on the same day that they reach St. Anselme?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The attention of the Government has been in no way called to this subject.

DISTRICT MAGISTRATES IN QUEBEC.

Mr. TASCHEREAU asked whether the Government is aware of certain appointments made by the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, since the year 1869, of District and County Court Judges, having jurisdiction, without appeal, in civil and criminal cases, in the said Province, under the name of "District Magistrates;" and whether such appointments have not been made in violation of the provisions of "The British North America Act of 1867," and in usurpation of the powers exclusively reserved to the Governor General of Canada, by the said Act?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The Government have no official information of any such appointments, though, in the course of the various proceedings it must come to their cognizance that such appointments have been made. It is not thought proper, under the circumstances, to express an opinion here as to the constitutionality of that action. Of course the suitors or criminals of the Court will have the right to appeal on this subject.

GOVERNMENT DREDGES.

Mr. FLYNN asked whether it is the intention of the Government to send a dredge boat during the coming summer to deepen the entrance of Fourché Harbour?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—As soon as the engineer in charge of the works in the Lower Provinces reaches here, arrangements will be made for the work of dredging during the coming season, at the places where it is most required. The large dredge must, of course, work in deep harbours, and the smaller ones in shallower places. Some of these dredges are engaged for a month or two to come at works uncompleted last year. I can only answer the question more fully after I get information from the engineer in charge.

ANNUAL DRILL.

Mr. PELLETIER asked whether it is the intention of the Government to change the system of Military Exercises; and whether the formation of Camps in each Military District is to be continued?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—It is not the intention of the Government to change the system of drill. The camp training will be discontinued for the present year.

COUNTY COURT JUDGES IN NEW WESTMINSTER.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM asked whether it is the intention of the Government to appoint a County Court Judge for the district of New Westminster, British Columbia; and if so, when is the appointment to be made?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There is some correspondence on this subject which the hon. gentleman can have if he moves for it.

FRAMES FOR THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

Mr. TUPPER asked whether the contract for the cases and frames for the Canadian Department of the Centennial Exhibition was given out by tender or by private arrangement; if the former, who was the successful competitor, and if the latter, with whom was the arrangement made?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There were seventy cases 12x13x3, glass frames all around, to be made by Mr. Craig, of Montreal, by a private arrangement, for \$70 each. He puts them up in Philadelphia; they will be brought back and re-erected here in the Patent Office for use after the Exhibition is over.

THE CIVIL SERVICE EXPENDITURE.

Mr. ROULEAU moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor-General praying him to cause to be laid before this Honorable House:

1st. A list of all the employes, whether permanent or temporary, of the following public departments at Ottawa: Public Works, Receiver General, Finance, Post Office, Militia, Customs, Inland Revenue, Secretary of State, Marine and Fisheries, Justice, Interior, Agriculture and Statistics; showing the salary of each of such employes;

2nd. A statement showing the *bonus* granted to each of the employes above named, for the year 1875, and what portion of the sum voted for that purpose, during the last Session of this Parliament, has been thus distributed among such employes;

3rd. Copies of all Orders in Council, Reports or Documents granting such bonus to each of the said employes, and showing upon what basis such bonus was distributed among them.

The motion was carried.

GROSSE ISLE BUILDINGS.

Mr. CIMON moved for an Address to his Excellency the Governor General for copies of the following documents relating to the undertaking and construction by Messrs. Piton & Co., contractors, of certain buildings for the Dominion Government at Grosse Isle, namely:

1. Correspondence between Piton & Co., and the Department of Public Works;

2. Reports of Messrs. Lepage, Scott, Peachy, and Gauvreau, Architects and Civil Engineers, and correspondence of these gentlemen with one another and with the Department of Public Works;

3. Reports of Mr. Scott after his visit to the locality, and reports of the same on the several reports referred to him;

4. Reports of J. B. St. Michel to M. Lepage;

5. Accounts of Piton & Co. transmitted to the Department of Public Works;

6. A detailed statement of sums paid by the Department of Public Works to Piton & Co.

The motion was carried.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPHY.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE moved for a Select Committee to enquire into the possibility of establishing a Submarine Telegraphic System, and into the advantages and necessity of such a system of telegraphy in the waters of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report from time to time; also to enquire into the best mode of improving the present lighting of the said River and Gulf. He explained that the latter portion of the motion he had not given notice of, and he trusted the Government would allow him at this juncture to make the addition.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it would be an inconvenient mode of procedure to go on with business of this nature without notice of motion having been given. The matter was materially different from that on which the original motion was based, and while he could not object to the proposed inquiry, he was sorry he could not allow the addition to be made, in view of the fact that it was so entirely different to the ordinary practice of the House.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE said he would withdraw the addition to his motion if it was the desire of the House. However, he had no doubt that by the time he had given his explanations it would be conceded that it would be better to leave the motion as it was. The Dominion had incurred large expenditures in the construction of railroads and the improvement of our water communication in order to secure the trade of Japan and China. They had been improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence for many years past, and if they were to succeed in establishing the St. Lawrence route as a rival to New York, improvements would also have to be made in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Until Confederation very little encouragement had been given to navigation by the improvement of the St. Lawrence. They had a few straggling light houses here and there, but it was only since Confederation that the great system of light houses had been inaugurated. The improvement of the St. Lawrence was of the highest

importance to the country, and in proof of this he would read to the House a list of the wrecks and casualties reported to the Marine and Fisheries Department as having occurred in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Straits of Northumberland from 1869 to December 31, 1875. They would find, for instance, that between Quebec and Gaspé, including Anticosti, that 177 vessels and 57 lives had been lost, and that the loss to cargoes and vessels as far as could be ascertained was \$1,692,594. Twenty-five vessels had been lost in the same period between Gaspé and Miramichi. These wrecks involved the loss of eleven lives, and property to the value of \$70,672. From Miramichi to Gut of Canso and Cape North, including Prince Edward Island and Magdalen Islands, 137 vessels had been lost. Loss of life 48, and the cost to vessels and cargoes \$568,700. The total number of casualties was 339; lives lost 116; total loss to property \$2,331,966.

In order to improve this condition of things, he proposed the establishment of a telegraphic system around the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, connecting with the mainland the different islands in these waters. A line of telegraph at present only extended on the north side only as far as Murray Bay, and on the south side as far as Matane, and then along the borders of the Baie de Chaleurs to Metapediac, and around by Gaspé Head and Fox River, completed through the spirit and enterprise of the inhabitants of the District of Gaspé alone. Lines should be run between Fox River and Matane, a distance of about 180 miles, to the Island of Anticosti, on the western and eastern extremities, in order to connect it with both shores of the St. Lawrence to the Bird Rocks and to the Magdalen Islands; outside the Gulf there was also Sable Island, which should be similarly connected with the mainland. When a vessel went ashore it was perfectly immaterial to know it, unless relief could be given; and to make such provision would form part of the intended enquiry. There should be some mode established of going to the assistance of wrecked vessels; a steamer stationed at some central point might be best

suit for this purpose. This subject had occupied the attention of the Dominion Board of Trade, and had been deeply studied by Dr. Fortin, a former member of the House, who had for many years navigated the St. Lawrence.

Mr. GILLMOR did not desire to defeat the motion, but he presumed that the Government was already in possession of the information the hon. member desired. The motion bore a strong resemblance to a proposition made last year with the view of discovering the most direct route to Europe. It was also well to look at the expense incurred by such enquiries. A scientific gentleman from Montreal, Mr. Faragina, had been examined before the Committee appointed in the latter relation, and hon. members might be surprised to learn that he charged for giving his testimony, and preparing a statement which could be read in five minutes, \$254, a sum for which a labourer might toil a year. He believed the gentleman was styled a Colonel—and he thought that this must be the case, owing to the amount of the gentleman's bill. The services rendered by Mr. Faragina were unimportant, and his statements that the only ports in the inner Bay of Passamaquoddy were in American territory was grossly incorrect. He was satisfied that the gentleman had never visited the places in that part, with which he pretended to be personally acquainted. In the inner Bay of Passamaquoddy there were five ports, and it was not necessary to approach it. He supposed that Mr. Faragina was a friend and chum of the hon. member for Bonaventure, and while he was not opposed to the motion, he did protest against the system of appointing Committees for the sake of employing scientific gentlemen to give such information respecting which the Government should possess all the knowledge desired; but if for this information they waited until it was furnished by the hon. member, he was assured that the Administration would remain for a long time in ignorance of the subject. He was satisfied that an attempt was being made to take a certain amount out of the public Treasury.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE replied that these remarks were worthy of a person who was incapable of appreciating scientific attainments. It should, in justice to the gentleman mentioned, be also stated that he was detained in this city for twenty or twenty-five days. If the hon. member for Charlotte wished to treat labourers in the same manner as scientific men, he was welcomed to such an opinion; and he (Mr. Robitaille) believed that a man who would affirm that this was an attempt to extract public money from the Treasury, was a man whom he himself would rather suspect in such a relation of entertaining such motives.

Mr. GILLMOR—I wish to say in answer to the attack made upon me—

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. member for Charlotte has no right to reply in this instance; when he was speaking I must say I was under the impression that he went too far in his allusions with reference to the hon. member for Bonaventure.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER agreed with the Speaker that the hon. member for Charlotte had gone a great deal too far in attacking the motives of the hon. member for Bonaventure, and he was quite certain that every member of the House would acquit the latter of any intention to do anything else than the resolution submitted proposed. He was quite sure that the House would not be disposed to consider even the sum of money named as a very extravagant grant to be paid to a gentleman of great scientific attainments detained, for any length of time on important business. He was bound to concur with the hon. member for Charlotte with regard to the inaccuracy of Mr. Faragina in the particular mentioned. He was quite certain that the latter had fallen into an entire misapprehension in this regard, though he did not doubt that this gentleman could give a great deal of valuable information. He wished to support the hon. member for Bonaventure in his opinion as to the great importance of the service he proposed, and it would be remembered that last Session he had called the attention of the Government to the urgent advisability of connecting Sable Island, St.

Paul's Island, the Magdalen Islands and Scattarce by submarine cables, for the protection and assistance of the shipwrecked mariners. The attention of the Government could not be drawn to a more important matter, and he did not believe that the expenditure in this relation would be very large. He thought, moreover, that the amount of property, which in consequence of such steps would be saved, would, in value, repay the entire cost incurred. The Island of St. Pauls might be said to be the key of the St. Lawrence, and was only a very short distance from the county of Victoria. Almost every vessel entering the St. Lawrence sighted this island; and it would be of the greatest possible importance, pecuniarily, that between it and the Magdalen Islands and Bird Rocks, and the counties of Cape Breton or Victoria—which ever might be the more convenient—sub-marine cables should be laid.

Mr. KIRK corroborated the opinion of the hon. member for Charlotte with regard to the testimony of Faragina, whose evidence he had heard, and he had at once concluded that this gentleman had never seen the harbours he essayed to describe. He believed that these statements had induced the Committee to make an incorrect report; and this the following extract proved—"There are three harbours possessing the qualities necessary to commend them to the attention of the hon. House—namely:—the harbours of Halifax, Louisburg and Whitehaven."

There could not be a greater mistake. He would read the statement of the famous Admiral Owen, who was sent out in 1846 to survey the harbours of Halifax and Whitehaven, with a view to selecting the terminus for the then intended Intercolonial Railway. It was as follows:—

"The nearest accessible harbour to Cape Canso, at the eastern land's end of Nova Scotia, is Whitehaven, in lat. 45 deg. 10 min. N., long. 61 deg. 10 min. W., and is a most splendid and commodious port, at the nearest available point of North America to Ireland, its natural facilities greatly exceeding those of Halifax or any other point upon the coast."

Yet in the face of this report the

Committee had come to the conclusion that the harbour of Whitehaven was not worthy the consideration of the House.

Hon. Mr. SMITH was glad the hon. member had asked for this Committee, and had no doubt it would have the effect of calling not only the attention of the Government but of the public to the subject. With regard to Sable Island, he did not consider there was such necessity for telegraphic communication with it as to some of the islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There was a humane establishment on Sable Island, with 25 or 30 persons and appliances for saving life and property. Still, it was a matter worthy for consideration and he would give every assistance in his power to further the enquiry.

Mr. DAVIES said nearly all the wrecks in the Gulf occurred in November and December, and the telegraphic communication would be useless unless ice-boats were kept to run to the relief of wrecked persons. The proposition of the hon. member who brought in this motion must commend itself to the House, but ice steamers would involve a considerable expense. He (Mr. Davies) had no objection to the appointment of the Committee, but in these days of retrenchment he would not like to see money thrown away in bringing gentlemen here who would expect large remuneration.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought it was unfortunate that side issues should be introduced in this question. He was satisfied the Committee, if appointed, would not be guilty of extravagance of any kind in summoning persons to give information. He did not agree with the hon. member for Kings (P. E. I.) that nearly all the wrecks in the Gulf occurred in November and December. Most of them certainly did occur late in the fall, and probably November offered the largest record of any month in the year, but many vessels were wrecked on our shores in early spring. During the past ten years several wrecks had occurred on the Magdalen Islands in midsummer. As a matter of economy it would be expedient to establish telegraphic communication with those points.

Half the vessels wrecked on the Magdalen Islands had been sold before the owners in Montreal knew anything about it. The Government could not be expected to provide for everything in a day, and the country would be satisfied if the Marine and Fisheries Department would give this matter reasonable consideration. It was true there was less necessity to lay a cable to Sable Island than to other points, because there was a humane establishment there, and it was visited regularly by a Government steamer, but it would be more economical to have the telegraphic communication. Fewer men would be needed on the Island, the steamer need not call except when necessity required it, and wrecked passengers need not be delayed more than ten hours. There was another point where telegraphic communication was needed—St. Paul's Island, at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Ninety-five-hundredths of the whole trade between Europe and Canada, North of Canso, passed within sight of that Island, yet it was visited only two or three times a year by the Government vessel. It would be a great satisfaction to have early intelligence of the passing of vessels and of wrecks and accidents to ships in the vicinity of this Island and Bird Rocks. Last year great excitement was caused by the *Prussian* being delayed some ten days at this place. All this uneasiness could have been avoided if there had been telegraphic communication with St. Paul's Island.

This question was of deep interest to the public, as might be seen from the eagerness with which the papers were scanned every morning to learn whether such a boat had passed the point. If we had communication extended from Cape North to Magdalen Islands, and from Briar Island to the Bird Rocks, it would greatly alleviate the anxiety of persons interested in the movements of vessels. He was a member of the Committee at which Colonel Faragina was examined, but only attended one meeting. That attendance, however, convinced him of the great knowledge this gentleman had of the subject. It appeared from his evidence that Col. Faragina made a winter voyage through

the Gulf, under the auspices of the United States Government, to ascertain how far it was susceptible to winter navigation. The House and country had been troubled for years as to the solution of this question, and he thought that if Col. Faragina's experience was obtained for \$250 it was money well spent. He felt it due to gentleman attacked to state exactly what his opinion was on the subject. He thought the testimony of Col. Faragina was most satisfactory and conclusive that the winter navigation of the Gulf was not only difficult but dangerous. He hoped side issues would not be permitted to interfere with the appointment of this Committee, and he was sure the Hon. Minister of Marine would give to the question, and the report when submitted, that attention and consideration its importance demanded.

Mr. DEVLIN was exceedingly glad that the hon. member for Bonaventure had brought up this motion. A few days ago he had the honour of presenting a petition signed by the Board of Trade, the Corn Exchange, and a large number of citizens of Montreal, including 75 sea captains, recommending the measure of protection now sought, in the strongest terms. Everyone ought to agree that the safe navigation of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence should be secured by the Government. All classes were interested in its success, and he had no doubt if the Committee was granted and the investigation vigorously pushed forward beneficial results would accrue. The hon. member for Cumberland had stated the case so well and so clearly as to render it entirely unnecessary for him to go into details. He felt that the matter was now well understood, and that the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries recognized the importance of acceding to the motion and afterwards giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said hon. gentleman had referred to the various points with which telegraphic communication was desirable, but there was one which had evidently escaped attention—the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia. There was no part of the mainland or of the Gulf which was the scene of so many accidents as that

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

between Halifax and the Strait of Canso; and he therefore hoped that the Government, when contemplating future improvements, would consider the necessity of affording telegraphic communication with that portion of the Atlantic seaboard. Ships approaching that coast in the winter season were often kept a long time by adverse winds or by ice, and often arrived at the ports in want of provisions and often seriously damaged. Many of the headlands of that part of the coast were uninhabited and the other portion was also sparsely populated—hence shipwrecked crews were subject to more inconvenience than at Sable Island, where there was a humane establishment. He quite agreed with the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries that cable communication with that Island was at present unnecessary, because at this humane station there was an ample supply of provisions and men to assist crews of wrecked vessels, and there could not be the suffering which may result from disasters on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia. He would also draw attention to the necessity of having a powerful steamer at Halifax or some other point to assist vessels approaching the coast at critical times. In the United States, revenue-cutters performed such service during the winter with excellent results. He trusted that point would not be overlooked in any future arrangements.

Mr. McKAY (Cape Breton) did not want the opportunity to pass without making a few observations on this important subject. Telegraphic communication between some of the islands of the Gulf, where there are humane establishments, and the mainland was not absolutely necessary, inasmuch as they were capable of supplying the wants of shipwrecked mariners. He was surprised at the hon. member for Halifax referring to the extension of the telegraph system from that city to the Strait of Canso. It was well known the key of the St. Lawrence was Cape Breton, which was the terminus of the Atlantic cable and one of the most important points of the Gulf; and if any extra communication was to be afforded that Island should certainly be included in the arrangement. Almost

every vessel from Europe seeking telegraph orders on this side of the ocean makes for the port of North Sydney. This was another reason for looking to the requirements of Cape Breton, and he trusted the Government would give it due consideration. While agreeing that Col. Faragina's testimony was important, he thought that gentleman was well remunerated for the evidence given. There was no doubt, whatever, that the gentleman was a person of very considerable experience, and his testimony was very much appreciated by a number of the Committee, but how it was he should remain 25 days in attendance on that Committee, he (Mr. McKay) did not thoroughly understand. The gentleman's evidence was of a very limited character, and might be scanned over in a few minutes. It seemed to him the evidence taken before the Committee might have been completed in a very few days. This investigation should hardly be placed in the hands of a private member. It was of such importance to the trade and commerce of the Dominion that he thought the matter should be taken up by some members of the Government, by whom the interest of the public would be much better secured. This, he considered, would be better than leaving the matter in the hands of a private member.

Mr. GOUDGE said that one of the chief objections to taking evidence before the Committee was the expense, which argument, he thought, should not be allowed to militate against so important an investigation connected with the shipping interest, and the lives and property of subjects of this Dominion. The first question which would engage the attention of the Committee would be the cost of the undertaking, and the next would be the advantage which would accrue to the Dominion upon the establishment of such telegraphic communication. He thought there were members in the House who had practical experience as to the necessity of establishing such communication. There was no doubt now about the practicability of the undertaking, the only questions at issue were

the necessity and the cost. It gave him great pleasure to acquiesce in the motion, and he had no doubt if the Committee were appointed that the necessity of the work would be shown to the House. With reference to the opinion expressed relative to the connection of Sable Island to the mainland, he thought it very desirable that this connection should be made. It was time the humane establishment had at its disposal large forces, and was able to provide for a considerable number of persons should they be shipwrecked on the coast. But sometimes the Island was not visited for weeks, and if a large number of shipwrecked persons were obliged to be kept there for any length of time it would be a source of considerable expense to the public, and doubtless of personal inconvenience to the sufferers. Therefore he thought a system of submarine telegraph should connect this Island with the main shore.

Mr. TREMAIN said he was happy to find this motion on the notice paper. He considered the subject one of great importance to the trade and commerce of the country, and should engage the serious attention of the House. He hoped the appointment of the Committee would be the cause of the establishment of a telegraph system, not only in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but also extending to the Island of Cape Breton. He was well acquainted with the Island of St. Paul and was fully impressed with the belief that the telegraphic connection between it and the mainland would prove greatly beneficial to the maritime interests; as among other things vessels could be reported to the centres of commerce when first entering the Gulf. He would further state that they had been deprived of communication between Victoria and Cape North, distant some 90 miles, which latter place was some 14 miles from St. Pauls. He trusted the Committee would be appointed.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I would suggest that the hon. members for North Norfolk and Stormont be added to the Committee.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE consented to make the addition.

Mr. GOUDGE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he desired to state with regard to the remarks of the hon. member for Charlotte, that he and the hon. gentleman for Bonaventure had had an understanding that there should be no expense incurred upon this Committee. The hon. gentleman expected to call a witness, but beyond that it was not anticipated there would be any expense. It was quite true the expenditure of the Committee last year seemed very great. Whether the gentleman in question was well or ill paid was a matter they were not able to decide. At any rate he himself considered he was badly paid. He thought it was desirable the Chairmen of Committees should endeavour to avoid keeping witnesses, particularly those belonging to a scientific class, whose services must be paid for at a higher rate than others. He had no doubt the conversation that had taken place on the subject on this occasion would prevent a similar question arising in the future.

The motion was carried.

WINTER NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Mr. FRECHETTE said the object of his motion was the appointment of a Select Committee to take into consideration the possibility and practicability of navigating the River and Gulf St. Lawrence during the winter season. It had been said—and this with unquestionable truth—that the great drawback of this country was its winter season; not only as it paralyses to a great extent the development of our agricultural resources, but more particularly, inasmuch as during nearly six months of the year it closes to navigation our great national and commercial artery—the River St. Lawrence. This was undeniable, but was there no remedy to a state of things so detrimental to the prosperity of this country? Was there no possibility of keeping open to commerce and navigation this great outlet of ours, during all seasons of the year, and thus removing the most serious impediment to our national progress? Such is the important problem which is now forcing itself upon the public mind, and the solution of which is the object of the motion

now before this hon. House. And, in proposing this motion, he fully realized the responsibility assumed, for he considered that upon its adoption and successful issue depended our securing to this Dominion an incalculable improvement on its present condition, that is an independent and uninterrupted communication with the outer world.

The scheme now submitted to the consideration of the House was not entirely new. The hon. gentlemen at the head of the Government had already given his attention to it, endeavouring to secure all information possible as to its practicability and probable results. During the first Session of this Parliament the attention of several of the hon. members of this House had been drawn to this great and important question, and he was happy to say it had met with the most favourable consideration, especially on the part of the representatives of the Lower Provinces, who, with their practical and experienced views in those matters, had seized at once the importance of the project as one destined to create a most beneficial revolution in our present system of commerce and navigation.

Since then, at the request of Mr. E. W. Sewell, the projector of the scheme, a Parliamentary Commission had been appointed by the Legislature of Quebec to investigate the matter, and the evidence adduced had been such as to so materially strengthen the position of that gentleman that, in his (Mr. Fréchet's) opinion, it could be no longer permitted to any true friend of this country to shut his eyes upon a question involving at such a degree the most vital interest of the nation.

He now held in his hand the full report of the enquiry made by the Special Committee, so appointed by the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec, to take that subject into consideration.

At page 35 he found the following, signed by 43 branch pilots of the Lower St. Lawrence:—

"We, the undersigned, Branch Pilots for the River St. Lawrence, do hereby certify that the floe ice on the River and Gulf St. Lawrence would not offer any serious resistance to

"powerful screw-steamers. The absence of fog and heavy sea during winter is a great advantage in favour of winter navigation. Everything considered, we are of opinion that the navigation of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, during the winter months, is possible and practicable."

At page 24, he found the following statements: It was from Col. Farajina, the Russian hydro-graphic engineer alluded to in the last debate. In spite of what had just been said against the professional abilities of that gentleman, he maintained that he has had perhaps more practical experience of the winter navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence than any other man in this country, having been employed for a long time by the American Government expressly to test its practicability. He states:—"I must say, as a conclusion, that the winter navigation of the River St. Lawrence is possible with vessels constructed for that purpose, and that the difficulties alluded to are not serious. I feel satisfied that any trial to that effect would be successful, and would remove all the doubts that may be entertained as to the practicability of the scheme."

At page 14, I find Mr. Charles Brown, an intelligent and experienced pilot, telling us that he ran, on the 16th of April 1863, from Cape Ray to 60 miles west of the Bird Rocks through floating ice, in a wooden sailing ship, by a heavy gale, without incurring the slightest accident. And further on he says:—

"The navigation of the St. Lawrence is quite practicable during the winter season. I would pilot a good steamer from Quebec to Halifax, at any time during winter. It is easier," says he, "to navigate in a snow storm, than in a fog."

At page 11, the hon. Mr. Savage, a gentleman residing on the shores of Gaspé, states that he never saw the ice so packed as to prevent a vessel from moving either towards or from the Gaspé shore; that there is little or no fog during the winter months; and that many winters are entirely free from it. Further on, he states, which is quite natural, that there is no rolling

sea in winter, the floating icebergs keeping down the waves.

In short, the evidence furnished by all the witnesses examined was so conclusive and so convincing that the Committee did not hesitate a moment to adopt a favourable report, of which I beg to quote the few following lines:—

“Reviewing the question from a national point of view, your Committee are of opinion that if modern science can be enlisted in the successful accomplishment of the object sought, Canada would then possess the inestimable advantages of an independent and uninterrupted communication by water with foreign countries, and a great portion of her own people living on both shores of the St. Lawrence.

“Quebec would become an important winter seaport, and the railway project of constructing lines to connect the Dominion with the Atlantic ports, undergo a complete revolution, and the export trade would of necessity converge towards Quebec as the only available Canadian seaport.”

On the 4th of August, 1874, Mr. Sewell published a paper, entitled: “The Winter Navigation of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the Sea Practicable, and the Reasons Why.” In this paper, the writer advanced the following facts:—

“1st. The floe-ice of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence is composed chiefly of ice, the weight or resistance of which does not justify our looking upon it as a serious obstacle to winter navigation.

“2nd. The floe-ice never covers the river from shore to shore.

“3rd. The floe-ice lays for the greater part of the season on the south shore, from the fact of the prevailing winds coming more or less from the north.

“4th. From this position of the floes, steamers navigating up and down the St. Lawrence would seldom or never come in contact with the ice to such an extent as would seriously impede their progress.

“5th. All through the ice regions, the surface of the water is perfectly smooth, a great advantage to a screw-propelled steamer.

“6th. Fogs are of very rare occurrence during the winter months.

“7th. Snow storms are not so numerous as to justify our attaching any importance to them; and a vessel in such a storm is not by any means in so critical a position as a vessel enveloped in a fog, the former having the floe-ice under her lee, acting as a shield between her and the shore, while the latter has no such protection.”

All these facts, which most peremptorily answer all the principal objections set forth by those who had no faith in the practicability of the scheme, were endorsed in the strongest manner by the whole evidence given before the aforesaid Committee, and consequently virtually solved the problem of winter navigation in the affirmative. But, as Mr. Sewell very properly states, he may write, he may speak, he may give lectures, he may advocate this great enterprise for years and years, and yet be just as far as ever from bringing it to a successful issue, if men of progress—and he (Mr. Fréchet) believed the gentlemen who occupied the Treasury Benches were men of progress—do not tender him a helping hand. Ship owners will not risk their property, nor will it be possible to effect insurance upon goods and vessels passing by this route unless the feasibility of this mode of navigation be demonstrated by practical experience. And who will ever pay the cost of such demonstration, if not the most interested party, the country herself?

The proposition of Mr. Sewell was this:—

Mr. Sewell proposes to run a steamer from the first of December to the first of May in each year for a term of five years. The vessel to make two trips per month between the following ports:—Quebec, Murray Bay, Bic, Saguenay, Rimouski, Percy and Paspébiac. The Dominion Government to pay a subsidy of \$16,000 per season, and to place an Agent on board of the vessel, whose duty would be to make a report at the end of each month of the vessel's performances. At the end of five years, should the accumulated reports prove an endorsement of all the advantages claimed in favour of winter navigation, the Government to offer \$100,000 per annum as subsidy to the

Company that will undertake the carrying of the mails *via* the St. Lawrence, winter and summer. At the end of the first three years, should the performances of the vessel not be such as to prove beyond all doubt the practicability of the enterprise, the subsidy to be withdrawn. As the subsidy will but cover running expenses, the Government, to remunerate Mr. Sewell, of course by a reasonable bonus, so soon as the ocean line of steamers is established.

He (Mr. Fréchet) did not believe that there was a man in this whole Dominion thoroughly impressed with the importance of the subject who would think this proposition unreasonable.

The author of it is was gentleman personally, nay, intimately known to him and to many hon. members of this House. There was hardly a middle-aged citizen of Quebec who did not recollect the derision and contempt heaped upon his head when, as early as 1852, Mr. Sewell wrote to the Legislature of his country suggesting the establishment of a steam winter ferry across the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Levis. Why, the majority of the inhabitants of these localities looked upon him as a kind of visionary, fit for nothing else but a lunatic asylum. And yet, the bold suggestion of the young man has since been successfully carried out. Experience has proved that he was anything but a visionary. Mr. Sewell had lived to see his project an accomplished fact, and—a triumph not often awarded to inventors—he was a daily witness of the incalculable advantages his fellow citizens derived from his genius and foresight. And now, the same man, vested with an additional experience of nearly a quarter of a century, makes an appeal to this Parliament to place it in his power to carry out a scheme of a similar nature, but of national instead of local importance, and which if successful, would make this country ever his debtor. Would this appeal be in vain? The question was before the House.

He was not asking the Government to pledge themselves to the assistance of this project without knowing beforehand the sentiments of the public mind

about it. It had been advocated by both the Liberal and the Conservative press, and the general opinion was that it ought to be tried at once and the question settled without further delay. There was no public measure that would give more general satisfaction, not only to the Province of Quebec but to the country at large, for the whole Dominion was highly interested in the removal of this great impediment to our commerce, the closing of the River St. Lawrence to navigation for at least five months in the year. Nay, the commercial world looked with interest upon the matter. New York journalists had already written to know what likelihood there was of the project being carried out. Quite well they anticipated the result. Portland, New York, Baltimore and the other maritime cities of the American Atlantic coast would awake to the fact that we Canadians were at last true to our own interest, and that we had boldly entered the list in the struggle for the carrying of the western produce to the sea. And a result still more desirable, and which has been as yet but imperfectly achieved by the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, the heart of this Dominion would be relieved from its present critical and humiliating position of dependence upon a foreign power for a communication with the outer world during nearly six months out of every twelve.

And what are we asked to risk for an attempt to secure this great national boon? A few thousand dollars! Why, the information that would be elicited was worth the money. Nations of Europe had spent millions over millions to send expeditions to the farthestmost polar regions merely to ascertain a point of science; why should we hesitate to risk a few thousands to solve a problem so important to our future destinies?

In conclusion, feeling that the sentiment of country first, and party after, was held by every member of the House, he had no doubt that the present motion would be unanimously supported.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said he did not intend to oppose the motion, although

he was not impressed with the practicability of the scheme.

Mr. DAVIES said it was very well known that there was always a very large quantity of open water in the Gulf in the most severe winters. When north winds prevail the ice was swept from Prince Edward Island to the south side, leaving a space of open water on the Prince Edward Island side of the Gulf, so that an ice steamer could pass without difficulty, as the ice was composed of floes which were constantly moving. Although he thought the navigation of the Gulf was practicable, he did not think it would be attended with practical results, as vessels for such work would have to be small and strongly built. Such a vessel was being built by Mr. Sewell, of Quebec, but he was unable to prosecute the scheme for want of means. This winter navigation might be of some advantage, if the vessels were owned and managed by the Government, to the shipping of the St. Lawrence. Vessels were frequently wrecked in the Gulf on Bird Rocks and the Magdalen Islands, and the crews were compelled to remain there all winter; but if this winter navigation were established a great deal of life and property might be saved by an ice steamer. He did not think the navigation would be very dangerous, as the water was comparatively calm where there were ice floes; but insurance would be so high that he doubted whether such a line of transportation could compete with land carriage. It was very desirable, however, that the scheme should be tried, as it was of great importance to the Dominion to establish the fact of the possibility of the winter navigation of the St. Lawrence.

Mr. Fiset stated that the question raised by the hon. member for Lévis was so important that he considered it his duty to say a few words on the subject. Advocates of new ideas and new schemes were sometimes considered as Utopians, but happily for his hon. friend, if this scheme received for the first time in the House considerable developments, it was not less a project which, outside of Parliament, had been for a long time

studied, and which, properly speaking, could not be looked upon as entirely novel. The practicability of the navigation of the St. Lawrence during winter below Quebec had for some years attracted public attention, and specialists in particular, observing the facility with which the river was traversed at this season between Quebec and Lévis, where its bed was narrow, the current rapid, and the ice very strong—formed in fresh water,—asked whether it would not be possible to navigate it where it was wider, the ice less thick and the current less strong.

Experienced men passing their opinion upon numerous facts, believed they could answer in the affirmative, and though he did not possess such an experience, he shared in this view, and he was assured of the practicability of the navigation of the St. Lawrence below Quebec and Bic. Not only did he consider it possible below Bic in particular, but also easy in the first part. In this region navigation during the summer season was more prolonged than at Quebec by several weeks; in fact, when the river was closed beneath this city and Montreal, it was open near Bic, being as free of ice as during summer, and as had been published, the boats of the S. S. *Sardinian*, on the 29th of November, found little difficulty in reaching the wharf. Not only was this the case, but the S. S. *Sardinian*, which had feared to come on to Quebec, owing to the lateness of the season, waiting at Rimouski for the mails, could have sailed from this point with as much facility on the 10th or the 15th of the following December. Navigation also commenced in this quarter from fifteen days to three weeks earlier in the spring than at Quebec. Frequently, in fact, the river was completely free of ice on the 15th of March. The matters at issue in this immediate relation deserved the serious attention of the mercantile community, and of the Government particularly, because Rimouski was connected with the Intercolonial Railway by a branch recently built. Further, the ice, which was not strong below Rimouski, was there always in motion, and a channel free from such obstruction always existed to the south or north, according to the direction of

the wind. On these grounds an experienced navigator in this country once offered to convey the mails in winter from Rimouski to Moisié, a distance of 156 miles, in monthly trips in a small vessel, for a very moderate price, and his application was still to be found in the Post Office Department. If, then, it was possible under such circumstances, surely the river would be navigable for a steamer built for this particular purpose. He believed in its practicability as far as Quebec, and above all, up to Rimouski, and he trusted that the Government would take steps to make the trial desired.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he had no objection to voting for an enquiry into this matter, but he certainly did object to the hon. gentleman from Lévis promulgating to the world the idea that the Dominion had not an open seaport during the winter months. He thought it was hardly fair to the Maritime Provinces to say that St. John and Halifax were not open ports, and there would be communication with them all the year round through our own Dominion when the Intercolonial Railway was opened through. It was not long since they had the largest wooden ship in the world floating in the harbour of St. John; he alluded to the ship *St. Lawrence*. Halifax harbour, with few exceptions, was always open in winter. St. Andrews was also a winter harbour, and a good deal might be made of it eventually. The question would be whether it will not be the most convenient port for vessels to call at yet. It is very convenient to deliver mails and passengers at Halifax, but when it comes to freight, St. Andrews may be found to be as good a port as any. He was sure if the hon. gentleman had thought for a moment he would not have promulgated such a statement to the world, that this Dominion had no winter port on the Atlantic.

—
AFTER RECESS.

THE POSTMASTER OF CHRISTMAS ISLAND.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) resumed the consideration of his motion for an order of the House for copies of all correspondence relating to the dis-

missal of Mr. McDougall, postmaster, at Christmas Island, Cape Breton. He did not intend to say much in addition to what he had already stated in connection with this subject. The dismissal of Mr. McDougall was made for political reasons, and this was an attempt to injure him in other respects. The Postmaster General, in 1874, had kindly allowed him (Mr. McDonald) to read the papers in connection with this matter, but refused to furnish copies of them, and he was therefore obliged to make this motion. The Postmaster General had advised him not to bring this matter up in the House, as it would necessitate an exposure of Mr. McDougall's character, but the latter gentleman was willing to have the subject discussed. The Government would, no doubt, deny he was dismissed for political reasons, but they would find it hard to substantiate that denial. The elections took place in January, 1874, and the charge was investigated nine or ten days before it by a Commissioner sent from Sydney to Christmas Island for the purpose. The dismissal did not take place for several months after, when it was announced in a local paper. The investigation was made in January; the dismissal was not made until the following fall. This did not look very much as if he desired to be dismissed on the charge made against him. If it were true, the dismissal should have taken place at once. He (Mr. McDonald) had other papers in his possession which at present he would not say anything about. He would wait until he could see how the Government intended to justify themselves. He might add, he would also like to have the papers brought down in relation to the dismissal of the postmaster at Little Glace Bay, the postmaster at Reserve Mines and the postmaster at Little Lorraine.

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman will have to put a motion on the paper.

Mr. McDONALD said he believed these men were also dismissed for political purposes. If the Government would bring down the correspondence it would save him the necessity of putting a notice on the paper.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) said the charges against Mr. McDougall were rudeness to the people who went to his office, and excesses in many ways. Upon representations made to the Department—some of them by his own relatives—an enquiry was made by an official who was sent to Christmas Island from Sydney for the purpose. Several witnesses were examined, some of them he thought on oath. On his report, no doubt, the dismissal was based. The hon. gentleman who had introduced this motion stated he believed the dismissal was due to political reasons. It seemed to him (Mr. MacKay) that the object of the motion was to afford an opportunity for attacking him. The references to him, he could say, were without effect. It was alleged that shortly before the election he had gone to Mr. McDougall or that person's son and threatened that unless they supported him he would cause the postmaster to be dismissed. That statement was without foundation in fact, and he (Mr. MacKay) was amazed that it should be made in this House when neither Mr. McDougall nor his son, while in the witness box during the trial of his (Mr. MacKay's) election, made any reference to this matter. If there had been any foundation for the charge they, being politically and personally hostile to him, would have sworn to it when they were endeavouring to unseat him.

It appeared to him that the hon. gentleman had only put the motion on the notice paper for the express purpose of making a charge for which there was not the slightest foundation in fact, and which the very men whom it was alleged had made the statement would not dare to swear to in the witness box. With regard to the other matters, the Postmaster General was the proper person to speak for the Government. He had no doubt whatever that when the papers were brought down the hon. gentleman would rather regret bringing the matter before the House, and that the late Postmaster would be forced to exclaim "Save me from my friends."

Mr. McDONALD—(Cape Breton) said he could not very well bring this matter up, and attempt to prove that this Postmaster was dismissed for

political reasons, unless he referred to his hon. colleague, and it was his intention when he introduced the motion to state everything in connection with the affair. He repeated the charge that the officer was dismissed by his hon. colleague, who was at that time running an election in the interests of the Government. The Hon. Minister of Justice would appreciate the defence which had been made. His hon. friend, did not refer to the statement he (Mr. McDonald) made last night, that two barristers of the Province made affidavits in Court that they believed they would be able to prove the allegation. His hon. colleague said these witnesses would not make their statements on the witness stand, but gentlemen knowing the circumstances of the election would not be surprised to hear that the judge trying the case would not allow them to make such statement, and that in consequence the affidavits were made appealing for an opportunity to prove the charge. It was disingenuous for his hon. colleague to evade this in the way he did. Professional gentlemen would appreciate it. If the judge had allowed their testimony to be taken, the charge would have been substantiated. When Mr. McDougall heard of his dismissal, he wrote as follows to the Postmaster General:—

"POST OFFICE, CHRISTMAS ISLAND,
"30th July, 1874.

"SIR,—I understand through a local newspaper, that the Government have dismissed me from the office of Postmaster here. I would thank you to inform me on what grounds the Government saw proper to dismiss me. If charges have been brought against me in the capacity of Postmaster, I now claim the right of a copy of such charges, with the names of the parties making the same.

"By giving me the required information you will much oblige.

"Your obedient servant,

"MALCOLM McDOUGALL.

"To the Postmaster-General,
Ottawa."

The answer to this, the speaker continued, was as follows:—

"POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
"OTTAWA, 12th August, 1874.

"SIR,—I am desired by the Postmaster-General, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, and in reply to inform you the cause of your removal from the charge of the Christmas Island Post Office, was, that your habits of intemperance incapacitated you from a proper performance of your duties as Post-

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master, and rendered it necessary in the interest of the public service, that the office should be placed in other hands.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"WM. WHITE,

"Secretary."

Mr. McDougall wrote another letter, which it was unnecessary to read. He claimed the right, as his removal was said to be in the public interests, that the names of his assilants should be given him. He received the following reply:—

"OTTAWA, 12th Sept. 1874.

"SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ult., and to say in reply, that I have no further remarks to offer than those contained in my letter of 12th ultimo, except that the investigation into your conduct was conducted by an officer acting for the Inspector.

"I am, Sir, your obd't servant,

"WM. WHITE,

"Secretary."

"MR. MALCOLM McDUGALL,

"Christmas Island, Co. Cape Breton, N. S."

It was unnecessary for him to say anything further on this point, but he might state something which his hon. colleague concealed from the House, and no doubt from the late Postmaster-General and the Government. He had seen the evidence, and the House would be surprised to learn that the principal testimony against Mr. McDougall was that of a man who was dismissed by the Local Government shortly before that on a complaint of forgery. He had a letter from another Postmaster stating that he had been threatened with dismissal by his hon. colleague, and was dismissed as well as the copy of a petition unanimously signed by the inhabitants of the district asking the Postmaster-General to continue him in office.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he was rather surprised that some remarks had not been made on the part of the Government, and he was especially surprised the Postmaster General was not in his place when he knew this was the first order on the paper. He was absent probably in the hope and expectation that the hon. member would not have the opportunity of bringing this matter up again during the remainder of the session. It was the duty of the hon. gentleman who knew all the facts and had heard the calm temperate state-

ment of his hon. friend on the previous day, to be present and defend his department, because motions of this kind were the legitimate mode of bringing up such charges, and when they were made was the legitimate period for the Government to reply. But here was this most serious and grave charge made and unanswered. It had been sworn to by two professional men that the Postmaster had been dismissed for political reasons, and it was alleged that the late Postmaster General after looking into the matter, promised his hon. friend that the official should be reinstated as there were no grounds for his dismissal. It also appeared that the man, not knowing why he was dismissed, wrote to the Department inquiring the cause, and was informed that behind his back the charge of intemperance was brought up against him, and the first thing he knew he was dismissed upon the grave charge of being utterly incompetent to hold office owing to intemperate habits. The hon. gentleman also proved that the last Postmaster General as well as the present, tried to frighten him from moving this motion by saying it would be better for the man's character if the matter was dropped. But with the consciousness of innocence, feeling that he had been maligned, aspersed and wrongly charged and convicted, Mr. McDougall came here and appealed to the only court and tribunal which could protect his character and restore his reputation, and defend not only his own honour but the honour of his wife and children. The Hon. Premier, however, in the absence of the Postmaster-General, who should have been present to reply, said he would let the matter go, and in the meantime the man's character must remain in suspense. It was not fair—it was not British justice, and there was no excuse for the conduct of the Department. He knew very well had the Premier or the Minister of Justice been head of that Department it would never have been done. Here was this man dismissed on a serious charge, and the first thing he knew of it was the receipt of a letter informing him of his dismissal; that he was tried and sentenced by a secret tribunal without his knowledge; not by the regular Inspector but by a person sent

temporarily for the purpose. This was not British justice, and he hoped the Premier would see that the papers were brought down speedily. The postmaster had a right to claim a trial in which he could examine the witnesses and bring evidence in rebuttal; that it should be a fair trial in open court, and if found guilty he would have no right to complain of dismissal.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said he had very little to say about the matter, as it occurred before he took charge of the Department; but after examining the papers in the case, he felt it is duty to go to the hon. member who moved in this matter, and ask him in a friendly way not to call for the papers, as he felt that the proof was of such a character that it would do no good to the postmaster and would not interest the public. He was not disposed to ask that the papers should not be brought down, but when they were before the House they would prove that this exhibition of warmth on the part of the hon. Leader of the Opposition was entirely unnecessary. The doctrine laid down by the hon. gentleman that every departmental enquiry should be a judicial one, he thought was a mistake. He had no doubt when the papers were brought down, the mover would find out he was not the real friend of the late postmaster. As to the political feature of the case, he had known in his time postmasters to be dismissed for political reasons, and this exhibition of warmth might have been reserved for those cases. As far as the evidence in this case submitted to him was concerned, there was nothing to show a political motive, but there was abundant evidence that it would have been a disgrace to the country to continue the man in office.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the papers would be here on Monday, and they would have been brought down earlier but for the hon. mover putting it off himself. He put it off last Session in the same way.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton)
—I deny that.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman did put it off, although he now alleges he was unable to get his

motion made. He did not make the motion because he deemed it wise in his client's interest not to make it. He (the Premier) had recollection of a man of the highest moral character having been dismissed from office by the late Administration for political reasons, but no person had ever been dismissed by the present Government except for causes that rendered their continuance in office detrimental to the public interest. He would sooner resign office to-morrow than dismiss a man from the public service because of his political opinions, but the hon. gentleman opposite did not so act. The right hon. gentleman knew that one of his colleagues sent printed circulars during an election campaign warning Government officers that they voted against Government candidates at their peril, and if they dared to vote against the Government and their representative candidates they would be dismissed. The present Government had never done that nor would they ever do it. He was amazed at the strictures of his hon. friend when there was no occasion for them, as the papers would show the postmaster was dismissed for good and sufficient reasons, and the hon. gentleman when he showed such warmth only exposed himself.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said on behalf of himself and the late Government, he would say that the statement of the First Minister was utterly unfounded; that during the whole time he (Sir John) had been in the Government, he was not aware of a single case in which a public servant had been removed from office for political reasons. He denied it altogether, and challenged the hon. gentleman to the proof. In answer to the Postmaster-General, he would admit that if it were an office during the pleasure of the royal prerogative, the pleasure of the Crown could be exercised without a judicial trial, or without investigation, and the official be dismissed; and all that could be done in such a case would be to move a vote of censure on the Government for doing so; but if the Government dismissed an officer on charges of disgraceful conduct, that reason being once given, they must, as a matter of fair play, be well founded, and proved

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after a full and fair inquiry, and not by secret investigation behind a man's back.

Mr. SCATCHERD said the country postmaster held an onerous position, for which he received small pay. And he would be sorry to find any case where such an official should be dismissed merely because he had seen fit to exercise his elective franchise in the way he thought proper. Since he had been in Parliament he had known several cases where postmasters had been dismissed from office for voting against the Government candidate. He had heard the right hon. member for Kingston say he had never, and his Government had never, dismissed a postmaster for political reasons; but he knew a case in which the Government did dismiss postmasters for political reasons and afterwards justified it on the floor of Parliament. Referring to the Parliamentary debates of 1862 he found that on April 30th, of that year, "Col. Haultain, in the absence of Mr. Cockburn, enquired of the Ministry for what reasons Mr. Clemishaw, late Postmaster at Bloomfield, in South Monaghan; Mr. Harstane, late Postmaster at Baltimore, in the township of Hamilton; and Mr. Kennedy, late Postmaster in the Township of Alnwick, all in the West Riding of Northumberland, were summarily dismissed from their respective offices shortly after the last general election, and whether the said gentlemen, or either of them, were dismissed for having voted at the said election against the Government candidate."

"Hon. J. A. Macdonald said he was not prepared to say whether or not these gentlemen were Postmasters, or whether, being Postmasters, they voted at the last election and were dismissed therefor. However, he would make enquiry of the Postmaster-General. But in the meantime, he would remark that if these persons worked and voted against the head of their Department they deserved to be dismissed."

This he considered was a proof that they were dismissed for political reasons, and their dismissal was justified upon the floor of Parliament.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he was very glad that the hon. gentleman had alluded to the matter. How did that result? Hon. Sidney Smith was Postmaster General, and he was a candidate for the County of Northumberland. At Cobourg one or two of these postmasters came up on the hustings and insulted him before a crowd.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE asked what were their names.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he did not remember the names, but he heard one of these postmasters insult the Postmaster General and call him a swindler and a scoundrel, and they spoke and worked in favour of his opponent, a Mr. Cockburn.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said as additional proof he recollected that he had brought up a case three years ago when a Post Office Inspector wrote letters to the postmasters in the county of Welland when an election was being held, threatening them with dismissal if they voted against the Government candidate, and the hon. gentleman, then Leader of the Government, defended that letter upon the floor of this House. The hon. gentleman himself, when on an election campaign, took a high officer of the Government with him to speak at political meetings, and yet he had the face to charge this Government with having dismissed public servants for political reasons.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was a rule generally admitted both in England and in this country, that an officer of a department ought not properly to work against the Government; he could vote as he pleased, but he should not be an active partizan against the Government, and no rule had ever been given whatever that an official cannot vote for the Government. The hon. gentleman said he brought up in Parliament some time ago the fact of the Post Office Inspector, Mr. Griffin, having threatened employes. If the hon. gentleman would look back at that correspondence he would find there was no such threat. It was a private letter to the postmaster stating that as a friend he

would advise him not to vote one way or the other. The resolution that was moved on this was a severe censure against Mr. Griffin, and he (Sir John) did not defend him. But the letter being a private one, though the principle being one they could not defend, they did not vote down the resolution, but the previous motion was moved. The charge that the late Administration dismissed public officers for political reasons he denied, the only instance being that where Hon. Mr. Smith was actually insulted on the hustings. That he knew and heard, and he thought the hon. First Minister would admit that when a subordinate officer of a Department came before the country, and publicly insulted his superior, it was time to dismiss him. It was for this the postmasters referred to were dismissed, otherwise they might have voted and worked against the Government as they pleased, as country postmasters had always been looked upon and considered as semi-official, not regular officers of the Government.

Mr. SCATCHERD said the right hon. member for Kingston stated that it was for insulting the Postmaster-General on the hustings these men were dismissed; if they had only worked or voted against the Government he would have said nothing against it. But the reasons he gave in Parliament for their dismissal were that they had voted and worked against the Government, and there was nothing said at that time about their insulting the Postmaster-General. At that time "he did not know whether they were postmasters or not, but if they were, and these persons worked and voted against the head of their Department they deserved to be dismissed."

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said if the hon. gentleman would follow it up he would find that it was discussed not only in the Legislative Assembly but in the Parliament, and the reasons there given.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it would be seen that at that stage of the proceedings the hon. gentleman was not aware even that the dismissed officials were postmasters, and now when the then Postmaster-General was not in the

House the right hon. gentleman was able to be acquainted with that of which he was ignorant at an earlier period of the transaction. He proposed to lay down a principle with regard to this case, and he says that these dismissed officials were postmasters, but it was for insulting the head of the Department, and not for voting and working against the head of the Department, that they were dismissed.

Mr. BIGGAR said he had it from Mr. Smith himself, who said the postmasters were dismissed for having taken a part against him in favor of Mr. Cockburn.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) said he was sorry the Postmaster-General was not in his place when he made the statement. What he then stated was that the principal witness against the late postmaster had been dismissed by the Local Government on a complaint for forgery.

The SPEAKER—That is not an explanation, and I must request the hon. gentleman to take his seat.

Mr. TUPPER thought it ought not to be forgotten that his hon. friend was taken at a great disadvantage by the absence of the Postmaster-General from his place at the time the statement was made. It was competent for the mover of a motion to reply to the response of the Government. His hon. friend had not an opportunity to reply to the Government in consequence of the absence of the Postmaster-General. In his second speech he had replied to the hon. member for Cape Breton; therefore his hon. friend was entitled to the reply he desired. But this case had assumed a very extraordinary phase. In response to the challenge given to the hon. gentlemen opposite to point out an instance in which the late Government dismissed an office-holder for political reasons, the hon. member for Middlesex had been compelled to refer to transactions that had occurred twelve or fourteen years ago. He found on the journals of the House a resolution offered by the Leader of the Opposition, when the late Government occupied the Treasury benches, declaring that it was a high crime and misdemeanor for any Min-

ister of the Crown to use the influence of his office in reference to elections. When that motion was made he challenged the hon. gentleman to point to a single instance in which they had dismissed an officer for political reasons. By their citing a case which had been buried in the rusty archives of the country for so many years, the Government confessed their inability to produce a single instance. Since these hon. gentlemen had been in power one case had occurred establishing that they used their power for the purpose of controlling elections. The hon. gentleman when he moved his resolution condemning the use of governmental influence in elections, stated that he did so because the inspector had threatened the postmaster with the loss of his office if he exercised his franchise against the existing Government. Times had changed since then; they went out of office and the hon. gentlemen went in. In his own country, before they retired from office, there was a person clamorous to have a contract taken from the parties who held it, and given to himself. He (Mr. Tupper) refused to do as requested, saying the Government had no power to do an act of injustice. During his election the power of the Postmaster-General was exercised against him, and the contract which he had been asked to transfer was given to the man who desired it. That man was formerly one of his (Mr. Tupper's) strongest supporters, and at the present time he was one of his most active opponents. It had been proved that the present Government had used the influence of their offices in other directions. In the Renfrew election it was proved that the Postmaster-General had used his influence on behalf of the Government candidate. This had not been done in one case only, but in many.

The case before the House was sufficiently clear for every one to come to a conclusion upon it. In the election that took place in Cape Breton, the postmaster and his son were threatened with and received dismissal. He found that both father and son would have sworn to the interference of the Government in the election had the revising barrister who tried the case

permitted them to give the testimony. These gentlemen when they were asked by the postmaster for the reason of his dismissal, told him he was a drunkard; and when he asked for the evidence, the Government said, "If you attempt to expose the Government we will strip you of your character." This was the tyranny exercised by the Government. The postmaster then asked on what authority his character was to be taken away. The man who it was said possessed the necessary evidence for that purpose was proved to be guilty of forgery, and it was upon such evidence that the character of the postmaster was to be taken away. Instead of giving the man a trial, as the Government was bound to do in view of the circumstances, they put him out of his office on the testimony of a man who was branded as a forger. The Government had no right to deal in such an unjustifiable manner with the dearest rights a man possessed, dearer than life itself—he did not speak of the office, which was insignificant—and injure not themselves only, but thereby affect the character and reputation of this Parliament. They should have at once restored Mr. McDougall to his office, and have prevented such an exposure. He was deeply gratified to observe that the hon. gentlemen were obliged to fall back upon the hon. member for West Middlesex; and he challenged the Government to show a single instance in which, for political reasons, a man had been deprived of his office by the late Administration.

Mr. ARCHIBALD directed the attention of the hon. member for Cumberland to an instance in this regard, which occurred within a much shorter period than the hon. gentleman had named. A postmaster in his county had been dismissed shortly subsequent to the elections of 1872; and during the Session of 1873 he moved for the papers. Previous to bringing them down, a discussion took place regarding the letter of Mr. Griffin. On that occasion, the hon. member for Cumberland, who acted for the Postmaster General in this House, stated that the dismissal had been due to the fact that this Postmaster had performed his duties by deputy; further, that a petition had

been presented praying for such action. This was very unfair on the part of the hon. member, as the latter at the time alone had any information in this regard in his possession, rendering an immediate reply impossible. The papers were brought down, and what proved to be the case? The postmaster, it was true, had performed his duties to a considerable extent by deputy, but this was done by three out of four of these officials throughout the country. As to the petition, to it were appended only fifteen or twenty signatures, comprising those of three persons, members of a single firm; one other of the signers received his mail at the office, and another did so, perhaps, only twice or thrice a year. The balance were obtained all over the township of Osnabruck, and with the exception of those mentioned, not one of these individuals obtained his mail matter at this office. They were, also, all adherents of the opposite political party. It was not claimed that the duties had been inefficiently performed; no complaints against the postmaster existed; and under these circumstances, it appeared to him, when was taken into consideration the remarkable coincidence that although this person had employed a deputy for several years, this was not objected to until after the elections of 1872, that this dismissal could only be ascribed to political causes.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) rose to make a personal explanation. The Premier had said that he had not moved in this matter previously, because he (Mr. McDonald) did not wish to, and because he was so prompted by his friends, and in the interest of his client. The facts were these: In 1874, when the notice was called, he explained that he had received information from the Postmaster-General which induced him to drop it, and did so. Last year, when it was called, he rose to make the motion, but was called to order by the Premier, an understanding, of which he was ignorant, having been reached between the First Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, that no argument was to take place that day on a notice of motion; and he wished above all things to make an explanation. When the mat-

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ter came up a second time it was towards the end of the Session, at six o'clock, and thereupon the Postmaster-General at once left his seat. As he (Mr. McDonald) did not wish to take action in the Postmaster-General's absence, he deferred it. On the third occasion the notice was reached at 8.30 o'clock; it was first on the list, and the Premier moved an adjournment of the House. Consequently he was unable to discuss the matter last year, and during the present Session he had seized the first opportunity to bring the question before Parliament. The Premier said that he (Mr. McDonald) had been prompted to abstain making the motion; this he denied, save to the extent that he was requested not to do so by the late Postmaster-General.

Mr. GALBRAITH stated that a postmaster in his county, who was not a drunkard, but an earnest member of a temperance society, and who had been for several years a warden of the county, had been dismissed from his office for political reasons by the late Administration, owing to the efforts of political opponents in the neighborhood. Strong feeling having existed amongst the Conservatives against this official, repeated attempts were consequently made to injure the man's character; and one person was, for connection with them, sentenced to serve a term in prison for the crime of perjury. Charges were made against the postmaster, and an investigation was held; none of them were, however, fully proven, shewing that the memories of the witnesses were either defective, or their evidence fabricated. The Government dismissed the postmaster on the report of the Inspector, though a petition in his favour, signed by nearly every man in the village had been presented; he moved for the papers, and the return included a very short report from the Inspector. He might say, that the postmaster had, in 1872, at a public meeting, controverted a statement made by a prominent Conservative, and was at the time threatened with dismissal.

When the change of Government took place, the gentleman in question brought the matter before the Admin-

istration; and on re-investigation, it was found that no ground existed for the action taken by the former Cabinet, and consequently he was reinstated and his interim successor, who was a very worthy person, dismissed. Last year a motion was made for the papers in this relation; and at the suggestion of the Postmaster General, all documents in this connection were brought down. It was then established that a very large portion—nearly the whole—of the report of the Inspector, to which he had referred, had been suppressed by the late Administration; and the party who made the motion, discovering that his position was untenable, at once let the matter drop.

Mr. COCKBURN said on the very evening three years ago when the hon. member for Stormont stated the case repeated again to-night, he (Mr. Cockburn) had mentioned a parallel case, the postmaster, at Gravenhurst having been dismissed without notice by the late Government. It was true he was absent, but he had a deputy in his place, and he would have attended if he had received notice.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said with respect to the case mentioned by the hon. member for North Lanark, he regretted exceedingly the hon. gentleman from South Lanark, who knew all the circumstances, was not present. However, the facts were easily understood from the statement now made. The charge brought against the postmaster, if true, would have been sufficient to deprive him of the confidence of the head of his Department. That charge was investigated by the Inspector, in the presence of the accused, and a report submitted to the Department on which the dismissal was based. Afterward the postmaster was restored by Mr. Macdonald, the first Postmaster-General in the present Government. The hon. member said the whole report was not brought down in 1873. Of course, he (Sir John) could not now say how that might be, but he was quite sure the Postmaster-General in his Government was not a man to garble a report of any kind. There was in this case a full investigation, and a report on which the Government acted.

Mr. MACKAY—The hon. member of Cumberland stated in his place that two barristers swore to the fact that in my election campaign I had threatened the Postmaster of Christmas Island with dismissal.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I stated we had it in evidence from the hon. gentleman's colleague that two respectable barristers had made affidavits they were prepared to prove the fact, and that when they brought forward their witnesses they were not allowed to speak.

Mr. MACKAY rose to speak but was called to order, having already spoken.

Mr. KERR rose for the simple purpose of doing an act of justice to an absent friend and highly respectable citizen of Canada. The right hon. member for Kingston was in error in saying it was either the postmaster of Bloomfield or Baltimore who had interrupted him and Mr. Smith on the hustings.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I do not remember what postmaster it was, but it was a postmaster.

Mr. KERR said these were the only two postmasters present; and if the right hon. gentlemen knew them as he (Mr. Kerr) did, he would be convinced they were incapable of the conduct charged against them.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) said his case had been investigated by one of the *ad hoc* judges, and subsequently taken before a full bench, and there argued for a considerable time; but none of the charges against him had been substantiated. He was amazed when he heard his hon. colleague made charges which he knew perfectly well had been thoroughly disposed of in the investigation which extended over some four months, and in which he (Mr. MacKay) had been accused of every crime in the political calendar. In that trial seventy or eighty witnesses were examined, and when the petitioner found he could not unseat him, he (the petitioner) and his counsellor made affidavit they believed they could prove something else against

him in connection with the dismissal of the postmaster at Christmas Island—a person that two witnesses on the stand swore they would not believe on oath, and one of whom swore he was not responsible for his acts or words. The statement of the hon. members for Cumberland and Kingston that the person who was appointed to the position of postmaster in Mr. McDougall's place, had been convicted of forgery, was without foundation whatever.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had merely called attention to a statement which he had heard for the first time in this discussion.

Mr. MACKAY said the next time the hon. gentlemen made statements on the authority of another, they should be prepared to substantiate them. He was not there to defend this person in any way, but he did not wish to hear him, being absent, maligned in such a manner. This matter was brought before the Election Court, where a number of witnesses were examined, and no inclination was shown by his hon. colleague and the petitions to refrain from pressing anything they could against him. This was no place in which a charge of such a kind should be made, but if the hon. member saw fit to do so, he would not have the slightest objection to its being referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, to be thoroughly investigated a second time. He was in a position not only to defend him there, but elsewhere, and he did not desire to screen himself from any investigation that might be made, so far as his election or the dismissal of the postmaster of Christmas Island were concerned. The earnestness with which the right hon. member for Kingston and the hon. member for Cumberland had taken up this matter, regarding which neither appeared to be very well informed, proved in his opinion, very conclusively, the truth of the adage that "Old smugglers make very good Customs' House officers."

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) replied that the conduct of the hon. member for Halifax did not surprise him any whatever. On another occasion he would refer to this matter. He

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did not imagine when he made the motion that the discussion would have assumed such proportions, but he had not expected that his hon. colleague would have made a speech in this relation. Having done so he was bound to respond; the argument of his hon. colleague was very disingenuous, and in fact the hon. member had sought to mislead the Speaker and the House.

Mr. SPEAKER—Order!

Mr. McDONALD withdrew this remark. His hon. colleague had alleged that if Mr. McDougall and his son had been able to prove what was affirmed, they would have been only too willing to do so. The inference was that they were not in a position to make such proof, and the House no doubt would be led to believe that they had been allowed to give their evidence. The fact was otherwise; the petition filed against the hon. gentleman charged him with intimidating certain Dominion officials, threatening them with dismissal unless they voted for him. The names of Mr. McDougall and his son were, however, not specially mentioned in the petition; and when they entered the witness box to prove that they had been menaced with dismissal—on the second day of the trial—objection was taken to the reception of the evidence, and the lawyers at once made an affidavit declaring that they were able to establish the accusation. They asked the judge for permission to state the charges specially in the petition, and this was refused on the same day—the second of the trial. The person who was recommended by his hon. colleague, and who was appointed to succeed Mr. McDougall, had been removed by the Local Government from the Commission of the Peace because he was guilty of perjury. The late Postmaster-General, to whom he had mentioned this matter, made enquiries of his hon. colleague, who corroborated his statement; and this was the cause of the cancellation of that appointment. This was the person to whom the hon. gentleman referred as having made a second affidavit.

The motion for adjournment being withdrawn, the motion of Mr. McDonald was carried.

ST. PETER'S CANAL.

The adjourned debate on the improvement of the St. Peter's Canal being called,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had requested Mr. Flynn to allow it to remain over until the Chief Engineer came home, and the hon. gentleman had consented.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER could not understand what the Chief Engineer had to do with this discussion. The contract had been let and was being prosecuted, and the question was with reference to the dimensions of the canal. He could scarcely imagine that the Hon. Public Minister having taken the responsibility of reducing the proposed dimensions was not prepared to make the statement. If this was a mere question of postponement he wished to address the House on the subject; but if the hon. First Minister expected the engineer, who was in Nova Scotia or somewhere else, he had no objection to give way.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman might take his own course. He would have nothing to say in the matter.

Mr. FLYNN said he was very desirous that the adjourned debate should be continued, but the Hon. Premier had expressed a wish that it should stand over until the engineer was here to give him some more information. He agreed to the arrangement, and as the engineer had not arrived and he could not get the information specified, he thought the matter should stand over.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he would call the order unless the hon. First Minister would state when he expected the engineer.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will not state anything of the kind.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then I ask that the order be called.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I shall move in amendment that the next order be taken up.

Mr. MASSON—I call the Speaker's attention to the fact that the hon. gentleman cannot make a motion when an hon. member is on his feet.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he was not at all surprised that the hon. First Minister was unwilling to discuss this question. The hon. gentleman and some of his colleagues seemed to have arrived at the conclusion that no one was interested in it except the hon. member for Richmond. As a member of this House and of a former Government which provided for the construction of St. Peter's Canal, and as one of the representatives of Nova Scotia and the Dominion, he felt a deep interest in the subject, and he thought before he sat down the House would come to the conclusion that the hon. gentleman had good reason for adopting the very extraordinary course he has pursued with a reference to this debate. On a previous occasion, the hon. gentleman wished it continued, because he wanted to make a statement, when the hon. member for Richmond was in his place, and subsequently he gave the House another reason—that some engineer was expected here, from whom he wished to procure some facts. The Province of Nova Scotia, provided for the construction of the canal under the impression that it was of great importance to the trade and business of the country. The canal was in an advanced condition at the time of the Union, and every measure was taken to press it forward. It was ultimately finished, and the predictions of many parties who were unable to value the work, were not realized. It was found that during 1871, no less than from 600 to 700 vessels and from 200 to 300 boats made use of the canal. The increase in the trade and business of the country demonstrated the dimensions of the canal were insufficient, and the hon. member for Charlevoix, then Minister of Public Works, directed a report to be made on its enlargement. An engineer of great ability recommended the enlargement of the canal to 50 feet in width and 15½ in depth; and the late Government were so convinced of the necessity of this improvement that they decided to ask for an appropriation for the work. The present Government came into power, and upon their shoulders devolved the public works undertaken by their predecessors; but they were apparently satisfied with the

possession of office, and came to the conclusion that all that the people required had already been achieved, and that it was of no consequence whether public works of the greatest importance were proceeded with or not. The hon. gentlemen opposite allowed the Session to pass without making any provision whatever for this improvement, except that in 1874 \$75,000 were voted for an estimated expenditure of \$250,000. The people naturally expected they were going to carry out this work; the Government had asked for this money, and it had been placed ungrudgingly at their service. But how did they perform the work? Not a blow was struck, and the entire season was allowed to pass with the money voted in their hands, and with the country pledged to the immediate prosecution of the work. In 1875, another Session having passed over and renewed pledges having been given to the people, tenders were invited on the 9th May; and he asked the Minister of Public Works, who had had this money in his hands between one and two years, why the call for tenders was delayed until then, everybody knowing that the summer season is the only time when such work should be undertaken? After the contractors had expended a large amount of time and money in examining the plans and specifications, nothing was done, and on the 5th of July amended plans were made and tenders were again invited. He wanted for a moment to draw the attention of the House to the power attempted to be exercised by the Minister of Public Works and by the Government in relation to this matter. What would hon. members say if, after the Government had received an appropriation for the widening and deepening of the Welland Canal in accordance with a certain plan, and had declared their intention of performing a certain amount of work, they had come back to the House and confessed they had made a contract on different plans from those agreed upon?

The House would observe that these tenders were invited before the Minister of Justice became a member of this Government, and that after he entered the Ministry these amended

plans and tenders cutting down and reducing this work to a depth of 14½ feet instead of 15½ feet and to 36 feet in width instead of 50 feet, were adopted. If there was a gentleman in this House, in this Ministry or in this country who was bound to protect the interests of Cape Breton against this alteration, and the cutting down of this work for which the money had been voted that man was the Minister of Justice. When that hon. gentleman was employed in the laudable work of destroying the Baie Verte Canal project he gave a solemn pledge to the members from the Maritime Provinces, when he was inducing the House to take away the appropriation of a million of dollars out of the estimates for the construction of this work, which it was claimed would cost five or six millions, he represented to the House and to his constituents that if the Maritime Provinces would consent to the abandonment of that project he would pledge himself that that money would be expended in other legitimate public works in the Maritime Provinces. He would read the hon. gentleman's statement from the Reports and see if he would say "hear! hear."

"Hon. Mr. Blake said that this item for the construction of an important public work—important especially in point of expense—had for a long time appeared in the estimates, and he regarded it as the settled policy of the country, which at any rate he was not prepared to dispute, that an equal amount, supposing the Baie Verte Canal should not be constructed, should be expended for some public purpose of national importance in the Maritime Provinces. He thought that the people of Ontario—he spoke only for his own constituency—would sustain him in the statement that it having been the settled policy of Parliament, for a considerable number of years, that a large expenditure should take place upon this work they would be agreeable if it were proved to be unreasonable or impracticable to carry such a work out, to an equal amount being expended in some other public works, in which the Dominion had an interest. Therefore, so far as he was concerned, speaking for his constituency, the only question he had to consider was whether that particular work was a fit one on which to expend the funds of the Dominion. Upon that question he did not express any opinion. He thought it would not be becoming in him to solve the question, which from the statement of the Leader of the Government, it appeared was not ripe for settlement, the necessary information to that end not being yet forthcoming. But it did seem to him,

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while he agreed to the expenditure of this sum of money on that or some other public work of national importance in that quarter, that he ought not to be called upon to agree to the expenditure of that amount of money on this public work, until there was a case before the House, on which Parliament could safely pronounce."

That was the statement upon which the hon. gentleman induced the Government to take a million dollars out of the estimates and vote \$20,000 for the Hon. John Young and other gentlemen to enjoy a pleasant summer excursion, while they were destroying by unjust means the construction of the Baie Verte Canal. How did the Hon. Minister of Justice carry out his pledge? The other day the member for Cape Breton brought up the question of the extension of the road from Canso to Louisburg, which would have the effect of bringing Montreal and New York very much nearer to Europe than was possible under any existing line. Did the Minister of Justice say he was prepared to sustain the Government in bringing forward a policy for the construction of this extension of the great railroad system of the country? No; not only did he say nothing in favour of aiding that important national work, but he turned his back on all his pledges, and when he had an opportunity to do justice to that section of the country, instead of availing himself of it, he sustained the Minister of Public Works in cutting down the work on the St. Peter's Canal without asking the consent of this House. In the history of the Parliament of Canada, from the hour it was formed until now, he challenged the Minister of Justice to show an instance in which such an outrage was attempted in the interference with an appropriation passed upon by the House. The principle was the same as if it had been applied to the Welland Canal after Parliament had decided that it should be enlarged to a certain size and the Minister of Public Works should take it upon himself to give out tenders for an enlargement on a smaller scale.

No Government had ever to face such a dereliction of duty and such contempt of Parliament, and it was no wonder that the hon. gentleman asked for the postponement of this question

until the engineer was present. But why did he want the engineer? That gentleman had staked his professional reputation on his report that the trade of the country required that the canal should be enlarged to a certain size. After taking nearly two years to consider the matter, the Government had adopted the report on the estimate submitted. These facts spoke for themselves. He did not think that there was an independent member on either side of the House who would sustain such a proceeding as this, and surrender the power entrusted to them by the people for the protection of the public interests. The history of the Parliament, and of the Governments of Canada, might be searched without finding a precedent for such a course as the Administration had adopted in this relation. He thought, as the Government had succeeded in having the plans and estimates for the enlargement of this canal amended, another year having passed without a blow being struck, it was due to the House and country that every effort should be made to obtain without delay the construction of this work according to the plans and specifications agreed upon by the House a year ago, but instead of that a contract had been made for this work on a reduced plan that will defeat the object and waste the money expenditure.

On the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Blake, the debate on this subject, was adjourned.

TRUST COMPANY OF CANADA.

Mr. WORKMAN moved the second reading of the Bill, entitled "An Act to incorporate the Trust Company of Canada.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD begged to point out to his hon. friend, that, owing to the similarity of this title with the designation of the "Trust and Loan Company," which had existed since 1844, great confusion and inconvenience would result if no change was made. He hope that his hon. friend would communicate this matter to the parties for whom he was acting.

Mr. WORKMAN replied, that he would take the earliest opportunity to do so.

The Bill was read the second time.

THE ROYAL ALBERT BRIDGE.

Mr. BABY moved the second reading of the Bill, entitled: An Act to incorporate the Royal Albert Bridge Company.

Mr. WORKMAN desired to have the second reading postponed, as very strong feeling existed against the Bill in the City of Montreal. Influential deputations intended to come up and oppose it.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON hoped that the battles which were to be fought in this connection, would be reserved for the Committee to witness, as it was very inconvenient to raise a discussion on the subject in the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE hoped his hon. friend from Joliette would observe that it was absolutely necessary, previous to the consideration of the Bill in Committee, that the plans and specifications should be produced showing how the work would affect navigation. The most minute particulars were to be explained, as this was a matter which required the most careful attention. He had noticed that the Harbour Commissioners and other authorities, with regard to the shipping interests of Montreal, were strongly opposed to the Bill. He did not mean to imply that he would oppose it, but he wished it understood that it would be imperatively requisite for its promoters to establish that such a bridge would not interfere with navigation.

Mr. BABY replied, that he would inform the promoters of the bill of these requirements.

The Bill was read a second time.

NATIONAL LOAN AND LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria), moved that the Bill, entitled: An Act to incorporate the National Loan and Life Assurance Company of Canada, be read the second time.

The motion was carried.

DOMINION NOTES.

The House, on motion of the Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT, went into Committee of the Whole to consider the fol-

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lowing resolution:—That it is expedient to provide that the Acts respecting Dominion Notes shall extend to the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, British Columbia and Manitoba respectively, and that said notes be a legal tender in the said Provinces as in the other provinces of the Dominion.—Mr. Young in the Chair.

The resolution being adopted the Committee rose and reported.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved for leave to introduce a Bill founded thereon.

Mr. PLUMB complained that the circulation of notes of small denominations was unduly restricted; he understood that they were retained by the banks; and he asked the Finance Minister whether the circulation could not by some means be renewed.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT stated in reply that for several months old and mutilated notes were being called in and cancelled; this was proceeding actively, and they were doing their best to get new notes into circulation. As his hon. friend well knew, the banks were not disposed to permit them to leave their hands; practical difficulties were met in endeavouring to get them out of these institutions, but they were making every effort to succeed in this connection.

MR. THOMPSON (Cariboo) called attention to the fact that there were very few one and two dollar bills in circulation in British Columbia, especially in the interior.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the measure was introduced for relieving that stringency in the several provinces.

Mr. BOWELL said the great difficulty was in reference to the small-note circulation. It was desirable that the Hon. Finance Minister should devise some means to enforce their circulation, as the banks were determined to hold the small notes.

Mr. THOMPSON (Welland) said he was glad the necessities of the country were bringing the members of the House to think upon the subject. What the country required was a currency independent of the mercantile system,

and one that would prevent the continual recurrence of panics.

A bill founded on the resolution was then introduced.

COUNTY COURT JUDGES IN NOVA
SCOTIA.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of a Bill to provide for the salaries of County Court Judges in the Province of Nova Scotia, and for other purposes.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD asked for an explanation of the Bill.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was the same Bill as that introduced by him last Session.

Mr. SINCLAIR hoped the Bill would pass, and trusted that the Hon. Minister of Justice would bring down a Bill this Session putting the County Court Judges of Prince Edward Island on an equality with other County Court Judges in the Dominion. These judges had been in office nearly three years, and they would be disappointed if their salaries were not readjusted this Session.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the House was, no doubt, aware of the circumstances under which the County Court Judgeships were established in Prince Edward Island. Prior to Confederation the salaries of the County Court Judges were raised to \$2,000 a year, at a time when the Superior Court Judges were receiving only \$1,900 a year. After Confederation, the salary of the Chief Justice was raised from \$1,900 to \$3,000 a year, and the salaries of the Puisne Judges were raised to \$2,500. In the same Act it was proposed to arrange the salaries of the County Court Judges so that they should not be less than \$1,000 nor more than \$2,000 a year. He was informed that the functions of County Court Judges were comparatively limited. In Prince Edward Island there was one County Court Judge to every 33,000 of the population, whereas in Nova Scotia there was only one to every 60,000 of the population. He merely made these observations to show that there were reasons why the rule of equality suggested by his hon. friend could not be applied in considering the salaries of the judges of any particular place.

He thought his hon. friend would agree that it would hardly do to give County Court Judges enjoying a limited jurisdiction, with a comparatively small amount of work, a salary within one hundred dollars of that given to a Puisne Judge of the Superior Court. He would say that he did not himself think that the judicial salaries in several parts of the Dominion were on a satisfactory footing. He would say at this juncture as he had said in reply to applications the Government had received from all parts of the Dominion on the subject, that it was his purpose to give a full and careful consideration to the position of all judicial salaries during the recess. As to what the result of that consideration might be, or as to what he might suggest to his colleagues, or what their determination might be was entirely a matter for the future. He would say generally that this was not a time when it was very easy or proper for the Government to propose to increase salaries. He felt that the financial condition of the country was not such as to enable them to do that which they otherwise might not be unwilling to do in this direction.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE said he was glad to hear that the salaries of the judges were to be considered, and called particular attention to the judgeships of Saguenay, Gaspé and Bonaventure, the salaries of which required revision.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Can the hon. gentleman state whether they have an equal amount of work?

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE—The hon. gentleman is in a better position to know than I am.

The Bill then passed through Committee of the Whole (Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair), and was read the third time and passed.

THE SUPREME COURT.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of the Bill to make further provision in regard to the Supreme Court and Exchequer Court of Canada. He said he did not intend to ask to have it referred to Committee of the Whole on this occasion. He proposed to introduce some additional amendments, and with a view to giving the

House 'an opportunity to consider them, he would put them on the notice paper.

The Bill was read the second time.

THE SUPERANNUATION ACT.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that the House go into Committee to consider the following resolution:—That it is expedient to provide that the provisions of the Canada Civil Service Act, 1868, and any Acts amending the same, and of the "Act for better ensuring the efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada, by providing for the superannuation of persons employed therein in certain cases," and any Acts amending the same, shall extend and apply to the officers, clerks and servants of the Supreme Court of Canada and of the Exchequer Court of Canada, at the seat of Government.—Carried.

The House went into Committee,—Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER wished to know whether the public officers from whose salaries the Government deducted a certain per centage on account of the superannuation fund, were entitled on having their offices abolished or their services dispensed with in any other way than by dismissal, to an allowance.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the law on that subject was on the statute book. There was a special provision in case of the abolition of their offices. It was permissive, not imperative.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he wished to take this opportunity to draw attention to cases of great hardship.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT suggested that it would be better to do so in the discussion on the estimates.

The resolution was reported without amendment and referred to the Committee on Bill No. 22.

EXTENSION OF ACTS TO PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

The House went into Committee to consider the following resolution:—That it is expedient to extend the Act 33 Victoria, chapter 47, respecting weights and measures, and the Act 38 Victoria, chapter 36 respecting the marking of casks containing merchantable liquids with their respective capacity, and the Act 36 Victoria,

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chapter 48, to provide for the inspection of gas and gas meters, to the Province of Prince Edward Island, including in such extension the powers given to the Governor in Council to make tariffs of fees for services performed in carrying the said Acts into effect; and to repeal such Acts of the Legislature of the said Province as may be inconsistent with the said Acts.

The resolution was reported without amendment.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD wished to know why all the Dominion laws were not extended to Prince Edward Island as to the other provinces. It was desirable that there should be uniformity in this respect.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied it was not well to make too sudden changes. These laws should be extended gradually to the Province. He introduced a bill founded on the resolution.

The bill was read the first time.

THE GRANT TO MANITOBA.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the House go into Committee to consider the following resolution:—That under the circumstances appearing in the Minute of Council of 26th October, 1875, upon the finances of the Province of Manitoba, laid before the House, it is expedient that Canada should pay as a temporary annual grant to that Province the sum of \$26,746.96 yearly by semi-annual instalments, being the amount necessary in order to raise its revenue derivable from Canada to \$90,000. Such grant to commence from the 1st day of July, 1875, and to continue until the close of the year 1881.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested as this was an important measure, it should be allowed to stand over.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the resolution could be adopted, and the discussion could take place on the second reading of the Bill.

The House then went into Committee on the Bill, which was reported and the report concurred in.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE introduced a Bill founded on the resolution, which was read the first time.

The House adjourned at Eleven o'clock, p. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 10, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—To incorporate the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company.

Mr. OLIVER—Respecting the Canada Southern Bridge Company.

Mr. BLAIN—To Incorporate the National Trust and Investment Company of Canada. (Limited.)

Mr. DOMVILLE—To incorporate the Chartered Bank of London and North America.

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of the Bill to make more effectual enquiry into the existence of corrupt practices at elections of members.

The motion was carried.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Bill, Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

The first section was agreed to.

Upon the second section

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said that the practical operation of this Act had been that so soon as the sitting member was willing to give up his seat the proceedings necessarily terminated, because there was no one to carry them on against. It appeared to him that there ought, in the first instance, to be some means provided for an investigation in cases where the Judge believed corruption had prevailed extensively, even if the sitting member abandoned his seat, with a view of preventing an enquiry into the circumstances of the election.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said there were inconveniences and difficulties on both hands. It was not until within the last two or three years that any writ could issue except by order of the House. Complaints were made from the benches opposite as to the practical operation of the present law. It was pointed out the public were interested in having a searching investigation into electoral corruption. He had

never denied the justice of this observation, at the same time that he had expressed the opinion it was impossible to compel petitioners to proceed if they did not wish to, and even if they could be compelled it would be unlikely to do good, while it would involve large expense on private individuals for a public end. If this was regarded as impracticable or impolitic, some other means must be adopted, and the only way was by some such proceeding as he proposed in this Bill. There was another alternative—instead of adopting the English rule it could be made the duty of the Governor in Council, upon such reports, to at once issue a commission of enquiry. It might be more expeditiously done in that way; but looking at the comparatively short time between the general election as a rule, and the meeting of the House, there was no necessity for it. Very soon after the first meeting of Parliament the question would be considered. It might, if expedient, stay the issue of the writ or not until an investigation was had. He thought it was of high importance there should be some means of pointing out to a whole constituency, where extensive corruption was practiced, that it must suffer. This was not new—it was an old and wholesome law. He submitted these clauses to the House, and would accept any suggestions to improve them, in the spirit they were made.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said this clause would leave them in a worse position than before they had the Controverted Elections Act. Prior to that a sworn tribunal, drawn by ballot to avoid party predominance on the Committee, tried the case. That was found unsatisfactory because it was impossible to divest members, sitting in antagonism to each other, from being influenced by party feeling. This proposition would lead to something a thousand times worse. It threw back into this House the question, to be decided by an unsworn tribunal, whether a writ should issue.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE would be very sorry indeed to be the introducer of the system of trying controverted elections by this House. The suggestion of the

hon. member was not without weight, but he could not see how a constituency could be punished after wide-spread corruption except by refusing to issue a writ.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD called attention to the last part of this clause. It empowered the Judge, in case he had reason to believe the petitioner and respondent had collusively agreed to hush up the corrupt practices of the former, to report that an enquiry should be made into the case. It seemed to be scarcely fair to punish the whole constituency and cast a stain upon it, because the Judge reported that there was collusion between the sitting member and the unsuccessful candidate to hide corrupt practices.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE, to avoid all possibility of doubt, suggested the following addition: Further enquiry as to whether corrupt practices have extensively prevailed is desirable.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That will do.

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria) thought that a constituency should not be disfranchised for a single corrupt act the part of an indiscreet supporter, which would be the effect of the Bill in its present form. A member who supposed his election was purely conducted might discover that such an act had been committed, the hiring of a team, for instance; and, unwilling to incur the expense of a contestation, might abandon the seat. The Judge might be under the impression that further enquiry was desirable, though under such circumstances the constituency should not be disfranchised.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—My hon. friend will remember that the Judge would have before him, the witnesses who would be examined.

Mr. CAMERON—But there would be only a single act.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—He would judge from the evidence before him, and the surrounding circumstances.

Mr. CAMERON—But the Judge will not have the materials upon which to form an opinion.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—If he has he reports positively.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked whether his hon. friend did not feel that placing the Judge in the position of making a report to Parliament under such circumstances would not be a reflection on him, Parliament being authorized to consider the Judge's conduct? After a general election, there might be 20, 30, or 40 controverted elections, and if no writ was issued until the House met, so many constituencies would then be unrepresented. Our Parliament only first sat for a short period, and if cases were to be tried over again within its Session one-half or two-thirds of the Session might be lost before there could be a return.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the reconsideration of the first clause; also, that "whether" be inserted after "to" in the 11th line, and the words "have extensively prevailed," after "practices," in the 12th line; further, that a similar alteration be made in the second clause, 20th line. He observed that he would consider before the Bill reached its next stage whether the suggestion of his hon. friend from Cumberland should be adopted.

Mr. BABY—I think it would be preferable, instead of "or" in the second clause, 15th line, to insert "and that."

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There may be two findings, that such practices have prevailed, or that he has reason to believe that this is the case. This provides for both.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD observed that there was a good deal in what had been said by his hon. friend from Cumberland.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE did not think that any reflection would in this relation, be cast upon the Judge; the House must determine whether a commission—the main object of the report—should issue or not.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK held that this was sufficient punishment for the constituency. It did not say that there should be a delay for the whole Session or a long period, and he did not think that any reflection would be cast upon the Judge.

The first and second clauses being adopted,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE proposed, that the third clause be amended by inserting "whether" after "to," and "have extensively prevailed" after "practices" in the 32nd line.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness) stated that it was the intention to give to the petitioner a certain number of days after the presentation of the petition, previous to the publication in the *Canada Gazette* of the return. The word "then" in the 1st line on the 2nd page, referred, he presumed to the date of publication in the *Gazette*.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE--No; it refers to the 60 days.

Mr. MACDONNELL--"During that time" would be better.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE---No! no!

Mr. MACDONNELL--If, for instance, the House was in Session only for one or two days after the publication of the *Gazette*, and if the petition was not presented within this time, there would be no opportunity afterwards.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE--I will make a change to meet my hon. friend's views.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER remarked that the 2nd and 3rd clauses were open to very great objection. When a Judge in a county tried the case, a great advance had been made in arriving at the facts, and he could not see why the investigation could not be continued at the time. If a party abandoned his seat, it was true that he could not be compelled to proceed, but he (Mr. Tupper) would suggest whether the Judge could not be authorized to report, and a person be appointed immediately for the purpose of taking up the investigation. A Commission would have to do the same thing; and if the course he proposed were adopted, a great deal of time and expense would be saved, avoiding all the difficulties to which attention had been drawn, as to the disfranchisement of a constituency for a considerable portion of the term of Parliament.

Then he objected to the appointment of revising barristers. If they were to have a Commission from which they were to expect an entirely impartial consideration of the subject, they must select persons acting under

some responsibility as the Judges of our Courts. The manner in which revising barristers had conducted inquiries under the Controverted Elections Act, in Nova Scotia, had been eminently unsatisfactory. And he thought a great and important advance had been made in getting the trial of controverted elections into the hands of the judiciary. He would view with great regret the adoption of a measure that would take a retrograde step and place these enquiries in the hands of revising barristers.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE had no doubt that the general observations of the hon. gentleman were well grounded in reference to the expediency of having these investigations as far as possible by judges. But in introducing the Bill he pointed out that it might occur that these investigations would require attention when the judicial staff of the county were so far engaged with the regular judicial business of the county that they could not devote any attention to them. This matter, however, was left with the House in granting the address to refer the investigation to the Judge of the Supreme Court, the Provincial Judges, or to one or more persons, to be named in the address to be Commissioners. But it might be that upon the occasion of a general election the ordinary judicial functions of the county judges would be such that it would be impossible for them to discharge that duty without disorganizing the ordinary administration of justice. It was with a view of meeting this difficulty that he proposed to increase the facility of constituting the necessary tribunals. When the application for the address was made to the House it could then be determined whether the case should be referred to Judges or a Commission.

Mr. DEVLIN said he was in a position to state that the Judges of the District of Montreal found it almost impossible to discharge their ordinary duties, together with the additional duties imposed upon them under the election law. He thought the same might be said with regard to the District of Quebec. If the Judges of Montreal were required to do this

work in addition to their present duties, their numbers would have to be increased, or else the public justice in other matters must be neglected. The matter was one of great importance, and it was only right that the Minister of Justice should see that the Judges were not placed in a position in which they could not discharge the duties imposed on them.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD regarded this as a very important measure, and at the same time hoped the enquiries under this Act would not be very numerous. He did not think the measure would throw a great burden on the judiciary, and was of opinion that the investigations should be conducted by Judges only. In this way the confidence of the country would be retained in the final decisions arrived at. If it were subsequently proved that the evils existed to such an extent that the Judges could not conduct the enquiries, then the Bill might be amended. Then if the law remained as it was it might be imputed to the Government that they were desirous of promoting the enquiry by Commissioners. He was quite sure an imputation of that kind would be unfounded, but such imputations were made, and he thought it would be advisable to refer the cases to Judges only. Another point in the Bill was that an enquiry might be made on the petition of a certain number of electors. There ought to be some check on this. There was very little difficulty in getting up a petition for the purpose of having an imputation on a party election, and gratifying political feeling. The names of the electors should be verified in some way, and it should be proved that they were *bona fide* electors.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said that no difficulty had been experienced in England. With regard to verification, if the House had any doubt as to the genuineness of the signatures the matter could be remedied by any person bringing the matter up to the House. He was inclined to make the number of signatures required to the petition 35.

With regard to the other, it would be remembered if fortune smiled on the

Mr. DEVLIN.

occupants of the Treasury Benches in Toronto and in Ottawa, the elections for Ontario and the Dominion would take place about the same time. It would not be at all unlikely that the House might be obliged to resort to Commissioners, the Judges having more cases to try than they could attend to.

After some further discussion

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved to amend the 1st line on the second page by inserting the words "at the expiration of 60 days."

The motion was carried.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said if the members of this House were not allowed to be barristers, neither should the members of the Local Legislature. If anything the latter were more extreme partizans than the former.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was copied from the English Act. He moved that the words "being members of Parliament or" be struck out.

The motion was passed and the resolution as amended was agreed to.

The clauses from 3 to 7 inclusive were agreed to.

On clause 8,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved to strike out the work "then," and add after the word "sitting" the following:—"at the expiration of said period of fourteen days."

The motion was carried, and the clause was agreed to.

Clauses 9 to 13 inclusive were agreed to without discussion.

The 12th and 13th clauses were adopted without any amendment.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he would not move the 14th clause, as the resolution had not passed through Committee.

The 15th clause was carried without amendment, and the Committee rose and reported progress and asked leave to sit again.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the House in Committee to consider the following resolution, Mr. Scatcherd in the chair:—

That it is expedient to provide that it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to order the payment of the necessary expenses of any enquiry under the Bill (No. 14) intituled: "An Act to provide for more effectual

enquiry into the existence of corrupt practices at elections of members of the House of Commons," and that every Commissioner not being a Judge shall be paid at the conclusion of the enquiry, besides his travelling and other expenses, such sum as shall be fixed by the Governor in Council; and that every Commissioner shall, after the making of the report by the said Bill directed, lay before the Governor in Council a statement of the number of days he has been actually employed in the enquiry, together with an account of his travelling and other expenses; and that in any payment by this resolution authorized shall be made out of any money which may be provided by Parliament for the purposes of Commissions issued under the said Bill.

Mr. DEVLIN said before this resolution was adopted, he desired to ask the Minister of Justice if any additional compensation was to be afforded to the Judges of Quebec, who might be called upon to give effect to this law. He asked this question, because under the Act of 1873 some provision was made for the remuneration of Judges, but under the Act of 1874, that provision was not allowed. He held it would only be common justice that these gentlemen should receive some remuneration for the additional labour it would impose upon them. It ought to be a liberal remuneration for the Judges of Quebec, who now received a wretched salary—so small that it would be lowering the dignity of the judiciary to make it public. The Minister of Justice was a leading barrister in this country, and it was to be hoped he would see his way before long to adopt some measure to relieve our Judges from the unfair position they now occupy in this respect. They were not paid as much as bank clerks, or as magistrates in the neighbouring Province, considering the importance of the duties they were called upon to discharge under the law as it is now.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he did not think it a sound principle that any such claim for extra pay should be set up by Judges in consequence of the Statutes giving them some additional duties. The general rule ought to be

understood, that the country should pay the Judges adequately for reasonable time occupied in the discharge of the duties of the judicial office. It was known that every new Statute, or almost every new Statute that was passed, involved some fresh labour for the Judges. It was only the other day an Act was passed imposing additional duties on County Court Judges, and the House was constantly passing Acts which directly or indirectly added to the labours of the judiciary. There was one point in the remarks of the hon. gentleman from Montreal Centre to which he was responsive. He believed there were some instances in which the judicial salaries were inadequate; he spoke of no Judge in particular, and under these circumstances it might be a question for the House to consider at a future day whether they should make any change; but he did not think that change ought to be by specific remuneration for some specific duties of the work of the Judge. The House had placed upon the Statute Book a provision that the Judges of the Supreme Court shall not hold any other office or commission of profit under the Crown. A somewhat similar provision existed at one time respecting the Superior Court Judges of Lower Canada. It was under this that the case of Judge Johnson was brought before the notice of Parliament when he was appointed to another office in Manitoba. He believed that this was a sound general rule, and he did not propose to add to the remuneration of Judges for any service they might be called upon to render under this Statute.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he concurred entirely in the views of the hon. member for Montreal Centre that the Judges should be better paid, and that they should have precisely the same remuneration as a Commissioner. He feared that if the Act provided for Commissioners, when the work could not be done by Judges, and that the Judges were not paid for this extra work, the whole of this service would have to be performed by the Commissioners; to obtain this service from the Judges it should be provided that they be paid the same as Commissioners.

Mr. PALMER said it would be a wrong principle to give extra pay, for the result would be that a Judge would distribute his extra work among other Judges in order to get this extra work with extra pay. He would like to see the Judges better paid, but not in this way, and he hoped the Minister of Justice would not introduce the principle into this measure.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD agreed with the Minister of Justice. It was highly desirable that the Judges should be better paid for their services, and the Local Legislatures should see that they were not overworked. There was an additional reason why the Minister of Justice should confine this work to Judges if he could see his way to do so. When the Judges found that this extra work would take them away from home and they would only have their travelling expenses paid, there would be strong representations from them that really the business of their several Courts would keep them at home, and it would throw all this work upon special Commissioners which was in the highest degree undesirable.

Mr. DEVLIN wished it to be understood in bringing this matter under the notice of the Committee as he had done, he did not accuse the Judges of Quebec of a desire to shirk any additional duty that might be imposed upon them by the law of the land because it would not give them additional pay. He entertained a higher opinion of the Judiciary of Quebec than to think so, and he would not have referred to it all if he thought the judicial salaries were consistent with the dignity of the office. They were not paid as well as the Judges of Ontario because, he was informed, the Judges of this Province received an annual sum from the Local Legislature in addition to salaries paid them by the Dominion Government. No such additional salary was received from the Local Legislature of Quebec by the Judges of that Province, and his opinion was that no such pay should be received from Local Legislatures under the circumstances.

Mr. PALMER complained that the Judges in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were insuf-

ficiently paid. He thought that Judges who performed the same character of work should, throughout the Dominion, be paid the same salary.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE replied that salaries depended upon the circumstances of Provinces and their judicial systems. The system and organization in Quebec were different to those in Ontario, and it was impossible to compare the position of these Judges, without regard to many circumstances which could not well be taken into account in debate. He was informed, on good authority, that the work in Quebec was not properly distributed, as in the country districts the Judges had little or nothing to do. One had only one case before him during a year; a second, only two cases during the same period.

Mr. SCHULTZ urged that the position of the Judges in Manitoba should be considered; the cost of living, fully one-half greater than in Ontario, should also be remembered in this relation, while their duties were as important as were the duties performed by their confreres in the other Provinces.

The Committee rose and reported, and the amendments were concurred in.

INSOLVENT BANKS.

The Bill intituled "An Act to make provision for the winding up of Insolvent Incorporated Banks," was read a second time.

LAW RESPECTING INDIANS.

The House, on motion of the Hon. Mr. LAIRD, went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Mills in the chair, to consider the Bill intituled "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians."

Mr. SCHULTZ remarked that the width of the roads mentioned was fixed at one chain; it was well known that in a prairie country the roads were made one chain and one-half wide, in order to prevent their being blocked by snow drifts in winter. He suggested, that as elsewhere in that region, the width be so ordered in this instance.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained that the clause in question, applied to the settled belt on the Red and Assiniboine Rivers,

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where many holdings had narrow frontages. These roads ran back through these holdings, and were the width made $1\frac{1}{2}$ chains little would be left comparatively speaking. Under these circumstances the change suggested would be impolitic. He was speaking in the interest of the occupants of these lands.

Mr. SCHULTZ said as regards the first clause in the Bill he was surprised to find the width of the proposed road allowance fixed at one chain, when all the other Dominion road allowances were one chain and a half. He believed that roads less than one chain and a half would be found practically useless, and he trusted that the hon. Minister of the Interior would alter the resolution to that effect. When the question of the system of surveys for the North West was under discussion in the House three or four years ago, he had himself represented that it was found in a prairie country that when roads were only one chain in width and the country became settled and fenced, that the snow drifted the road full and rendered it useless for purposes of travel. The original Hudson Bay Company survey had made the main road allowance two chains, for the reasons he had stated, and therefore it was not well to make a road which was parallel with this, and might be very much used, less than one chain and a half in width. He would strongly urge that this should be done or else the road would be useless.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said his hon. friend for Lisgar had stated that one-chain roads were too narrow and ought to be at least a chain and a half. He thought the suggestion of the hon. member should be adopted. Land could not be so valuable as to necessitate the spoiling of the road, and a chain and a half was not very wide.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) thought it would be a great hardship on some people if the outer roads were not more than a chain.

Mr. BANNATYNE said a road less than a chain and a half would be useless in their country.

Mr. LAIRD saw no objection to making the rear roads a chain and a half, but he would object to the en-

largement of the other roads. The land was valuable, and it did not seem advisable to take up any more of it than was necessary in the construction of these roads.

On the suggestion of Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD the resolutions were amended so as to make the width of the outer roads one chain and a half, the width of the longitudinal roads remaining unchanged.

Mr. SCHULTZ, in speaking on the first clause of the Bill, said before he had only looked at it from a public point of view, and the latter part of the first clause made him look at it from the standpoint of the present owners of the land from which this road allowance was to be taken. He felt that the power proposed to be given to the Government to take this land at a fixed price of one dollar and a half an acre was most unfair. In scarcely any part of Manitoba, on the River Belt, was land so low in value as one dollar and a half per acre, while near Winnipeg and elsewhere it was worth twenty or thirty times as much. He would like to see the latter part of the first clause left out entirely, and a fair value to be fixed in a manner fair to the Government and to the individual. He thought that any other way would be a great hardship, and he (Mr. Schultz) begged the hon. promoter of the Bill to reconsider this point of the first resolution before the matter came before the House again.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the roads would be a great convenience to the farmers, and especially those whose farms the roads ran between, and the Government did not regard it as advisable to change the amount of compensation fixed upon.

The resolutions as amended were adopted.

The Committee rose and reported the resolutions as amended.

The report was concurred in.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD, after a brief discussion, introduced a Bill founded on the resolutions.

AFTER RECESS.

Bill to amend the Act incorporating "Le Credit Foncier du Bas Canada" was read the second time.

SUPPLY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the House go into Committee of Supply.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I rise to move the amendment of which I gave notice the other night. In making this motion, as a sense of duty compels me, I do it without any hope of being able to secure the expression of a majority of this House in support of it. The declared policy of the Government and the support which it has received from the House utterly precludes me from having any expectation of success with my motion. The course of the Government and the declaration of its policy compel me to believe that no resolution in favour of the protection of any of the great industries—be they manufacturing, mining, or agricultural—will meet with the sanction of this House. In the first place, the country and this House had a right to expect that a different course would have been pursued. It was announced by the newspapers supposed to be in the confidence of the Government, that there would be a change in the tariff. In the *Globe*, which if not the avowed organ is the confidential supporter of the present Government, it was announced a new tariff would be introduced and to what extent the change was to take place. Then we had the statement of the hon. member for Montreal West, who was of the opinion that the Government had authorized him to make the declaration to his constituents that there was to be an alteration of the tariff in the direction his constituents desired and required, in the way of increased protection to manufacturing industries. We had the statement of several delegations that waited on the members of the Administration, and especially the financial member of it, that they left him with the belief and on the understanding and expectation they were promised an alteration of the tariff to the protection of their manufactures. I do not mean to say—it would be unparliamentary for me to do so after the statements made by the Finance Minister and the Premier—that such promises were made, but it is

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quite clear from the opinions formed and inferences drawn by intelligent men who understood what they heard, they left the hon. gentleman with that belief, and the country generally had a right to expect this subject was to be fully dealt with this Session. All those expectations have been, however, set aside for ever. All hope has been lost. The manufacturers of this country now know their fate. They know they have no hope of aid in their distress or encouragement for the future. The Head of the Government also contributed—unwillingly, no doubt—to confirm the belief that the tariff would be increased. His bringing out the hon. member for Montreal West to be the candidate for that constituency; his speeches at Sarnia, Halifax and Montreal itself; his allowing, without immediate contradiction, my hon. friend from Montreal West in his candidature (he being the avowed and favoured candidate of the Premier) to make such statements as he did—the country had a right to expect there would be a change. I say all hope is gone after the declaration made to the House by the Premier and the Finance Minister. The hon. leader of the Government diminished the importance, and denied the alleged direction and scope of his assurances, and he returns in this House to his original and long-declared opinion, pronounced in the most formal manner in his speeches in England and Scotland. He returned to his first love, and not only announced there was to be no alteration in the tariff and no assistance given to our manufacturers, but he assailed the very ground upon which they fairly applied for relief and almost ridiculed their pretensions; and while he treated their application for assistance with opposition he treated those of the agriculturists, I might almost say with contempt; added to this, we heard the rapturous plaudits with which the *pronuncia-mento* of the hon. member for North York was greeted. The whole Ministerial party cheered him to the echo, when he announced that the Reform party, the Liberal party, of which the Government are the exponents and administrators, had nailed their colours to the mast, to the principle of free-trade, absolute, unconditional

free-trade, under all circumstances, connecting it with the other great principles of which this party are the avowed champions in this country, in England and elsewhere. Then our manufacturers and agriculturists knew perfectly well that under no circumstances could they, or had they any right to expect any assistance, any countenance, any encouragement, any support from the present Administration, or from those acting with them, giving them their support and adherence. However, I felt it to be my duty to bring this subject once more before this House and the country. I have no hope that there will be a vote of the majority in favour of the proposition I shall submit; I have no hesitation in saying that the resolution will be lost and defeated by a considerable majority; but it will be on the records of this Parliament, and it will be for the country hereafter to judge between the two parties as to whether the principle of coming forward and aiding, under the particular circumstances of this crisis, our manufacturing and commercial interests be the correct one, or whether it be the principle the Ministerial party has proclaimed—that of treating their claims for assistance with neglect and with indifference, so that they can have no hope for aid from this Government or this Parliament, but must trust to their own efforts to meet all their difficulties as best they may, unencouraged, uncountenanced and alone.

The motion I make will have at least another great advantage; it will enable, for instance, my hon. friend from Lincoln another opportunity of showing his great interest in the development of the manufactures of the Dominion. My hon. friend from Brant will also have another occasion for establishing how profoundly he is interested in the welfare and encouragement of these industries and the interests of our farmers and agriculturists.

My hon. friend from Lincoln made an admirable speech. I cannot refer to its details, but I may allude to the fact that he did make a speech, and an admirable speech it was; it convinced me. An old Scotch baronet, a friend and life-long supporter of William Pitt, who was asked if he had ever

heard a speech in his life that had changed his opinion said—"I have heard many a speech which changed my opinion, but I never heard a speech that changed my vote." My hon. friend has improved on the old Scotch baronet, because although he himself spoke for the purpose of convincing others that the Government were wrong in failing to protect the various interests he mentioned, his affection for the Administration, his desire to keep them in power, and his warmth of devotion towards the hon. gentleman at its head, made him—though he convinced others by unanswerable and unanswered arguments, that a reasonable protection to our manufacturers ought to be given—vote against the proposition that the Government ought to have done so. I can well understand the difficulty of the hon. gentleman between Polly and Lucy—between comedy and tragedy—and like Hogarth's picture, between Protestant and Catholic Doxy. The hon. gentleman yielded, however, to the seductions of my hon. friend the leader of the Government, and having spoken one way, voted another. Perhaps the hon. gentleman was expressing his own candid opinion; perhaps not. That hon. member made a speech at a particular time, just before the local elections for the County of Lincoln, and perchance it was not so much for the purpose of announcing his own views as of endeavouring to avert from himself the fate of the late lamented Mr. Neelon. However that may be, Sir, we have yet to deal with these questions, and I shall propound this resolution. I did not intend to occupy the attention of this House very long, because this subject had been discussed at some length, and a great many hon. members on both sides of the House have expressed their various opinions upon it. I remark sir, with respect to my resolution, which has been printed, that the *Globe* states it is not specific enough, that it is vague, and that it is too general. I am surprised, Mr. Speaker, that an able and experienced journal should be so ignorant of constitutional principle, constitutional practice, and constitutional propriety, as to expect the Opposition to assume the functions

of the Government of the day, and prepare a counter-tariff. If, Mr. Speaker, the Administration had come down with a revision of the tariff, and made certain propositions, then it might be proper, possibly, and expedient, perhaps, to present counter proposals; but when the announcement is made that the tariff is not to be interfered with, and that we are to go on as we were before, then no opposition could take such a position, unless they had access to sources of information which can only be found in the Departments—in the pigeon holes in the office of the Minister of Finance—and with full knowledge of these circumstances and *connaissance de cause*, could they present to the House and the country a well prepared scheme to meet the existing condition of the country. So Sir, I—as my hon. friend from Montreal West did the other day—have been obliged, in obedience to constitutional and Parliamentary propriety, to assert the principle which is involved in my resolution, in the general terms in which it was expressed.

I stated that while the Government seemed to treat the claims of the manufacturers with indifference, they treat the claims of those who urge the claims of the agriculturists with actual contempt and ridicule. My hon. friend at the head of the Government stated that he heard no requests on the part of the farmers of Ontario, and especially those of the County of Lambton, for any reciprocity of tariffs with the United States, and he said that was because they were an intelligent constituency. I have no doubt of their intelligence, Sir; they have shown that by selecting and supporting my hon. friend, and to their credit it is that they elected him as their representative, and enabled him to obtain the position he so worthily holds, but which he would infinitely more worthily hold had he other opinions as to the necessity of coming forward at this moment to the relief of the country in its exigency and need.

I should like to say a few words about the agriculturists, because the previous discussions were principally on the manufacturing interests. I shall not assert on their part that they come here *in forma pauperis*, or that

they are suffering from distress or pecuniary difficulty. I am not going to say anything of the kind; no man could truthfully say that the farmers cannot live in comfort or happiness under the present tariff. But the question is this, whether they have not a right under the circumstances to such an alteration of the tariff as will place them on the same footing with their neighbours on the other side of the line.

Let us look back at the circumstances of this country before the Reciprocity Treaty was granted. There was a cry in the old Province of Canada, in Upper and Lower Canada, for a treaty with the United States which would enable the free interchange of the natural products of the two countries. For years and years it was pressed upon the Government of the day, which in turn pressed it upon Her Majesty's Government, and the latter upon the United States. That agitation was commenced under Mr. Baldwin's Reform Administration, continued under Mr. Hincks' Administration, and finally under the Administration of Sir Allen Macnab, of which I was a member. But during that Administration we never claimed any credit for the negotiation. Our part in its consummation was a mere formal one. The treaty had been made, concluded and perfected before we had anything to say about it. So beneficial to the country was this measure in promoting the interests of the farmers that the Government paid £20,000 and more for the expenses of its negotiation. There was such an increase in the prosperity of the country in consequence of that treaty that the greatest apprehension of ruin fell upon us on its cancellation. We were anxiously looking forward for relief, and every effort was made by the Canadian and Imperial Governments to effect a renewal, and every possible concession was made, consistent with self-respect, and perhaps that border was overleaped in our anxiety to effect that object. When the American Government refused to renew the Treaty it was a great blow to the various agricultural interests, but the gloomy apprehensions of ruin were happily not realized. Blessed with a fertile soil and a good

climate, they survived and overcame the great losses which fell upon the country in consequence of the cutting off of that great source of trade—that constant and valuable market. There were three reasons why the renewal was refused. One was a feeling of hostility, perhaps a natural one to some extent, in consequence of heart-burnings arising between the mother country and the United States, on account of the unhappy events of the civil war. This feeling of hostility towards England and her dependencies was one moving cause why the treaty was not renewed. The second cause was an unfounded idea that shutting out our farmers and the mass of the people from the profitable trade they had enjoyed for the previous ten years would force them to favour annexation, to cast in our lot with the United States, and thereby obtain a free market. The last cause was that American farmers along the frontier, the producers of the various natural products of the United States, declared it was for their interest and good that we should be excluded from their markets. I will not yield to my hon. friend the Premier in my respect for the intelligence and common sense of the farming population. I believe as reading and thoughtful men, and as men who understand their own interests, they are equal to any other class of the community. If the agriculturists of the United States say that Canadian products should be excluded from the American markets, surely it is not unjust or unwise for our farmers to say: “If you show hostility towards the Government to which we adhere, or any desire to keep your markets to yourselves to influence you, we will be quite justified in adopting the same course in regard to you.” It is a natural and a true feeling, and one belonging to humanity, that fair play is bonnie play.

To be sure, if it can be shown that the adoption of that policy would be injurious to our farmers we ought not to pursue it; but I cannot understand the statement of those gentlemen who say that it would be injurious in one breath and tell us in the next that we have a surplus of agricultural products to sell. If we have a surplus, what harm could excluding the Ameri-

cans from our markets do? But it was said by some hon. gentlemen: “But we import very largely from the United States, and it is good for our carrying trade to have American vessels passing through our waters and canals.” It is perfectly true that this is a great advantage, but it is a different question altogether. The putting of a duty upon the agricultural products of the United States will not injure this trade, unless we chose to shut down our canals. But, it is said: “We buy Indian corn; they grow it cheaper in the United States.” I believe they do grow cheaper, as in the case of Indian corn; if you put a very small duty on it, it can still be brought in to be used by the people of this country. It is only required for our distillers; and thus not only would a very considerable revenue be created, especially in a time like the present, when we have a deficiency in our income, but at the same time it would also encourage the growth of coarse grains by our farmers; and as long as we have distillers, I think even my hon. friend from South Ontario will admit that our farmers ought to obtain a good price for their rye, peas, and other coarse grains used in distilling liquor, as well as the Americans. (Voice—What about barley?)

The hon. gentleman says what about barley. We do sell our barley to the United States, and we do pay a duty on it.

Hon. Gentlemen—No! No!

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We sell our barley to the United States, and it is subject to a duty of 15cts. on the bushel, but our farmers export barley, notwithstanding, and if we put on 15cts on every bushel coming into this country, it would not diminish by a single bushel the barley we sell to the United States—not if we put on, 5cts. or 25cts. or 100cts.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It would not increase what they send to us either.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It is of importance, and of growing importance to this country, that we should encourage and protect the growth of coarse grains in the Dominion. It is

as evident as can be that the market for our wheat and flour in Europe is diminishing and will continue to diminish. We have new rivals in the production of breadstuffs, and Canada cannot hold her own against them. We have not only to fight against the United States, but all Europe. Before the Crimean war but little wheat and flour came to the English market from Russia, except *via* the Baltic and the countries bordering on the Black Sea. Although Russia, especially the south part of Russia, was one of the finest wheat growing countries in the world, there were no means of bringing out the crops of the country and sending them to a foreign market, and it was the same in Hungary, in consequence of the want of railroads. Since the Crimean war, that part of Europe has been covered with a net work of railways, and being nearer home, the agriculturists of Europe will compete more and more in the Liverpool market, and will force our farmers into other channels to find markets, and to raise other crops to suit them. That is additional reason why we should encourage the growth of coarse grains, and foster manufactures that will create a consumption for all our farmers can raise. It is not denied, as far as wheat and flour are concerned, that the prices of these two articles are governed very much, though not always, by the price in Liverpool; but it is otherwise with all other agricultural produce which Canada raises. The price of wheat and flour will be governed here more and more by the European markets.

Mr. MILLS—We ship peas and oats to Europe.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I have known peas and oats to be shipped from Europe to Canada. It has been urged that our farmers do not look upon this subject with favour; that they are indifferent to it. We heard the other night, the hon. member for Brant on that matter, and he said next year we would have one hundred thousand farmers petitioning for reciprocity of tariff with the United States. From the information I have received from agricultural constituencies, the farmers of the country are in favor of

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treating the Americans as they treat us; and as they resolve to keep us out of their market, that we should adopt the same policy, and encourage in every way possible the increase of the manufacturing population, where we would have a safe and certain market, a market at our own doors, a market not depending upon the various exigencies that foreign trade is liable to. The farming population are fully alive to that, and Mr. Speaker, our proof of it was given the other night, by an hon. gentleman in this House, that for the purpose of encouraging manufacturers in this country, the farmers voluntarily put a tax upon themselves to grant bonuses of large sums of money to encourage manufacturing industries in their midst. It is conclusive proof that the people of the country are in favour of, and are willing to tax themselves to encourage manufacturers; and if we can foster manufacturers by putting a tax on foreign produce they will be equally if not more in favour of that mode of encouragement than by taxing themselves to give bonuses.

Now, with respect to putting a duty upon American agricultural products, or raising of the tariff for the encouragement of manufacturers, it is said it is a retaliatory policy, an unworthy policy, and it will excite the hostility of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, we have played that conciliatory game long enough; we have had it *ad nauseam*; we have almost exceeded our moral self respect in our anxiety to obtain reciprocity with the United States. They cannot complain, they have no right to complain, if we treat them as they treat us; they have better sense; they know they have no right to complain if we conceive it is to our own interest to treat them as they treat us and mete out to them just what they mete out to us. But it is said that is the old Tory style of doing business; that was the course of infant political economy or before political economy existed. That argument was brought up in this House. It was said such a policy was only advocated by the old effete school of political economy before the modern school

prevailed; that a retaliatory policy ought not to be maintained. I then pointed to the course taken by Canning, the founder of the modern school of political economy, the master at whose feet Huskinson was educated and whose principles Huskinson carried out. And what did Canning do? His financial principles were well known; the course he took against the Government of the Netherlands when they put on the duty on English shipping was defined in a poetical despatch to Sir Chas. Bagot which was as follows:

"In matters of Commerce the fault
of the Dutch
Is giving too little and asking too much,
With equal advantage the French are
content,
So we'll tax all Dutch commerce at
twenty per cent."

And they put it on.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There was another celebrated agriculturist who was advised in the same direction—Job.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I know nothing about Jobs. We should not, of course, to use the old proverb, cut off our noses to spite our faces; and if we believe a protective policy is going to be an injury to us we ought not to adopt it. But it will be found that the farmers of Canada will argue, when the question comes to be discussed around their own firesides, and with their neighbours, and at the hustings; they will agree to the proposition I now make, that the United States should be dealt with as they deal with us, and we would be craven if from fear of offending our neighbours we took any other alternative. If they do not grant us reciprocity in trade, we should give them reciprocity in tariff. It is not our interest that we should adopt blindly and servilely the same rate of tariff they have adopted towards us. I believe that with respect to agricultural products a reasonable tariff might be imposed. Notwithstanding the duty on Indian corn some years ago, a considerable amount of it was imported to use with the coarse grain of our farmers for distillery purposes, and that grain paying a duty gave a substantial addition to the revenue of the country.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—No.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The Hon. Finance Minister resided for a time in the vicinity of a large distillery near Kingston, and I know that very large sums were paid for duty on Indian corn that was brought in there for the purpose of mixing with and giving a stronger flux to the coarse grains of our own farmers.

Respecting my resolution, I say it is of importance. If ever the Government had any intention of dealing with the tariff at all that now is the proper time. The Hon. Finance Minister tells us there is to be a deficiency. He has not told us how much, but he will, no doubt, tell us to-night what the amount will be. It ought to be a considerable one, or should not be dealt with so seriously as it has been by that hon. gentleman. The retrenchment promised us must either be in the ordinary affairs of the Government, or in the prosecution of the public works for which appropriations are made. I cannot presume that the Government would retrench in the ordinary administration of public affairs, so as to injure the efficiency of that administration. I presume they have not in the retrenchments they allege to have made in that branch of the public service impaired its efficiency; and if they have not, that retrenchment should have taken place whether there was a deficiency or not. So I take it that that retrenchment can be of very little consequence, and there has been no retrenchment at all.

On comparing the estimates of last year with those of this year, I find those for the administration of public affairs are largely increased. The hon. gentleman has not retrenched in the administration of public affairs. Then if the retrenchment on which the Government relied was not mere cheese-paring, it could only be in ceasing to prosecute the public works for which appropriations have been made by Parliament. I think that is a most lamentable state of affairs. This country can, in my opinion, well afford to prosecute these works.

At the present time, owing to the depressed state of the country, the people are working only half time in the different manufactories. There is a great deal of suffering among the

working classes, and substantial relief would be given to them by these great works being proceeded with. Now, Sir, why are these works not proceeded with?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — What works?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I am arguing that the retrenchment by which the Government hope to meet the deficiency must be either in the expenses of administration of affairs, or in ceasing to prosecute the public works. My hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, has not shown in what way that retrenchment is to be effected. With regard to my first supposition, if the retrenchment could be made without diminishing the efficiency of the Department, it ought to be made in any case. The only other source of retrenchment is by not prosecuting the public works. My hon. friends laughed a good deal at the expression, "Incidental protection." They say it is a contradiction of terms. It is not so. It will be admitted, I think, by my hon. friend from Bothwell, that the increase of tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent. was a revenue increase imposed for the purpose of raising \$3,000,000. It was a revenue tariff but was it not incidental protection to our manufacturers to the extent of 2½ per cent. It raised a revenue of \$3,000,000, and incidentally protected our manufacturers to that extent, and I would venture to say that if the Government had come down with what was understood to be their original policy—an increase of the tariff to 20 per cent.—it would have caused a substantial increase in the revenue and have been an additional protection on our manufactures to that extent. It is true you may go beyond the proper limit in taxation. You may tax so high as to diminish consumption and thereby not effect the purpose you desire. The more expensive you make an article the greater the tendency to diminished consumption. But if you go to a certain point you increase the revenue and protect the interest of the manufacturer of the articles on which the increased duty is put. You may not get a revenue in proportion to the increase of duty, still

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there will be a positive increase, though not to the same extent, and by having that increased duty you give confidence to the manufacturer. You increase the wealth of the manufacturer and the prosperity of the working classes, and you enable them thereby to consume other dutiable articles that will more than make up any loss that may be experienced by the increase of duty, provided that increase will not be of such an extent as to be prohibitory and destroy the collection of the duty for revenue purposes. I think we have a right to protect our manufacturers, from this country being made a sacrifice market. It is no matter whether it is made a sacrifice market from the effect of depression in the neighbouring country, which will bring about a shrinkage of values and a sacrifice of property, or whether it is made a slaughter market by trades union combinations in the United States. Whichever may be the case they are sending goods into the Canadian market with the avowed purpose of crushing our native manufactures.

Mr. HOLTON—What a misfortune.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. member for Chateauguay says what a misfortune. Yes, Sir, it is a misfortune. Every shrinkage of values is an injury to the community. If in this town 20 or 30 merchants fail, and if their stocks are thrown on the market as bankrupt stocks, the consumer will derive a temporary advantage. But it is only a temporary gain, for there is a real loss to the community. An injury is caused to the solvent merchant, in consequence of the general depression such an occurrence occasioned. It gives rise to a scarcity of labour or want of public confidence, and a wider spread of insolvency. The other day we heard a gentleman in the House read extracts from the *Chicago Tribune*, pointing out the awful consequences that would result to Canada if we adopted the American system. It is not my intention to defend the wisdom of American financiers. The Americans are a great and prosperous nation. They know what they are about, and one can scarcely

believe that a self-governing and educated people are carrying out such an utterly ruinous system as that which has been spoken of. It is not my business to defend their financial policy, but I certainly want to quote a United States paper as an authority to show that it would not ruin us if we kept American manufacturers out of our markets. But let me read the American authority on that point. The article is taken from the *North American*, and published in the *American Manufacturer*. It is as follows:—

“In a letter now before us to a friend in this city, from a man of the highest standing in the scientific world of Sweden, the writer, speaking of certain reciprocity propositions recently received from Germany, says that they are wholly unlikely to be accepted, as they would do more harm than ‘the French treaty has already done.’ ‘Of that sort of trade,’ he continues, ‘we have already had enough.’ So, too, says Austria, English journalists advising us that she stands ready, at the earliest permitted moment, to denounce the whole reciprocity system; and the wool growers of Hungary being even now engaged in an earnest effort at bringing about some arrangement with Australian woolen manufacturers similar to that which has here existed for some years past. Belgium adheres to protection, and the most distinguished of her teachers, M. Laveleye, has just now astonished his free trade friends by a renunciation of the doctrines of their economic school. Italy follows suit, the *Manchester Guardian* assuring its readers that ‘the Italian government is endeavoring to impose a tariff so highly protective in its terms that one is almost led to wonder whether the Italian people are not forgetting their own history, and the *London Economist* describing the Italian prospect ‘as a complete return to the protectionist system.’ Germany moves in the same direction, a letter now on our table advising an American correspondent that ‘the current in the direction of increased protection is now setting more strongly than at any time in the past.’ Turkish statesmen, as we learn from the *Levant Herald*, are awaking to the fact that to the absence of protection has been due the present ruinous condition of the country, and that without a total change of policy no change for the better can be looked for. Russia, after having for a time modified her protective system, has since returned to it with renewed energy, and now stands among the foremost of protective nations, determined that not only shall the needs of her own people be supplied from domestic factories and furnaces, but that by means of the numerous railroads now in progress they shall be enabled to contend successfully with Britain for all the markets of Central Asia, and even, as we now are told, for that of Western China.

“France, consistently protective through-

out the whole of the present century, rejoices in a foreign commerce that grows more steadily and rapidly than that of any other country in the world; and in a prosperity so undisturbed by the present almost universal commercial crisis that she has been but now described by a British journalist as bearing to all appearance ‘a charmed life.’ India, with her almost nominal wages and but slight protection, is now entering into vigorous competition with the textile manufactures of Britain, and promises soon to supply the home demand for that railroad iron for which she has been thus far so entirely dependent on British ironmasters. Australia becomes from year to year more earnest in her adherence to a protective policy, and the day approaches when Canada must inevitably follow in the same direction. Among ourselves the advantages of a great home market become from day to day more clearly obvious to our farmers and planters, and the day seems not far distant when the headquarters of protection will be found among the mills and furnaces of Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. That such is the universal tendency of the present moment is admitted by the *London Telegraph*, which now reluctantly acknowledges that ‘in spite of prophecies and smooth words, and the lifted voices of miscalculating friends, the world, since the repeal of the corn laws, has gone on in its old bad way;’ that is to say in a way adverse to that policy which looked to the establishment in Britain of the one and only ‘workshop of the world.’

“Where may now outside of the Cobden Club be found the home of British free trade policy and doctrine? Scarcely even in Britain, whose markets are being supplied with the products of low priced foreign labour, and to such extent as to have deprived thousands, tens of thousands of British working men of the means of obtaining bread for their wives and children.

“Thirty years since they were told that with free trade in corn, and free admission of the manufactured products of the world at large, there would come the ‘cheap loaf,’ and perfect harmony between employers and employed; the result of such measures now exhibiting itself in the facts, that discord seems almost universal; that the *Contemporary Review*, speaking of and for Great Britain, assures its readers that ‘there is no reasonable doubt that in no other civilized part of the world are there so many deaths traceable to starvation as in this country,’ and that those of the *London Hour* are simultaneously assured that ‘we can not look in any one single direction without being made aware of the positive and absolute failure of free trade as carried out by England. Our manufacturers suffer, our exports suffer, our shipping suffers, the social and physical condition of our people suffers, our character and honour suffer, and yet there is a political party in England that still maintains that this ruinous policy must be adhered to. * * * Political leaders of this stamp little dream in what direction the thoughts of the whole trading

community are being forced by the results of modern Liberal legislation ; they little dream of the difficulties almost every man in business has to contend against under free trade and unlimited competition ; they little dream that, although there is no popular action as yet, there is a universal conviction that the whole commercial policy of the Liberal statesmen of England must be revised, or the suffering and losses of the people will get beyond recovery.

"Having studied carefully the facts we have thus presented, our readers, as we think, can scarcely fail to arrive with us at the conclusion that that British free trade system which looked to giving to the manufactures of Britain a complete control of the commerce of the world, now totters to its fall, and that its acceptance by other nations must at no distant day take its place among the most remarkable delusions of the past."

That is an article from an American newspaper, quoting from several English authorities, but I will call the attention of the House to a short note in the *Westminster Review*. It is written on the necessity of paying off the national debt while they are rich, and before they become poor. Remember the *Westminster Review* is the organ of free-trade, the organ of Cobdenism, and of Mr. Bright, a consistent supporter of everything liberal in religion, in politics, and in finance. Says the *Westminster Review* :

"We shall not be considered premature, we hope, in pointing out danger in this direction when we read in the public prints that tires are being delivered in the neighbourhood of Sheffield at prices far lower than those at which they can be produced there—that American calico is sent for sale to Manchester at thirteen pence a pound, while the same quality cannot be produced there under thirteen pence half-penny—that a Halifax carpet firm have removed a large portion of their machinery to the United States, where they hoped to turn out their goods more quickly and more profitably—that English black silks have given place to those of France, Prussia, and the Lower Rhine—that Basle has seriously crippled the ribband trade of Coventry—that the English silk velvet trade is quite snuffed out, our velvets now coming from Crefeld in Rhenish Russia—that in the trimming department of our warehouses everything—buttons, braids, trimming and headed trimming, and a thousand other articles—is almost exclusively German manufacture, and displays a style and finish superior to anything we can produce—that in low wool shawls of a certain kind, the Germans give better value than the English ; while in their tissue shawls the French excel the Scotch—that of useful goods, even when originated here, samples are sent abroad and are imitated

and improved upon in such a manner as to displace the patterns—that in fancy dress the best woolen goods are of French manufacture, coming from Roubaix ; their beauty of colour and softness of texture excelling the English ones—that beautiful and artistic fabrics, resembling sealskin and dogskin and other fanciful articles which come from Berlin, are used here for ladies' cloaks—that while common and inferior cloths are bought at Leeds, the finer kinds come from Germany and Belgium—that in brocaded silks, from which neckties are made, Germany has displaced Macclesfield, while German brace webs take the place of those supplied by Leicester—that in fancy handkerchiefs for ladies' neckties the French article is preferred to that made at Paisley or Glasgow—that the silk coverings for umbrellas and parasols are invariably of foreign production—in fine, that in many departments of trade our supremacy has been not merely threatened but done away with."

These are the results of years and years of free-trade in England and opening up her markets with the world—she having previously built up enormous establishments and concentrated capital, having a large mass of population engaged in manufacturing, with coal and iron side by side, with all the advantages free-trade was bringing them ; and still these foreign countries which have adopted a different policy, and which have not been seduced by the precepts of England, but still keep up protective duties or tariffs which afford incidental protection, are not only competing with her in the markets of the world, but at her own door. This is a striking fact, and it is already prophesied that in ten years, some say much less than that, those who clamored for free-trade and free bread and got them, when they find they are losing their own markets, will agitate for a return, not to anything like prohibition, but to such a revenue tariff as will give them fair play in their competition with other nations.

There is no hope that this country will receive aid from the present Government after the solemn declarations the hon. gentlemen opposite have made and allowed to be made. We have no expectation they will reverse their policy, that our manufacturers will be protected, that our mining interests will be developed or our farmers placed on the same footing as those of the United States, by any action of the hon. gentlemen opposite. There is no hope in this House, and therefore

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we must appeal by this resolution, which I am going to place in your hand, from the Government and their followers, to the sober second thought of the country.

I move "that the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved that this House regrets His Excellency the Governor General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff, which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious speech from the throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural products of the country.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The hon. gentleman was good enough to say he could well understand the difficulty my hon. friend from Lincoln had in supporting the resolution of the hon. member for Montreal West. I would assure him I equally well understand the difficulty he has in submitting the proposition just now placed in your hands. I dare say that other members of this House besides the Government fully appreciate the disappointment which was evident enough on the part of the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues when they found the Government were not disposed to interfere with the tariff, or disturb the existing rates of taxation. I have not the slightest doubt the hon. gentleman would have been extremely delighted to have seen us floundering in the depths of the protectionist bog from which he has emerged. I have no doubt he would have liked extremely to see the Government endeavour to essay the task of solving and reconciling that utterly impossible problem of a revenue with a protective tariff. We had no intention whatever of committing ourselves to this policy, and I tell hon. gentlemen opposite once for all that although the Government gave very serious consideration to this question, and took great pains to decide what was their duty in this crisis, they did not at any time entertain the idea of levying what is called a protective tariff. Doubtless we admit, as every

Government in this country have admitted, that it is extremely desirable when a Government have to levy duties they should be so imposed as, in the words of the right hon. gentleman, to promote the good of the greatest possible number. On that point we agree. We also admit that it is our duty to advocate a policy in the interests of Canada alone, and the right hon. gentleman may depend there will be no difference in that respect between the occupants of these benches and the hon. members opposite.

Now I may repeat once more in the most positive and explicit manner, no man was justified under whatever circumstances in stating any member of this Government had an intention to meddle with the tariff. I refer to the Speech from the Throne to show that we had no such intention. If hon. gentlemen refer to my own utterances, delivered before I proceeded to England at a public meeting in my own County, and through the medium of the press addressing the people of Canada, I defy anyone to say that at that time I held out the slightest or faintest indication that the policy of this Government was to increase the duties.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—It was a readjustment of the tariff.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I spoke of no such thing. As to the statement that such inferences were drawn by those who waited on me or my hon. friend, surely the right hon. member must have been almost laughing at the House if he supposed that because we listened to the gentlemen who spoke to us and endeavoured to obtain information from them on the subjects they brought under our notice, they had reason to draw inferences from what we said, that we wished to readjust the tariff.

The right hon. gentleman was good enough to make some allusion to the competition to which our agriculturists were to be exposed, and particularly that from the south of Europe. As well as I can recollect the geographical position of Odessa, it is as far away from Liverpool as Chicago or Detroit, perhaps a little further. As my hon. friend says, I think that if

we have wheat to sell, we will be able in the various markets of the world to obtain a fair price for it.

The hon. gentleman was good enough to give another extraordinary illustration of the growth of protectionist principles in this country, alluding to rural townships, if I understood aright, as having contributed by bonuses and otherwise to the establishment of manufactures in their midst. Well Sir, I have paid some attention to the progress of the same bonus movement and I fail to recollect at this moment—perhaps some hon. gentleman can correct me—a single rural township in which villages did not largely predominate, which have so acted.

Villages and towns have doubtless done so, and that I can understand, but I would like to know of such an instance as I have mentioned.

Hon. Mr. POPE—I can inform you on this point.

Hon Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Will my hon. friend give me the name.

Hon. Mr. POPE—The townships of Compton and Eaton.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—To what manufactures do they contribute?

Hon. Mr. POPE—Manufactures of meat and cheese.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Meat and cheese; I do not deny, that they are industries, but I think that it is almost a play upon words to say, that a joint stock meat curing establishment belongs to the class of manufacturers the right hon. gentleman from Kingston had in mind; and coupled with whose policy is a proposition to tax the farmers from 35 to 45 per cent. for the benefit of our manufacturing industries, I consider that the general impression which will be made by this measure upon the bulk of our intelligent agriculturists will be that this policy is a sprat thrown to catch a salmon.

Now, Sir, it is rather remarkable—although I am bound to say that the hon. gentleman advocated his cause, such as it is, in a very sober and temperate manner—that the hon. gentleman was extremely careful not to say

what particular industries he would protect, and to what extent he would propose to do so; in fact, he took very good care to hide what kind of benefits might be derived from this same Protectionist movement, whether incidental or otherwise, and what is a much more important question, its probable cost to the country. I purpose filling up some of these gaps which the hon. gentleman left in his argument; and in the first place I would like exceedingly to direct the attention of the House to the real number of people likely to be affected by this policy, whether for good or evil. On this point there has been a great deal of exaggeration; many hon. gentlemen look carelessly, I must say, at the official returns placed in our hands, and are under the impression that the class which would be more particularly affected by this movement, includes several hundred thousand persons. I have heard them stated on more than one occasion, I think, as polling from 200,000 to 213,000, necessarily yielding support and contributing to the maintenance of a much larger number. Now, this is a matter of some interest to the House, and I beg to call their attention to the various classes, of whom I see 213,000 put down as being concerned in our manufacturing industries. Among the industrial classes which are vulgarly suppose to be likely to be benefited by this same protection movement are:—2,600 bakers, 15,700 blacksmiths; 2,000 bricklayers and brickmakers; about 1,000 builders; 3,600 butchers; 32,500 carpenters; 4,300 carriage makers; 1,000 chemists; 4,400 coopers; 8,000 dressmakers; 18,000 fishermen; from 9,000 to 10,000 lumbermen; 4,000 painters and glaziers; 2,000 plasterers and plumbers; 8,700 printers; 3,000 saddlers; 7,000 seamstresses; 4,000 ship-builders; 5,000 stone-masons; 2,700 joiners, and 1,200 wheelwrights—forming 150,000, out of the 213,000, who really and truly are in no ways concerned in such a policy, depending almost exclusively upon the progress and the prosperity of the agriculturists. Well, of the remainder, no less than 32,000 are divided into the trades of the shoemakers, tailors, mechanics and cabinet-makers, of whom a proportion are

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undoubtedly employed in the cities, and are necessarily more or less interested in the supposed benefits which would accrue from such a system, but of whom the larger number are as dependant as any other class on the agriculturists, and on them alone. I have said—and I repeat it again—that we do not desire to refuse justice to any section of the community because it is small; but it is proper that this House should clearly and distinctly understand how very small a portion of the population is in reality interested in this relation. I described it on a previous occasion as consisting of about one-twentieth part; but I might say with greater truth, one-fortieth, because at least one-half of them have very little indeed to fear from foreign competition. Any one, for example, who looks at the returns for imports of boots and shoes, which affect by far the largest single industrial class, can see for himself that the importation of less than one per cent.—I believe this is the proportion brought from the United States—cannot in any shape or way disadvantageously affect its profits. This section may be injured—and, doubtless, it is to a great extent—by over internal competition among themselves; but most assuredly not by any foreign industries with which it may have to contend.

Now, as the hon. gentleman remarked, this argument is nearly worn threadbare. There are, however, a few points to which it may be necessary to call attention; and one benefit will probably result from this discussion. At any rate, many extravagant pretensions are being abandoned; and the case is practically narrowed down to one single, solitary issue—whether it is advisable for us to adopt special means in order to protect a certain very limited segment of our population from the competition to which they are exposed from the people of the United States.

I may remark that no hon. gentleman, as far as I have noticed, has dealt with the formidable question of how we could defend ourselves against the smuggling, which would inevitably arise in our case, as well as in that of the United States, if we are to have a

a tariff bearing any proportion to theirs; neither has any hon. gentleman, in my recollection, ventured to deny, that with respect to a very great part of the articles which would thereby be affected, we are perfectly safe from any injurious consequences which would result from their overpowering our manufactures, and afterwards raising the price against us, from the single circumstance that the Americans are really to a very great extent competing not with our own but with the British manufacturers.

I do not at all desire, Sir, to enter into a minute calculation of what quantity of goods it would be possible for us to produce, if we chose to manufacture them at any hazard, but I would call attention to two other important facts which ought to weigh considerably with hon. members, as measuring the cost, which any largely increased production would entail. I believe it is generally admitted, that any single person employed in manufactures of any kind, can produce on the average to the value of \$1,000 or \$1,200 per head. These figures correspond with the details given in the American and Canadian censuses, and it is also sustained by the information furnished by all manufacturers of whom I have had the opportunity of inquiring touching this subject. Let us suppose that it were possible to impose a 25 per cent. or even a 20 per cent. tariff in favor of a large number of articles which could not otherwise be produced here, and let the House for one moment consider what would be the cost of this protection, and then draw a conclusion as to how far it would be to the advantage of this country to have recourse to any such artificial stimulus. Taking some such calculation as that, as the basis, any hon. gentleman will see if it be necessary to impose a 25 per cent. tariff for the benefit of manufacturers, the result would be that on every \$1,200 worth of goods produced \$300 would be paid by the community for each individual so employed; and it must be remembered that this average of production is not the average for heads of families, but of men, women and children; and that therefore far less benefit would accrue to the country from

the payment of such a sum than might ordinarily be expected, supposing each of these units represented a full-grown man supporting a family consisting of four or five persons.

I say candidly that I regard the 17½ per cent. tax which we levy on most of these classes of manufactures which it would be possible to develop in this country as very formidable indeed, amounting to about \$200 or, strictly speaking, about \$210 per year per individual concerned. Although there may be some advantages which I do not deny in such a system, and although it is not likely that in the case of any industry which would really take root here such a tax would be necessary to foster it permanently, still it must be remembered that the tariff is already very high, and that to raise it any more would render it almost absolutely prohibitive on many articles, while for the enormous taxes that would in consequence of such a policy be imposed on the country, very small returns in the shape of artisans added to the population would be obtained. The right hon. gentleman was good enough to read us some documents from English reviews and American papers. I will not allude to what has passed in debate the other night further than to say this.—I may be permitted to say, that I am as well acquainted as other hon. gentlemen with the very celebrated passage in Mills' works, to which allusion has been made on various occasions; and I am perfectly convinced that if that eminent political economist was conscious of the use made of his words in this relation, I believe he would be tempted to rise from his grave and refute them, had he not taken the precaution to leave ample refutation on record. I would like to read what Mr. Mills said on the 20th of January, 1871, regarding the points which are now agitating this country:—

“I hold every form of what is called Protection to be the employment of the powers of government to tax the many, with the view of promoting the pecuniary gains of a few. I say the intention, because even the desired object is very often not obtained, and never to the extent that is expected; but whatever gain there is, is made by the few, and them alone, for the labouring people employed in the protracted branches of industry are not

benefitted. Wages do not range higher in the protected than in other employments; they depend on the general rate of the remuneration of labour in the country, and if the demand for particular kinds of labour is artificially increased, the consequence is merely that labour is attracted from other occupations, so that employment is given in the protected trades to a greater number, but not at a higher remuneration. The gain by protection, when there is gain, is for the employers alone. Such legislation was worthy of Great Britain, under her unreformed constitution, when the powers of legislation were in the hands of a limited class of great land owners and wealthy manufacturers; but in a democratic nation like the United States, it is a signal instance of dupery, and I have a higher opinion of the intelligence of the American many, than to believe that a handful of manufacturers will be able to retain by fallacy and sophistry that power of levying a toll on every other person's earnings, which the powerful aristocracy of England, with all their political ascendancy and social prestige have not been able to keep possession of.”

I simply beg to say that if I erred in supposing that the system of protection was calculated to enrich the few at the expense of the many, at least, Sir, I had tolerably good authority for venturing to draw the deduction. It is to be borne in mind that such were the results arrived at by Mr. Mills in 1871, when the great experiment of protection by the Americans was under discussion, having had full opportunity to develop itself to the uttermost.

It was asked, the other night, and the question deserves an answer, how we pretended to explain the great emigration which has taken place from Lower Canada. No doubt it is quite true a very considerable number have emigrated from that region, and many of them have found employment on the fertile prairies of the Far West, or in some of the manufacturing districts of America; but if any hon. gentleman chooses to work out for himself the problem of which I have given the necessary premises, he will see that if we were to manufacture in Canada every article of import possible to make, it would afford employment for a very small proportion of those who have left us. If we take the American census returns we will also get some interesting information relative to this phase of the question. During the last ten years the State of Maine has decreased from 14,000 to 15,000, and a

similar state of affairs exists in New Hampshire; whereas in Lower Canada we have had an increase of 80,000. The important States of New York and Ohio have actually increased in a less degree during the last decade than either Ontario, New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. The fact is this: where the climate is severe and the soil in many respects unfavourable on either side of the line, population will not increase very rapidly. Like causes produce like results, and a certain number of people here and in the United States naturally gravitate to the most fertile country, where it is easier to gain a comfortable living without much capital; and that fact justifies us in making exertions to to open the great and fertile country of the Northwest. Without it, we must under the necessities of the case become comparatively stationary in population. We may bolster up our manufactures and force our industries to any extent, but unless we can obtain new and fertile lands no considerable increase can take place. It has been said that the difference between protection and free-trade is the cause of so many of our fellow countrymen emigrating from Lower Canada. I will ask the attention of hon. gentlemen again to the census of the United States. On comparing the numbers of industrial classes in the two countries, they will find that so far from our being at a disadvantage under our comparatively low tariff, relative to our population, we have as large a number of people engaged in industrial occupations as the United States in 1870. According to their returns in that year they had 2,700,000 in manufacturing, mining, and other industrial pursuits. We at the same time had 213,000 in the classes enumerated, and besides some 30,000 employed in connection with the lumber trade, which branch is included in their figures. As our population is just the eleventh part of that of the United States it will be seen that we have relatively as large a percentage in this particular as they, despite their enormous tariff.

I think my protectionist friends have been rather unadvised in discussing this question. They have at this present moment a rather good thing, if

they only know it, and I must tell them if this 17½ per cent. tariff were to be strictly and closely scrutinised, it would be found that it is rapidly approaching prohibition on certain classes of manufactured goods. As the country grows in population a tariff of this kind comes to be prohibitory, and if they were wise they would not draw the attention of the country too closely to the fact. I have no objection whatever to the imposition of a tariff, if it be imposed as Mr. Mills stated in the paragraph quoted—if it was correctly quoted—that is with a view of giving a temporary protection to those industries which can naturally be prosecuted here. We know that we must have a customs tariff, and and that it is impossible to have it without more or less granting protection to manufacturers; and although I do not believe in incidental protection, still I am willing that the tariff should be so distributed as to give an advantage—not in endeavoring to settle manufactures here that do not belong to us—to the particular classes of industries which will naturally grow up in the country.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Do I understand my hon. friend to say he is in favour of incidental protection?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I did not say that. These hon. gentlemen were quick enough to declaim at some length on the effects of our policy, as they are pleased to call it. There is great difference of opinion as to what would be the effect of the retaliatory policy which I heard for the first time in this House advocated from the Opposition benches. I am inclined to think that the spectacle of the Canadian people, quietly pursuing their own course without reference to the policy of the United States, is far more likely to convert sensible men in that community than to attempt to impose retaliatory duties. If we were some 24,000,000 or even 14,000,000 people, I could understand there might be some advantage in the course recommended, but when I recollect we are but 4,000,000 in the immediate neighbourhood of 40,000,000, I say that hon. gentlemen have greatly overrated

the possible disturbing influence of any action of ours in this direction—that our imposing a retaliatory tariff would have any other end than to furnish to American protectionists a much needed weapon to induce that country to proceed a little longer in the course it has adopted.

I have been looking over my notes of the right hon. gentleman's speech to see if there were any other points to which he called attention to which I should offer a reply to-night. With respect to the retrenchment policy which the Government announced, and which appears to have given umbrage to the right hon. gentleman, because it differs from any policy that he or any of his friends attempted in a similar emergency, I venture to say that the retrenchment which we advocated and are now carrying out, is simply the policy which we announced from the first day we took our seats on these benches. We pointed out at that time that public expenditure had been unusually and abnormally swollen, from the fact that the hon. gentleman engaged in a great host of minor public works which it was necessary to complete. I took occasion in 1874 to point out that these expenditures must necessarily continue for two or three years, but that at the end of that time we hoped to make a large reduction, and on looking at the estimates the House will see that reduction has been made, not only without disturbing the public interest, but entirely in the public interest. As to those great public works to which the country was pledged, I should like to know which of them have been closed which was calculated to give employment to any large number or relieve the existing distress. I am aware of an opinion existing that injury has been done by discontinuing some of those works, but I do not think any hon. gentleman can point out any great work really to be beneficial to the whole Dominion which has been interrupted or even suspended. On the contrary, it was with the express purpose of being able to prosecute those works with due energy that the loan to which exception has been taken was contracted. I may add that we are in full possession of

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funds to carry out those works with all the energy occasion will permit.

There is but one other question of real importance to which I desire to direct attention. It is perfectly true we have had our crisis, just as the Americans have had theirs; but I do not believe it was caused necessarily by a protective tariff in the one case or free trade in the other. As I have stated before, and state again, over-production always brings distress, no matter however small or large a country may be; but I say our position is naturally better than the United States in this respect—that we have not wasted our strength by a mischievous system of protection, that we have not artificially stimulated our manufactures and so contributed to produce this distress; and we have greater strength and recuperative power to-day than if we had exhausted our manufacturing and agricultural populations by having recourse to the policy pursued in the United States. I believe that one of the worst results of American protection is this: that it has caused an enormous waste of national resources, and that is the true reason why they find it so difficult to recover from the stagnation into which they have been plunged. I look for a revival of trade in a reasonable time in Canada with all the more confidence because we have abstained from such a policy; and although I feel that many are at this moment in a state which calls for our sympathy, yet it is not fair for any single section of the community to appeal to the Government for assistance, while we find other sections having large interests, employing more inhabitants, and conducting more directly to the welfare of the people, are equally distressed and are not asking assistance. Why is it the agriculturists do not appeal to the Government in the case of a bad harvest? And why in a case of a crisis, which bears the same relation to the manufacturing interests as a bad harvest to the farming interests, should an appeal be made to this House? If we saw any way of granting the aid required without inflicting a great and lasting injury on the country, nothing would give greater pleasure to myself or to the members of the Government than to grant it.

But surely we have the right to say that the onus lies on these gentlemen to prove their case. I have listened patiently to their speeches, and have taken all possible means to inform myself on these subjects, and I cannot see that it is in any way our duty to imperil the welfare of the whole people of Canada for the sake of a few interests.

Mr. MASSON—I have seen by the remarks of the Hon. Finance Minister and of the Premier that there have been difficulties in the Government in bringing their tariff policy before the House. I have seen it by the answers of the Finance Minister himself. He has taken the position which we on this side of the House heartily concur in when he says: "In framing a tariff we must so frame it that the industrial interests of the country shall be considered." Well, Sir, this is the principle which we all admit on this side of the House, and I tell the hon. gentleman he is at direct issue with the Premier on this question, for the idea of the First Minister is that in framing the tariff we should consider the interests of the trade with foreign countries, and not the manufacturing interests of this country. I can prove it by the speeches of the hon. gentlemen in England last summer, where he told his hearers that his policy was the great free-trade policy; that his tariff would be so framed that the commercial interest between England and Canada would be increased instead of fostering our manufactures, as the Finance Minister says. Here are the words of the First Minister on that occasion:

"I need not assure you, or any one here, of the anxious desire of the people of Canada to cultivate the most extensive trade relations with every part of the world, but especially with the great centres of trade in this country. (Applause.) And while we are compelled by the necessity of revenue to impose a very considerable duty upon goods entering into the country, we shall always feel bound so to distribute that taxation as to promote as far as possible the interests of the trade relations that are existing between civilized countries."

That is not the only contradiction we find on that side. When the Prime Minister came back to Canada he thought it would not do in a country like ours to make free-trade speeches such as he delivered in England and Scotland. He modified his remarks, and at Sarnia his speech was an advocacy of what you may call an incidental protection policy.

But the Finance Minister will not accept an incidental protection policy, or what Mr. Galt calls a modified free-trade policy. I think this system of trade should be considered entirely above all sectional spirit or feeling, and I intend to discuss it in that way; I may be allowed, as I have heard members coming from different parts of the Dominion expressing the views of their constituents on that subject, state what are the views of the rural constituency which I represent in Quebec. It has been said that the farmers are opposed to protection; but I represent a rural constituency, and the House will remember I have presented petitions here signed by the farmers of both shades of political opinion in my county, asking for a protective tariff not only for manufacturers, but also for the agricultural interests. These petitions stated that as long as we had a country on our borders that would exclude our manufactures and agricultural products, it was the bounden duty of the Government to provide such a policy as would give us protection against the United States. As I have before stated that petition was signed by persons of different political opinions, and I will tell the House that those Liberals who signed that petition, have not, as some of the members of this House have done, changed their policy when party purposes required it, but they are ready to stand by these principles and ask protection from this Government, or from any other Government that may be in power. They feel that the interests of the manufacturers and agriculturalists are identical; they feel that agriculture will succeed better if they have manufacturing towns and villages scattered over the country creating a home consumption and a market where they can sell all the small products of the farm that they can raise to advantage.

Ask any farmer if he prefers to have his farm near a great city like Montreal rather than thirty miles from it, and he will at once answer that he prefers to have it near the market. They believe that by protection every water power in the country will be utilised for manufacturing purposes, that it will create a demand for labour and supply a home market, saving the cost of transport on their produce to a foreign country.

It has been said by the hon. gentleman, the Finance Minister, that the bonus system to manufacturers by municipalities has been a complete failure. I know that in the small town where I live the inhabitants are a unit in favour of giving a bonus to manufacturers who would come and settle there if protected from foreign competition. They will willingly exempt manufactures from municipal taxation for ten or fifteen years if a tariff of twenty per cent. is adopted. They believe that if the trade is profitable they will have sufficient competition among themselves to prevent high prices. They may be wrong, but it is their opinion, and I will tell this House how these ideas were formed. The farmers know very well what their interests are in Quebec as well as in any other province, but on questions of this kind they sometimes require to be educated to what is their real interest; and do you know who are some of the great educators of our population in Lower Canada on the question of free-trade and protection? They were the Liberals of Quebec who, in the elections of 1872, denounced the late administration on not giving sufficient protection to the trade of the country, and in the election of 1874 held out as a great inducement for the support of the present Government that they would give protection to our industries. The great national party in Lower Canada which was to enter into an alliance with the dead party of Canada first in Ontario was favoured for several reasons, and first of all because they distrusted their old leaders and they considered a new policy was absolutely necessary, as their countrymen were expatriating themselves and going to the United States

to find employment in the manufacturing districts. The platform and policy of that party was protection to our native industries. But something occurred. There was a gentleman in that party who was very much respected; in fact, he was the Nestor of the party. I allude to the hon. member for Chateaugay. That gentleman held free-trade principles, and it was absolutely necessary that the party should agree among themselves. The way they managed it was this: they agreed that they should not in speaking mention the word "protection" at all, nor should they put the word on their platform.

The hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska with others, when they delivered speeches did not mention the word "protection," but they said: "We must encourage our home industries." I will read a speech from the great Liberal Leader in Quebec, Mr. Joly, in 1872, delivered when he was laying the foundation of the National party. He was speaking of the expatriation of the French population of Lower Canada, and he said:

"I will tell you the reason why we have chosen that name. You must have seen in the House, and in the papers, that to attract a considerable immigration, an immigration advantageous to the country, it is necessary to encourage industry by all means possible. Everybody understands that our young men would not leave the country if they found here sufficient, not to indulge in luxuries, but to provide for their food and clothing."

These were the ideas of the party, but there was a little difficulty in the way; they said there is an objection to that, for if we carry out the protection policy with our American friends on the other side of the line, we shall get into trouble with England, so they invented another policy what they called a branch of the National policy, not political independence, but commercial independence of England, a Zollverein with the United States, and thereby create a most stringent protection against Great Britain. Mr. Speaker, I have the speech of another hon. gentleman, one of the leading members of the Liberal party,

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a gentleman who has made a most able speech in this House—I mean the hon. member for Megantic. Last year that hon. gentlemen delivered a most eloquent speech, in which he said that protection was absolutely necessary for our country; yet we all know how the hon. gentleman voted this year. I wish to read you a quotation from his speech.

He said, “He regretted he could not endorse the tariff of the Minister of Finance. . . . Instead of taxing tea and coffee, the articles we cannot produce, the Finance Minister should have placed his duties on articles which could have been manufactured among us, in which case not only would a revenue be secured, but our manufactures would have that protection which they needed.

“He especially dwelt on protection to our agricultural products, which were essential to the opening up of our country, and was the prelude to our embarking, as we should do, in manufactures. He combatted the arguments of the member for Bothwell; and with regard to the position of the United States, held that without protection it would never have been the country it to-day is.”

These are the educators of the people of the Province of Quebec! But that is not all, let us see what the Liberal press of Lower Canada—that great engine which spreads ideas throughout the world, and which sometimes educates people against their will. The *L'Evenement*, reproducing an article of another paper, says upon this subject:—

“What we require is a commercial policy thoroughly established and permanent, moderately protective with a guarantee that it will not be changed for a dozen years. Then we can invest with confidence our capital in the different sorts of industry suitable for this country. We would no longer import any of the articles you manufacture here. It would be absurd to cultivate pine apple as an article of commerce, and we should not permit our iron ore to be sent to the United States to be returned in the shape of manufactured articles.” The *National*, the organ of the new National party, has had so many articles on the subject, and has in-

structed the people so often in regard to this subject, that it is not necessary for me to cite them to you. I shall now quote to you an article of great influence which was published in the *Bien Public*, a few months ago, which is as follows:

“The resolutions adopted at a large meeting of manufacturers that has taken place lately in Toronto, ask for the tariff to be raised to 20 per cent. on all goods coming from England and Ireland that can be manufactured in Canada, and that on all articles coming from the United States and other countries Canada should impose equal duties to those imposed on Canadian products going into the United States and other foreign countries. We accept these resolutions, and do not hesitate to say that that should be the programme of every Government having at heart the prosperity of the country. It is this that everybody requires except certain political men who sacrifice practice to theory. The hon. Mr. Mackenzie has happily said the tariff should be modified in the Canadian interest, and we are sure he will keep his word.

Now, Sir, it will probably be said that these gentlemen are in favour of protection, but that they believed 17½ per cent. was enough. I have shown the member for Megantic did not believe 17½ was enough, and I can tell these gentlemen that if they wish to protect the manufacturing industry of the country they must impose such duties as would protect the manufacturer in a proper way, and enable him to compete with the foreign manufacturer. If this is not done the tariff will be a mere burden on the people of the country. The manufacturers have been heard and a Committee has reported unanimously that a 20½ per cent. tariff was required.

The Conservative party is not responsible for the disappointment that exists to day. The Liberal party is, and my hon. friend the Prime Minister is primarily responsible for the whole thing. He is responsible on account of his changed tone since he came back from England, for raising the hopes of merchants which have been thwarted. The member for Montreal West took great responsibility on himself when he asserted to the people of Montreal that we would have protection, and he is bound to tell the people of Montreal the grounds on which he based his assertion by means of which he secured the confidence of his constituents.

In the face of the present situation what had the Government done? The Hon. Finance Minister admitted that there was great depression in the country, but stated that it was not so great as the depression of 1857. He also admitted that the manufacturers were suffering, and gave as his reason for this the fact that the Canadian market had become the slaughter market for United States goods. He admitted more than that—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! no!

Mr. MASSON—He admitted there was a deficit. Instead of indicating the proper way to remedy this deficit to stop our market from being flooded with American goods, the hon. gentleman stands still and says the situation must cure itself. He says he will not interfere with the tariff, because the depression is monetary, and will disappear in a few years. The only way to relieve the present depression is that which should suggest itself to every public man, and which is hinted at by Sir A. T. Galt in his letter to Mr. Ferrier; namely, the pushing forward of the public works we are bound to construct. I admit if you go into public works which are not required, of course it would be wrong; but if the Government believed this crisis was momentary, it was their duty to have increased the estimates for the public works so that the labouring classes might have been provided with work. The result of their policy will be to drive our labourers as well as our mechanics away from the country.

It has been said that the existing depression is not of so serious a nature as that which existed in 1857. Then we had a Conservative Government in power, and a statesman at the head of the finances of the nation second to none in the Dominion. What was the action of the Government under those circumstances? The revenue of the country had fallen off from \$4,675,000 in 1854 to \$3,365,000 in 1853, and was not sufficient for the wants of the country. The Government remodelled the tariff, raising it to twenty per cent. And the result was a considerable in-

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crease in the revenue. By the year 1859-60, the revenue was raised \$4,556,000, and the following year, 1860-61, it was \$4,760,000. Results are better than theory, and if the Government adopted the same means to-day they would get the same result. A strong opposition was offered to the action of the Government by English capitalists in England, who pretended that the colonies should be nothing else but a market for their manufactures. Sir Alexander Galt in response to the opposition of the English capitalists, said that we were not making a tariff detrimental to English manufacturers, but that we were making one irrespective of England, and to meet our requirements similar Opposition was offered on the part of the United States, and a similar answer was returned to the opposition from that quarter. What does Sir A. T. Galt say of the tariff of 1859? By that tariff, the interests of the country had been enhanced, our manufactures created, and the great grievances of the Americans against it was that it fostered the interests of the country and ruined the manufacturing interests of the frontier towns in the United States. In reference to this subject, it was said in 1862:—

“The injury this inflicted upon our people is avowed by the Hon. A. T. Galt, the Financial Minister of Canada, to be ‘no subject’ of regret to the Canadian Government. The tariff of which Mr. Galt speaks with so much complacency extinguished the trade of our frontier cities with Canada in their own manufactures. Many manufacturing establishments on our side dismissed their workmen, and were closed; and many were removed to Canada in order to avoid the payment of duty on their productions. It can create no surprise that much indignation was excited, without exception, in all those cities on the Canadian frontier, which are daily and hourly witnesses of the one-sided nature of our dealings with Canada in the products of American labour.”

Then referring to Buffalo, it goes on to say:—

“Many of her citizens and those of Rochester also have been compelled by the Canadian tariffs to leave their homes and remove their families to Canada.”

Now, I ask if all this is not better than piling up figures and discussing things from a purely theoretical point of view, as my hon. friend from Bothwell will probably do in a few moments.

The Conservatives have been reproached because they did not give protection themselves. I have shown the only protective tariff we have had in Canada was framed by them. Since that time Confederation has taken place. The people of the Lower Provinces were accustomed to a lower tariff, and we were told under the new system our affairs would be so managed that we would have plenty of money in our treasury. The people of the Maritime Provinces were not willing, to consent to any increase of duty.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—Hear! hear!

Mr. MASSON—The hon. gentleman says "hear, hear," but I want him to understand that if we have a deficit to-day it is not due as he stated to the Pacific Railway, because there is not an inch of it built. Two years ago we had to raise \$3,000,000 and we have a deficit again. We have had to build the Intercolonial Railway, and if we wish to extend a railway to Louisburg, build St. Peter's Canal, to deepen the harbours, build lighthouses, and to construct the Baie Verte Canal—if they want money expended among themselves they must help us to raise it. I mistake the spirit of the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick if they will not do so. A protective tariff has not been needed very badly until now. We have had the civil war and high priced labour in the United States as a protection in the past; we have had a full treasury, and there was no deficit until the hon. gentlemen opposite came into power. There is no better proof of this than the fact that the Committee appointed in 1872 to investigate the question of protection, reported that the manufacturers of the country were not on the whole in an unsatisfactory condition. Nevertheless, they thought a tariff of twenty per cent. would better enable them to build up their industries. If a tariff of twenty per cent. was necessary then, where there was no such depression as we have now, I ask if we do not require it far more to-day? The greatest enemies of incidental protection or modified free-trade for this country are not the American or English manufacturers, but the abstract-theory gentlemen who have

formed their opinions in England, and fancy we should, under different circumstances adopt a free-trade policy here. As far as our manufactures are concerned, we are in our infancy and require protection. As long as countries are situated in different conditions, so long will we have different systems of political economy. If I were in England I would be a Free-Trader, and I would advise the Colonies to confine themselves to the production of the raw material; to send them to the mother country to be worked up there and returned to the colonists with the bill of cost for transportation both ways, and the cost of manufacture. But the reason for which the Free-Traders of England, in their own interest, advise us to adopt a free-trade policy should induce us to be Protectionists. The very fact that hon. gentlemen opposite are driven to defend their policy by quoting from American authorities, is a proof we need protection. The policy of the Conservative Party, as laid down by the right hon. member for Kingston, is to so remodel our tariff as to give to our rising manufactures that protection to which they are entitled, and we are ready to go before the country and put that in contradistinction to the policy of the Premier who said in England we should so adjust our tariff as to foster the trade relations with England and foreign countries.

Mr. BROUSE—I do not desire to give a silent vote on this motion. I heartily approved of the motion of the hon. member for Montreal West, and cordially gave it my support. The manufacturing industries of this country are depressed, and I felt it was the duty of the Government to foster them in their infancy, but the agricultural and manufacturing interests are not necessarily twin brothers, though they go side by side a certain distance. One can profit by protection, the other be benefitted by free-trade with the whole world.

The hon. member for Terrebonne said results are far better than theories. Let us see what the results have been in Central Canada. I represent a constituency in part manufacturing and in a greater part agricultural. I be-

lieve the great wealth of our Dominion lies in agriculture, and that it should be protected, but not in the way proposed by the hon. member for Kingston. How can you protect the farmers by placing a duty on the products of the soil? Take the sixty miles along the St. Lawrence from Brockville to Cornwall, in which are situated besides those towns, Prescott and Morrisburg. I have the United States Consul's certificate of all the produce sent from this part of Canada to the United States and ascertained how much returns. This section of Ontario in the fall, winter and spring is flooded with Americans who come here to purchase products of the soil. I find, from the districts to which I have referred, we export butter to the United States as follows:—

1872.....	866,284	pounds.
1873.....	2,267,375	"
1874.....	1,668,400	"

We exported cattle as follows:—

1872.....	1,289
1873.....	4,300
1874.....	9,500

We sent of calf skins to the United States in

1872.....	69,000
1874.....	40,000

Along the St. Lawrence, and particularly in Stormont, probably more eggs are collected for foreign markets than in any part of Canada. We sent to the United States in

1872.....	1,324,000	dozen
1873.....	1,125,000	"
1874.....	1,116,000	"

We raise hops largely in Grenville County. We sent to the United States in

1872.....	114,000	pounds
1873.....	60,000	"
1874.....	36,000	"

We sent of pelts to the United States in

1872.....	26,000
1874.....	132,000

Poultry is one article we export largely to the United States We sent in

1872.....	126,000	pounds
1873.....	130,000	"
1874.....	233,000	"

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Of sheep we exported, in

1872.....	61,000
1873.....	68,000
1874.....	47,000

We sent in 1874, of hay, 4,500 tons, of oats, 30,000 bushels, and of rye, 24,000 bushels. In 1872, from those four little towns I have mentioned, we sent \$3,332,000 worth of farming products to the United States markets; in 1873, we sent \$4,625,000 worth; in 1874, we sent \$3,517,000 worth; and in 1875, notwithstanding the hard times, we sent nearly \$3,000,000 worth. Let us turn to the other side, and see how we could protect our farmers. Let us put large duties on these articles. A drover comes here, pays \$2 for a lamb and takes it to the United States. He pays \$3 for a permit, and half a dollar gold in duty. Now, instead of protecting our farmers by increased duties we should attempt to get that market thrown open for their products. The farmer would get \$2.50 for the lamb which he now sells for \$2. This motion of the right hon. member is mere clap-trap, intended to catch a few supporters of the Government, and I do not think he believes in the policy he proposes.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman had better keep that speech for the Senate.

Mr. BROUSE—If I were in the Senate I would make the same speech even if the hon. gentleman were there too. In 1875 the whole Province of Ontario received from the United States only \$680 worth of butter; in the same year we sent from the town of Prescott alone to United States markets \$175,000 worth of the same article. Then, in the matter of sheep, this Province imported just three. The right hon. gentleman should demand protection or our sheep.

Now there are only three articles that come into Canada which can compete with Canadian agricultural produce—wheat, corn and pork. I understood the mover of the resolution before the House to say a duty should be placed on wheat. We have magnificent water power in this country along the Welland Canal, the Longue Sault and the Lachine Canal; these are leased to manufacturers who bring

wheat from the West into the country without paying duty on it, manufacture it and send it out to be sold. Would you shut up these manufactories by taxing wheat and preventing it from coming into Canada? We enjoy the advantages of it passing through the country; advantages we would not enjoy if that policy was carried out. I understand something about corn; the mover would tax it, and what would be the effect? We cannot raise corn enough to feed our manufacturing interests here, and for distillery purposes. There was another manufacturing industry which the hon. member forgot when he was endeavouring to build up these interests; I refer to the starch manufacture, which we should protect. We have three establishments to-day in Canada, one of which is in the County of Grenville, and it uses 600 bushels of grain per day. Although the corn used in this manufacture comes into the country, yet the Americans come in with their starch and successfully compete against it until they compel the Canada starch works to close.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Hear! hear!

Mr. BROUSE—This is an industry I would protect. The right hon. gentleman says "hear, hear," and I say "hear, hear." Let us protect that interest, but if you place a duty on grain that comes in here, where in the name of heaven will you protect it?

An Hon. Member—Put it on starch.

Mr. BROUSE—There is already a duty of two cents per pound on starch.

An Hon. Member—Let us put on four cents.

Mr. BROUSE—Notwithstanding this specific duty of two cents on every pound they sell it in Kingston delivered cheaper than Canada starch.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Supposing corn was delivered in the starch manufactory in bond?

Mr. BROUSE—I follow out the hon. gentleman's argument when he says facts are better than theories, and I am not going to talk theory. The fact is that starch costs $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents of our money, and it costs 6 cents to manufacture it in Canada without a duty on corn. I

cannot understand how you are to tax a material brought into the country to be manufactured and yet protect the manufactured article. This to me is absurd, and I bring forward this argument to show that it is wrong to say that this House or the Government should tax corn brought in for that legitimate purpose. In another direction that corn is heavily taxed, as it is used largely in the manufacture of whiskey, and there is a duty on whiskey of 25 cents per gallon. Will you tax it any farther? Can you? You can make a beam so large that by its own weight it will break; that is the law of nature; and are you going to tax raw material and then tax the manufactured article to such an extent as to prevent its being manufactured? It seems to me to be absurd to talk about protecting the manufacturing interests of the country unless you throw open the American markets and allow our farmers to take their produce from there and sell it where they can get the largest price. I think I heard the hon. gentleman say there was no possibility of getting this privilege. Let me tell him that there was a time when he had the lever that would have opened the markets of the United States—our fisheries that he gave away. This I regret, and had he brought a resolution stating that he regretted exceedingly that the only lever we had to open the American markets was no longer within our power because of himself, he would have acted more properly. When I heard the hon. gentleman struggling to make his remarks it reminded me of a man trying to ride two horses without any reins. As long as the horses go together it is all right, but they come at length to where there is a cross road, and one wants to go one way, and the other wants to go the other way, and he is in great perplexity because he cannot ride them both. These industries go side by side for a certain distance, and then they diverge, one wanting protection, and the other free trade.

Mr. LAURIER—The hon. member for Terrebonne having made allusion to me in his remarks, I thought it advisable to give my own views on the subject. Still, I feel diffident about

expressing myself, being hardly competent to deal with the question. However, since my hon. friend has chosen to do so, I presume that I can express my own feelings better than he can. What my hon. friend has said as to my protective proclivities are perfectly true, and I do not deny that I have been a Protectionist, which I am still. I differ with my hon. friend in this, and to-night I will give my vote against the motion. I am a Protectionist as well as the hon. member. I am a moderate Protectionist; he is an extreme Protectionist.

Mr. MASSON—No! no!

Mr. LAURIER—The difference between us is, that he wants the tariff increased, and further burdens put on the people, whereas I believe that we have already enough burdens. Perhaps my hon. friend will say that I am not consistent, but I claim that I am more consistent than he is. I am not at all surprised to see that he is an extreme political economist. He belongs to a party extreme in every way—extreme politically, socially and religiously.

An Hon. Gentleman—Hear! hear!

Mr. LAURIER—Many hon. members say "hear, hear," and perhaps my remarks touched ground. I want to set myself right on the question involved in this matter. The hon. member for Terrebonne tells me that the question is one of free trade *versus* protection. He says that the question of free trade *versus* protection is a matter political as well as economical. It is asserted by many, and assumed by others, that free trade is a Liberal principle, and protection a Conservative principle. I beg to dissent from this doctrine. I see nothing political about it; it is purely a matter of social economy. If we turn to the history of both parties in any country where the English language, or British institutions are in existence, or even attempted to be established, we find that this matter has even been treated from a purely economical and not a political point of view. It is true that the Liberal party of England is the father of freedom in trade as well as of liberty, not only in

England but in the world at large. It is also true that free-trade was carried in England through political action, and that its introduction was opposed by the Conservatives on political and economical grounds; but it is equally true that since free-trade has been in operation in England, and its beneficent results have been fully experienced by that country, the Conservative party has abandoned its former prejudices, so that at present both parties are a unit in this connection. From Great Britain we cross the Channel, and we find the Liberal party in France divided on the question. When I speak of this party I do not mean the body of hot-headed men who, lacking sound principles, convictions and political opinions, assume, but do not deserve, the name, and who have thrown France into revolution after revolution; but I mean that great body of patriotic men who, at the time of the disastrous war of 1871, attempted by every constitutional means (and by such means alone) to endow France with free institutions, acknowledging as their leaders Thiers, Gambetta and Say, who are divided in opinion on the question of free-trade and protection.

While Thiers is an intense Protectionist, Gambetta and Say are both Free-Traders. As to the Conservatives of France I cannot say what their opinion is on the matter, nor am I aware they have any. The Conservatives of France, and the great body of the Conservatives of Lower Canada, do not trouble themselves with these matter-of-fact questions. They chiefly concern themselves about saving their own souls and cursing the souls of other people. From the old world we come to this continent. In the United States the Liberal party is intensely protectionist and the Conservative or Democratic party intensely free-trade. If at last we come to our own country, we must be compelled to say, from the many discussions we have had, the Liberal party is far from being a unit on this subject. We have consistent and lifetime Liberals on both sides. As to the Conservatives, I am not aware until very recently that the party had a policy on the question, at least their leaders never avowed any. It is true from what we have seen in the House,

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that the great mass of the party seems to be protectionist, but is equally true they have only within two or three days come to adopt that policy openly, probably in justification of the well-known and now famous saying that a political party, like a fish, is moved by its tail. All this I will prove. The question of free-trade and protection is not to be applied in any country to political motives, but is to be treated simply as a matter of pure economy, and its solution depends entirely on the condition of the country. It cannot be denied that free-trade or protection is to be applied according to the necessities of a nation. If the view of the subject that free-trade must be the ultimate policy of any nation be taken, it yet cannot be denied that protection is a matter of necessity for a young nation, in order that it may attain the full development of its own resources. I conceive the most obstinate Conservative must admit that freedom is the natural condition of trade, as of everything human; and the most obstinate Liberal must also allow, that though it would never do to build a Chinese wall around our country in order to cut us off from the outside world, yet sometimes it is both wise and prudent to establish on our frontiers a few detached forts to protect our territory against foreign invasion. Therefore I can agree with my hon. friend from Terrebonne, that the question as to the adoption of free-trade and protection altogether depends on the condition of the country which may be in question. If I were in Great Britain I would avow free-trade, but I am a Canadian born and resident here, and I think that we require protection. But to what extent do we need it? In this relation it is that I am not in agreement with my hon. friend. He holds that the tariff should be increased in order to preserve our manufactures from the injurious effects of foreign competition; but my hon. friend should remember that protection means taxation, which is a burden on the people, and the price a young a vigorous nation must consent to pay in order to rid itself of the yoke of a more wealthy nation. I consider, however, that the present tariff affords sufficient protection. It

may be said that this was not the real object in view, but I care little for the motive—I only regard the results.

We have at the present time a 17½ per cent tariff, which is protection for Canadian manufacturers against foreign competition. But that is not all. Against the English competitor he has the difference of freight in his favor, and against the American competitor he has the difference in the price of labour. But notwithstanding all that amount of protection, we are told it is necessary to increase it. Has any evidence been adduced to support that proposition? I have listened attentively to what has been said in its favour, and the summing up of the argument has been that the country is in a depressed condition. But is the depression under which we are now suffering the consequence of our present tariff, or has it been proved that by a change in the tariff it would have been relieved or alleviated? There is not a tittle of evidence to that effect. The answer given is this: That the depression is not particular to this country, but is universal and affects highly protected as well as free-trade countries. Then will it be pretended that an increase in the tariff will restore prosperity? Hon. gentlemen opposite have gone sentimental over the question. They have said factories are closed or working on half-time, and that thousands of men are out of employment in the cities. All this may be true, but suppose we had a high tariff? The result would be the same, and we would be even in a worse position than we are now—in the same position as the manufacturers of the United States are. With the thousands of men out of employment, 25 per cent would be added to the necessaries of life, and there would be more suffering.

Let us go still further. Suppose we should have the legislation sought, we would be no better situated than we are under a moderate tariff. The United States have a high tariff, and are suffering even worse than we, and the remedy proposed there is a decrease in duties. It would be extremely unfair, unjust and even dangerous if we were to take the present condition of things as a basis to frame legislation.

It would be legislating for exceptions and from exceptions. Let us take the normal condition of our fiscal policy; let us look at the year preceding the crisis. It is admitted on all hands the country was then prosperous, and does not that prove that our policy is sound? But let us take a still better criterion. We are said to be suffering from a great wrong. It is the advantage of the constitutional system under which we live that either party may rid the country of any wrong. Is it to be supposed that if we had a grievance in this regard, the parties would have remained silent? The fact that we have had a moderate tariff so long without complaints is the best evidence of its benefits.

There is another argument which has not been answered. We have had many changes in the tariff since the adoption of our fiscal policy 20 years ago, but the manufacturers never made any complaints until the crisis came some eighteen months ago. Since then this agitation commenced, and the cry of a retaliatory policy was raised. Manufacturers say: "If the Americans close their markets against us, we should close ours against them." But this is not a protection but a free-trade argument. It means simply: "Give us fair play; give us fair competition." If this argument proves anything, it is that we are ready and strong enough at this moment to cast off protection and to meet the Americans on an equal footing.

I presume that the argument that Americans slaughter goods in this country is very much exaggerated. I noticed last summer that those who were loudest in the denunciations of American productions were the manufacturers of boots and shoes at Montreal, although the imports to the Dominion did not amount to a quarter of a million per annum. But even suppose the case to be such as presented, what should we do to remedy it? Should we follow the course suggested by our hon. friends opposite, and establish the American tariff in this country? That policy would not be to the benefit of the consumer, because the member for Terrebonne admitted himself that the cost of living under it would be increased 20 per cent. Then,

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what would be the position of the manufacturer? He would have the privilege of offering goods in the United States markets just as they slaughter their productions in ours.

I said at the commencement of my remarks that I was in favor of protection, but I do not understand protection as my hon. friend understands it. I take it that we should have a tariff that will commence by taxing the raw material. If the policy of my hon. friend were carried out, wheat would be taxed; he knows perfectly well that the Province of Quebec is not a wheat-producing country, and he would have to levy a tax on every farmer in the Province. I am sure that is not what he is aiming at, but he cannot deny this may be the result of the policy which he proposes. We have within ourselves the ability to create an industry. If it be shown that we cannot maintain it, unless by legislation either in the way of premium or prohibitory tariff, then I should be ready to take that into consideration, but I shall never vote for a proposition of the kind now before the House, that every article of consumption in the Dominion should be taxed.

Mr. MOUSSEAU—Explanations are necessary after the speech of my hon. friend from Drummond and Arthabaska to-night, and his vote on the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Montreal West. Everybody knows what has passed, and notably in connection with the local elections of 1875, and the federal elections of 1872 and 1874. Each one of the hon. gentlemen is familiar with what passed in his own Province, and also what occurred in Quebec. In that Province the cry for protection commenced in 1871 at the time of the local elections, although it was a question which came more under the jurisdiction of the Federal Parliament. The Liberals of Quebec began to agitate this matter, not only at the time of the local election, but even in the Local House during the session of December, 1871. They said at that time, and repeated later in 1872 that the Province of Quebec was much behind the other Provinces in progress, and that this was due to the bad policy of the Conservative leaders, who should have granted protection

twenty-five years previously. These gentlemen delivered magnificent speeches, full of fine and patriotic sentiments, and mourned the fate of the exiled French Canadians, whom they stated were exiled owing to the inefficient policy of Sir George Cartier and the right hon. member for Kingston, and that the omissions of these gentlemen in this respect had brought the Province into a state almost of misery.

Mr. Speaker, the elections of 1871 were conducted on this cry, and at that time they were in a position to do so in the province. They had at least the air of sincerity in what they said, and after the elections they continued to advocate this matter even in the House. Quebec was not the proper place to discuss the subject. They knew that the question should have been brought up in Ottawa, if it was their intention to produce any efficacious results on behalf of the interests they pretended to be desirous to serve. They named a Committee in 1871 at the autumn session of the Quebec Parliament, when several young Liberals of talent took their seats. The electors carried them on their shoulders into the Legislative halls, and in the midst of these remarkable young men was the hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska. He was then as now an extreme Protectionist, but he did not advocate the cause of protection at that time with free-trade arguments. Then he pleaded protection with arguments which were perhaps sincere, but at all events they had the colour of common sense. I think that the House will not object if I quote from the speeches delivered by this hon. member at that important time. In 1871 the Province of Quebec as well as other provinces was not suffering from depression in trade; nevertheless the Liberals who arrived at Quebec in greater numbers than they ever were before came full of the idea that they were about to regenerate the country, as they have since done at Ottawa. The Liberals of Quebec, who thought they were called upon to regenerate that province in its Parliament, made very fine speeches in the debate on the Address. The most significant, the best and the

most eloquent speech of all—one which I recommend to the attention of the House, one of which I cordially approve, one which all Quebec admired, and which it would now approve much more than the speech the hon. member delivered this evening—came from the hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska. The speech was delivered on the 9th of November, 1871. The addresses proposing and seconding the reply to the Speech from the Throne, as was customary, painted matters in very bright colours, but this did not suit the hon. member. He had reflected in his closet over the ills of this country, and here was the result as he announced it to the House:—

“Whoever has studied the situation of the country elsewhere than upon paper, and from the depths of his heart; whoever has been able to closely witness the condition of our agricultural and commercial interests, vacillating and timid, and our industries in a backward condition, must say the brilliant description of the mover and seconder of the Address is only a mere mirage and not a reality.” I do not doubt in the least that the speech was delivered with perfect sincerity, and it provoked the appointment of a Committee in the Quebec Parliament to inquire into the means for promoting the different industries of the Province. I am convinced that he had not reflected on this matter in his study; he had gone through the country as the good father of a family should, and studied the evils which existed, and that he arrived at Quebec with all the remedies necessary to rescue that Province from its unfortunate condition. He found our agriculture behind the requirements of the age, our commerce unventuresome and hesitating, and our industry not so advanced as it should be. This was in 1871, when he considered the Province to be in a great state of suffering, and he was of opinion that the remedy was protection. Those unfortunate leaders, the right hon. member for Kingston and the late lamented Sir George Cartier, had dragged the country almost to ruin, at the sacrifice of our most sacred interests; by their unpatented policy in failing to grant protection they had forced French

Canadians to leave the country. He also said: "They tell us we are rich and prosperous. Is this really the case? With regard to all classes of society, the trader, the banker, the merchant, the member of the Liberal professions, the agriculturist, the simple artisan, and everywhere, without exception you will discover an indubitably unhealthy condition, a state of languishment and suffering which proves there is an evil somewhere." I have never heard since that, nor since I have paid attention to public affairs, of a speech that was so much admired. These were his views: "The principle cause of the evils from which we suffer is that up to the present the production of the country has not been equal to the consumption." This was essentially a Protectionist argument, an argument in every way worthy of the hon. member's patriotism, which induced him to seek for such a length of time for the real cause of these evils. "The Ministry could, with so much more propriety, admit that it has not alone to bear the consequent responsibility, but this responsibility rests upon the entire nation." Upon this I must pay a very high compliment to my hon. friend. He was more just at Quebec than in his speech on the hustings. For outside the walls of the Legislature they did not fear or hesitate to hold responsible for this state of things the two honorable leaders who had so long, so brilliantly, and so successfully guided the destinies of the Conservative party and of the country. In fact, those who have followed somewhat closely the affairs of Quebec, if they look at the past, will understand that if there is fault to be found it falls upon the whole nation. An explanation for this pretended want of progress on the part of Quebec can be given. When that Province entered the Confederation, her people occupied a position in which no others of the Confederation were placed except perhaps the Acadians of the Lower Provinces. Hon. members from the other provinces and their journals were not sufficiently familiar with the condition of Quebec to make such accusations as they have levelled against it. After the conquest, which was not only glorious for England but raised her grandeur, when

the full liberty enjoyed before was restored, the French people of the Province were deserted. They were not only poor, but had been decimated by war and the consequences which naturally follow. Those who had taken the lead in its affairs at the time returned to France to escape from the yoke of England, and they left the French Canadians alone with their priests to aid, educate and assist them. For a long time they fought for their own subsistence, and to preserve the shreds of the heritage that had been left them; and it is not surprising that fighting in the midst of poverty they did not make as much progress as the other provinces, which were peopled by a strong current of immigration. This explains why French Canadians are found in certain branches of material progress not so far advanced as those of the other Provinces, but in many things they at least occupy an equal position.

I will continue, Mr. Speaker, to quote from my hon. friend's speech. "It is humiliating to admit that after three centuries of existence this country cannot provide for its own necessities, and that, although nature has been so prodigal in its gifts to make it a manufacturing country, it is obliged to obtain its supplies from foreign markets." I am quite sure that at the time the hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska was quite sincere, and I would not venture to doubt that to-day he is not so; but I suppose that since that date he has made progress. I heard his speech, and I wonder what new discoveries he has made to force him to change so thoroughly his opinions. Here we have the bouquet of the speech: "It is our duty, especially the duty of those of us who are of French Canadian origin, to create a national industry." Has the hon. gentleman so soon changed his views in this relation? It appears now that our industries are sufficiently protected, but then this was not at all the case. I cannot conceive by what mode of thought he has arrived at this conclusion. At that time he considered above everything it was the interest of the French Canadians to found and promote national industries, and in this way prevent the humiliation that

wounded his patriotism in the fact that after 300 years of existence we had no Canadian industries. Well, Mr. Speaker, it appears that since 1871 he has made marvellous progress; he must have seen the Province covered with new industries and the advancement of the French Canadians, not only by a national industry but by industries sufficiently protected.

On the 6th of December of the same year this same patriotic gentleman, who was most prominent among the Liberals of Quebec in advocating protection to national industries, had something to do with this resolution:—"Moved by Mr. Gendron seconded by Mr. (now Senator) Trudel, that a special Committee be named to enquire as to the best means to be adopted in order to develop and advance industries in this Province, and this Committee be composed of Messrs. Chauveau, Robertson, Langevin, Cassidy, David, Eddy, Eisenhart, Fortier, La Rochelle, Laurier, Marchand, Mollieur, Roy, and the mover and seconder." This Committee which was to do such marvellous things under the aegis of the Liberals, sat for a long time in 1873 and 1874, in order to devise some specific remedy; but when it was on the point of giving birth to a project in this relation, the hon. member found the field of Quebec too restricted for his aspirations, and he came to Ottawa. This is not all. In 1872 the intensity of the excitement of, and the ardent heat shown at, the electoral contests will be remembered. Not only the material interests of the country were considered, but mixed up with this were the religious or national questions. The Liberals of Quebec, at the time called Grits, Reformers or Nationalists, conducted the campaign, mounted on three fierce war horses. The first was the question of Riel, who was the unfortunate object of the prosecution of my hon. friend for Hastings. The second was the New Brunswick School Question, in connection with which they charged the right hon. member for Kingston and the late Sir George Cartier with having trampled under foot and in a cowardly manner sacrificed the interests of the Catholics of that Province. The third is much more easily understood because much

more *apropos*. They said that these unfortunate Conservative leaders had betrayed and destroyed the interests of Quebec in failing to grant protection at least twenty-five years ago. Permit me, young as I am in political life, to make a few reflections, which will, perhaps, be somewhat disagreeable to my hon. friend, in the interest of political morality and consistency. This hon. gentleman conducted the struggle against the Conservatives of Quebec on these three great questions, and God be thanked, in the interest of the country and political morality, that since they have been raised to power at Ottawa we are able to judge of their real value. You, Sir, have, been a witness of the debates in this House, and of their pusillanimous conduct with relation to these great questions. After having reproached and stigmatised the Conservatives in the strongest manner because Riel did not receive a complete, absolute and unconditional pardon, and after having reproached them bitterly for having sacrificed above all the interests of the Catholics in New Brunswick in connection with the school question—you are able to judge of the shameful way in which they have retreated from the positions they took. As I stated in commencing, they might have been sincere; I hope they were. It is possible that they recognized that Riel was not the holy man, the *brave compatriot*, they had represented him in 1871 and 1872. It is also possible they were very sincere upon another point, and they saw that the Roman Catholics of New Brunswick did not so greatly merit their sympathies as they had previously supposed. One after another they bowed the knee to the Premier, and accepted the slap in the face which he has given them with due meekness. What has been the consequence? I have reason to draw the attention of the House to it in the interest of political morality and political honour.

They have been unable to reply to our criticisms with regard to their disgraceful proceedings, and the consequence has been that in all recent elections they have been swept out of public life in the most humiliating manner. I take this opportunity, without assum-

ing to possess the gift of prophesy, to predict that owing to their vote on the motion of the hon. member for Montreal West, and if they pursue the same course with regard to the motion now before the House, at the next election they will be completely swept out of existence. I have no doubt that only ten or twelve will be permitted to return to mourn over the false position in which they are placed by the treachery of their predecessors. I am chagrined to notice the stand taken by the Government, which, if I merely considered the interests of my own party, I would observe with pleasure. But no, I am influenced by higher motives than mere party considerations. Since I have entered political life, I have not been inspired with the desire of gaining a party triumph merely on account of the dishonourable conduct of my opponents. I regret, therefore, the vote which they gave on the motion of my hon. friend for Montreal West, and which I fear they will record touching the motion of my right hon. friend for Kingston, which I am quite confident will achieve their political ruin. Those three war horses will be killed under them. Up to the present, I have cited the eloquent and patriotic speech of the hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska, but I will now quote the speech of another member of this House, my hon. friend for Megantic. These two gentlemen are political neighbours, and the latter is a young man of a great deal of talent. He contributes to the paper of which I have the honor of being part proprietor; hence I am well acquainted with his opinions. The hon. member for Megantic in 1873, and for a long time previous, was an advanced Protectionist.

My hon. friend from Drummond and Arthabaska, on the abolition of the *double mandat*, came to Ottawa, and since he has been obliged to follow the Premier as a leader, he has not been so violent on the question of protection. The hon. member for Megantic, who voted against the motion of my hon. friend from Montreal West, in January, 1873, wrote admirable letters on the question of protection, on which subject he was perfectly well informed, and wrote with extreme ability; and as it is very important

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to show what were then the views of the National party on this question of protection, I crave the indulgence of the House for making a few quotations. The hon. member ascribed the prosperity of the United States to protection, and their ability to diminish the debt contracted on account of the civil war at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year. The hon. gentleman should give the necessary explanations on this point, and I hope he will do so, at least, to his constituents. In January, 1873, he wrote: "Parliament will soon open, and, without doubt, efforts will be made in order to obtain a modification of the tariff in the sense of protection." The hon member continues to refute in advance the argument of Mr. Mackenzie, and proceeds:—

"I conceive the difficulties which it is necessary for him to conquer; but, on the other hand, in taxing certain products exempted from imposts, the increase of consumption by the augmentation of population or the improved condition of our industries would produce as it seems to me sufficient compensation.

"This was beyond question proved to be the case in the United States, which have prospered while protecting their industries, and at the same time diminishing their debt incurred during the civil war at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year, without taking the interest account into consideration. We have lost, owing to our unwise policy in this relation, 75,000 consumers, which benefit by their presence the American Republic, without regarding the foreign immigration, which our system obliges to pass through Canada, to settle over the border."

The hon. gentleman having ridiculed free-trade, states:—

"Our policy, in my opinion, should be protection for every manufacturer for which the raw material, with exemption from duties, or the levy of purely fiscal imports upon all foreign raw material, which we could advantageously manufacture; and low duties for every imported article which is to be consumed without being manufactured."

In February, 1873, the hon. gentleman wrote:—

"Protection by lessening our fifty millions of importations, would leave in the country a balance in our favour, from which everybody would benefit. But the class which would be benefited in the clearest and most general way, would be the agriculturists, aside from industries necessarily local, and ordinariness of minor importance. Certain manufacturing interests belong to us, or could be located amongst us with advantage; viz:—manufac-

turers of wood, iron, wool, cotton, cheese, beet-root sugar, &c., &c.

"If there is one of these in connection with which cheapness might be a principal consideration, it is the iron industry; nevertheless, the United States have sacrificed cheapness in this relation, in order to promote this important enterprise. As our position is somewhat identical with that of the United States, we have the same grounds for adopting such protection.

"If it is wished to form an idea of what has been the protection in the United States, let us hear what Henry Clay states as one of their great illustrations:—Protection has been for the United States the sheet-anchor of its prosperity, and the mainspring of its progress. The seven years which preceded the adoption of the protective tariff of 1824 have been most disastrous, while the seven years which have succeeded have been the most prosperous the United States have ever witnessed—protection for my country signifies prosperity."

I am convinced that the right hon. member for Kingston had read these articles previous to making his motion, which does not demand an extravagant protective tariff, but merely a readjustment of taxation; and I do not know how the hon. member can vote against such a resolution. I am confident indeed that the right hon. gentleman has secured a victory in this respect this evening.

I have cited these extracts, because they apply to two hon. members of this House, and if we peruse the columns of their organs of that day and read reports of speeches they delivered at the elections, we will see that these hon. gentlemen preached the same doctrine, not only with intelligence and force, but with a bitterness of sentiment against our unfortunate Conservative chiefs for having failed to grant them the protection desired. I ought to avow that brief as my political experience has been, I was astonished at the greater part of the speeches pronounced here in favour of free-trade. I was surprised that prominent men on the other side should be divided on this question. I had occasion to say, and I repeat it now, that political economy is only half a science. Apart from certain great social principles regarding the distribution of riches, it is not a science but only a matter of political expediency.

It is impossible to apply to the United States the doctrines or theories

which are suitable to England, and *vice versa*; nor can we apply to France the doctrines which are adapted to Great Britain. It is also impossible that the doctrines of these three great countries can be applied to Prussia, Russia or Austria, and much less to a new country like ours. The reproaches the members of the opposite party have uttered against the Conservative leaders—I speak more particularly with reference to my hon. friends from Quebec—on this question of protection have not the slightest foundation, and for two reasons: in the first place it was impossible for a long time to speak of protection, because our country had been left without power, without strength, without resources, and without the capital necessary for its proper development; and it was natural that England in her turn sought to keep the colonies from developing their industries to her disadvantage. With that object a great number of Governors received private instructions urging them strongly to retard the too rapid growth of colonial industries. But when we became somewhat powerful and prosperous, England said to us, "now that you are strong enough you can take care of yourselves." And when she did so the corollary was that we received the full right to arrange our own taxation. In 1859 the movement commenced for the readjustment of the tariff on a protection basis. This wise step in the right direction was abandoned, as the hon. member for Terrebonne so clearly explained, in 1867, at the period of Confederation, to please the Maritime Provinces.

Permit me, at this point, to say to these friends from the Maritime Provinces that no Province in the Confederation was so liberal and so generous to them as Quebec on the occasion of the agitation for better terms. Everybody will remember what passed, and what violent opposition—the word is Parliamentary as well as correct—was raised to that proposition by the Reform party, led by the hon. gentleman who now leads the Government, and this opposition was so strong and so factious that better terms could not have been voted if it had not been for

the majority given by the Province of Quebec.

This action kept our good friends in the Lower Provinces from preventing the consolidation of Confederation, originated by our great statesman. We do not ask for thanks in politics, for our own interests rather than friendly sentiments govern our political actions. The gentlemen of Upper Canada stated at the time, with regard to the efforts of the then Opposition:—

“ You believe you have done a great thing with reference to better terms, but you have placed Confederation on the verge of revolution. The French Canadian peasants have exhibited enough intelligence to save the country even at the expense of an augmentation of their taxation.”

This is what a distinguished gentleman, whom I could name, says. I will not, however, refer to him by name, as he has retired from political life. Some speakers who have preceded me, cite the examples of France and England, but the prosperity of one has been ascribed to protection, and of the other to free-trade. This is exactly what I said a few minutes ago—in this Dominion, which is altogether under peculiar circumstances, which have nothing in common with these other great countries, these theories do not apply; gentlemen come into this House filled with the doctrines and principles in vogue in older countries, and which are not at all suited to our own. I say more, the science of free trade is altogether erroneous, and this system cannot by any means be universally applied with benefit. I heard the other day the hon. member for Montreal West tell us that protection in this country commenced in 1847-48, but the hon. member was quite astray there. This country has almost always had the advantage of enormous protection in favour of our agriculturists, due to the policy of England. Lower Canada at that time exported and sold grain at very high prices, and the French Canadians attained a greater degree of prosperity in proportion to the population than they now possess. What occurred later? The repeal of the Corn Laws. With the construction of great public works we received

grain at Montreal from the Great West, and since we constructed our canals, notably the first, Chambly, grain was exported to the United States at great profit. Still later we had the benefits of the protection system, so that I can say that it was almost constant. We have had illustrations drawn from the state of things in England and France, and it is alleged that the nations have enriched themselves and reached the high degree of prosperity which they at present enjoy by means of free-trade. On the contrary, before they adopted free-trade principles, they had a system of protection to the extent, in certain particulars, not only of 20, 30 or 50 but even 100 per cent. France has made enormous sacrifices in order to protect her industries. They talk of the treaty of 1860 as having been a great step on the part of France towards free-trade, but the hon. gentlemen who make these statements are completely in error, for there is a list of products on which duties averaging 25 per cent are levied and another list averaging 30 per cent. Under the operation of this system the progress made has been so favourable that a large number of articles of steel which they had hitherto imported from England are now manufactured in France and exported to England. So it is with regard to the same kind of industry in the United States at this day. They said, “ we have coal and iron ore, as we have in this country—and consequently why should we not establish among ourselves steel and iron industries to as great an extent as in England?” What has been the result. Within a few months the system perfectly succeeded, and they not only make their own iron and steel in enormous quantities, by imposing heavy duties against foreign manufactures, but they compete with England successfully in her own market. The hon. members have cited the opinions of many political economists, but there is a gentleman who now occupies a distinguished position in this connection. The gentleman I refer to is Mons. Thiers, who drew France from the frightful disasters into which Napoleon plunged her. Under M. Thiers France paid off six

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millions of her indemnity in two years. What does the great statesman say in this regard? Here is his statement:

"I understand that hesitation is shown respecting the development of certain industries in the country; but what I do not comprehend is that when they are developed, they let them perish.

"We are told that we wish an industry *en serre chaude*. Which are the nations that have endeavored to develop their labouring interests? They are free and intelligent peoples.

"When a foreigner brings them a product they seek to imitate it; and nations which lack this desire are the indolent peoples of the East. Intelligent and free nations strive to appropriate to themselves the products which foreigners bring into their territories."

The example of England is constantly cited. This is the example which this great and intelligent nation has given us: During the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries the Brabaneons possessed fine woollen industries. England, which received these products said, as soon as she woke up to her position: "With my wool these goods are made. I have the labour, the intelligence and the raw material, and this is foreign labour which is supplying my wants." She accordingly kept her wools, established her own manufactures, and then began the great prosperity of England. Is that barbarism? Did England soon abandon this system? Only a few years ago, merely for the purpose of securing flourishing linen industries, did she not adopt protective tariffs, forbid the exportation of the machinery, and give premiums to the Irish peasants, in order to encourage the cultivation of flax? History shows that not America alone has adopted tariffs in order to develop native industries; but English colonies, Canada and Australia, have had recourse to the most vigorous protective policy against even their mother country, in order to establish their industries on a firm basis. India herself, with a colony of 500,000 Englishmen settled on her territory, has framed tariffs to encourage manufactures; and Mr. Wentworth Dilke repeats, in connection with this fact, the words which Western America pronounces with pride: "An agricultural should become a manufacturing people. Something else is necessary beside the flourishing seaports of New York and Boston, the prosperous interior cities of Cincinnati and Chicago; and to ob-

tain these, it is necessary through a protective system to exclude foreign products." And, nevertheless, Mr. Wentworth Dilke is a Free-Trader in England, for he understands that what is suitable for one country is not suitable for all; and that free trade is not the law of the world.

These same opinions the Liberals advocated in the strongest manner at the elections of 1871, 1872 and 1874, and upon which they will be judged by the country. I now come to the consideration of the speech of my hon. friend from Drummond and Arthabaska, and I confess that I have rarely seen an advocate pleading a bad case reveal, at the same time, more audacity than the hon. member. What astonished me the most was to hear the hon. member declare that he had always been and was still a Protectionist, and immediately afterwards make a free-trade speech to prove what?—that protection is hurtful to the country. But he has not given a single reason to explain the change apparent in his views within so brief a period as the last few years. He complains that if the tariff was raised, too onerous burdens would be imposed upon the people of Quebec. This argument seems to me to be neither of much weight nor courageous. Having advocated the principle for several years which he now condemns, and having thus raised the expectations of the people in this connection, through their speeches and other articles in the press, these hon. gentlemen now aver that what they have so powerfully contended for would be detrimental for the country. But the right hon. gentleman from Kingston does not ask for an augmentation of the peoples' burthens, and for what reason then do the hon. members on the Ministerial side of the House—Liberals who hold that Conservatives should have granted protection 25 years ago—for what reason do they say that this proposition frightens them so greatly? The right hon. gentleman is simply desirous of obtaining a readjustment of the tariff, and this would be perfectly possible under the circumstances—and especially with the assistance of such an able Finance Minister as the gentleman who delivered the extremely eloquent speech to which

we listened the other day. Certain hon. members have gone so far as to insult the great manufacturing interests of the country by treating them as beggars asking for charity instead of demanding justice. The hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska made an extremely grave accusation against the member for Terrebonne, stating that he was not only an extreme Protectionist but an extreme Catholic. This is a very serious charge, and the second accusation is worthy of the first.

Only a few months ago the journals of this Liberal-Grit-National-Reform Party proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets that the hon. member for Terrebonne was extremely liberal in his sentiments, and was even working against the interests of the Catholic Church, alluding to a position he was said to have taken in connection with clerical influence at elections. They then universally asserted that he was the most liberal and moderate of all Conservatives, but to-day there is a wonderful change. He was also said, at St. Croix, where were present a great many members of the opposite party, to have almost spoken against the Church, and the Liberals then intimated that it was possible to coalesce with him. They made an advance in this connection. If he had desired it, he could probably have obtained the position of the Hon. President of the Council. An hon. member has remarked that the tail moves the head of a political party. We had an illustration of this last week on the occasion of an important motion. The Liberals allied themselves against the President of the Council because a wretched Conservative, who was the editor of a miserable Conservative journal, had obtained a contract which might give a profit of \$100 a year. The hon. members of this House who claim this patronage implied that if the Hon. President of the Council did not cancel the contract he would be compelled to leave the Cabinet, thereby bringing about a humiliation extremely painful and disagreeable and most dishonourable for the Government and the Parliament. I cannot understand how hon. gentlemen, coming from the Province of Quebec, could have changed their

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opinions to so remarkable an extent within the past few years. They now come and intimate that they were not properly acquainted with the subject with which they were treating when they demanded a re-adjustment of the tariff for the protection of our tariff.

I exceedingly regret that public men, who are perhaps intended to conduct the destinies of Canada, and perhaps to replace the President of the Council and other members of the Cabinet, should have treated so important a subject with such levity as to come before the hon. members of this House, and say that really they did not understand the matters concerning which they formerly spoke. I hope that hon. members will forget their party prejudices, and remember that there are subjects which are of more importance than mere party interests—the great interests of the country. I am convinced that my hon. friend from Drummond and Arthabaska, having reflected more deeply over the question, will adopt a different course; also that the hon. member for Megantic will retrace his steps, and that apologising to their constituents and their country for their late expressions of opinion, both hon. gentlemen will cast their votes in favour of my right hon. friend's motion.

Mr. FLEMING moved the adjournment of the debate.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he would prefer if this motion could be decided at once. If there was to be an adjournment of the debate it must proceed on Monday. The right hon. gentleman had moved a resolution of want of confidence, and the Government must know whether they had the confidence of the House or not.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said if the debate were adjourned it could only be resumed, according to the Rules of the House, on Tuesday, unless the House unanimously consented to proceed with it on Monday. This might not be a motion of want of confidence unless the Premier considered it one.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was afraid he would have to consider it a want of confidence motion, though he might weather it, and the debate must

proceed on Monday. This had been the practice of the right hon. gentleman himself.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it had been the invariable practice of the right hon. member when he was Leader of the Government to insist on such motions being discussed to the exclusion of all other business until a vote was reached. It was the uniform practice in England.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not the practice in England, and never had been. The hon. gentleman ought to know better, and there was no excuse for his statement. The practice in England was this—the Government might, and sometimes did, refuse to go on with any Government business until such motions were decided, but they never deferred private business.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he understood some motions which were attacks on the Government policy went over to Government days, but not a serious one like this, which, if carried, would have the effect of displacing them. The hon. gentleman knew it was quite immaterial to him personally whether the debate would be continued on Monday or Tuesday, because he would not be present either day, but he thought his view was the sound one. He was under the impression if he were to move that the debate be continued on Monday, it would be quite in order.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said no rule of this House could be altered without due notice, or there might as well be no rules at all. If there were a universal consent of course the agreement of all parties would set aside the rule. In the interest of free discussion and a free Parliament, the minority had a right to insist upon the rules of the House being carried out.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. member had better add to his motion that it be the first order of the day on Monday.

Mr. FLEMING—Moved that the debate be adjourned until Monday.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I object to an addition to a motion which I have seconded. I hope the Government will not press this matter.

Mr. SPEAKER—When the Government declare they regard any motion as want of confidence, it has been usual to continue the debate without interruption, but whether any member has an object is another matter.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested that if the debate should be continued on Monday, Tuesday should be given to the private members.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he could not consent to this.

After some further discussion Mr. Speaker said it was the custom to give precedence to want of confidence motions, but he could see no rule for it. This seemed to be an exceptional case. Usually the Opposition wanted to press a motion of want of confidence, and facilities were given by the Government for the discussion.

The motion to adjourn the debate was carried, and the House adjourned at Fifteen minutes past one o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 13, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the chair at Three o'clock.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—To amend the charter of the St. Lawrence Bank, and change the name of said Bank.

MOTIONS OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Mr. SPEAKER—I have looked more carefully into the question raised on Friday last, and as it is a matter of some importance, I think it is my duty to explain the reasons which strengthen my decision. I found in the first place that Mr. Todd had already a note on the subject attached to his very valuable work, in which, indeed, he does not treat this point directly at all. His note is this:—"It is usual to give priority over other business to a formal motion of want of confidence, but not to a resolution embodying a less direct expression of opinion adverse to the policy of Ministers, however seriously such a motion may be regarded in its ultimate consequences." This is a note prepared some time ago by Mr. Todd, which I found in his work. I think,

however, there is some reason to doubt whether that note does distinctly and fully express even the practice of the House of Commons. I find in May, 1841, when Sir Robert Peel moved what is known as the first direct motion of want of confidence in the Ministry of the day, after a very lengthy debate on the subject, when the time came for an adjournment (the debate took place on a Thursday) Sir Robert Peel instead of claiming as a matter of right that it should proceed on the following Wednesday (the House adjourned over to that day), put it to the leader of the House, Lord John Russell, asking him whether it could not be arranged that the debate should proceed on the next day. Lord John Russell's reply was in substance that he thought the matter could be arranged, and the debate accordingly did proceed on the next day. It will be seen, however, that it was not because of any right claimed by the leader of the Opposition to persist in carrying on the discussion, but as a matter of arrangement between the two parties of the House. The Ministers then, as on other occasions, furnished facilities to those who assailed them to pursue the attack to its ultimate issue. I find again a motion arising on the 6th June, 1872, which involved, according to the view of the Ministry themselves, a question of confidence in their administration. The question was then raised whether the debate should proceed continuously, and Mr. Gladstone expressed himself in these words:—

"I do not wish to be held bound even by silence to the doctrines that every motion to be made in this House, which the Government may regard as involving a vote of censure, is therefore to receive precedence of all other business and is to be made the subject of immediate discussion. There are various qualifications to be attached to that doctrine—qualifications according to the circumstances of the case; qualifications according, also, to the intention of the member by whom the motion is made; qualifications according to the support which that motion receives from large portions of the House; and, finally, let me add, qualifications according to the bearing of the motion upon the public interests at the time. Because it is perfectly conceivable that a vote might be moved, not like that of my noble friend, to which he disclaims attaching the character of a vote of censure, and which might receive considerable support, but for the immediate discussion of which, nevertheless, it might be contrary to the duty of the Govern-

ment to give extraordinary means, if in their conviction and knowledge it was likely to be injurious to great public interests."

Here again Mr. Gladstone speaks from the standpoint—in fact on the ground—that it rested with the Government to determine whether they would afford facilities to the Opposition. I cannot succeed in finding any case in which the parties who moved a motion of want of confidence were not willing to proceed with it. There is another occasion almost directly in point. It was in November, 1852, when the Liberal party in the House, through Mr. Villiers, while the Budget was under consideration, made an attack on the Government of the day, proposing a series of his famous resolutions in favour of the question of free-trade in broad terms, very much as the resolution we have on the other side in this House. That was accepted as an attack on the policy of the Government, an attack involving their existence. It came up after formal notice of motion, and an amendment was moved to it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The fate of the Government depended on that; the debate commenced on Tuesday, and I find it recorded here:—"The House adjourned "until Thursday, Wednesday being a "public day. The question was not "pressed by either party. The Govern- "ment did not invite the Opposition to "proceed with the debate, and as a mat- "ter of course the rights of the members "to their private day were regarded, the "debate being adjourned till Thursday." That I consider a case so much in point as to leave no doubt as to my ruling on Friday. I am glad to see by these precedents that I ruled correctly on Friday night last.

THE ST. LAWRENCE AND OTTAWA
RAILWAY ACT.

The House went into Committee of the Whole—(Mr. Burpee, Sunbury, in in the chair) to consider an Act further to amend "The St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway Act as amended by Standing Committee on railways, canals and telegraph lines."

Mr. BLAIN said touching the 18th Section, providing that if parties holding first and second claims did not accept payment, interest should cease,

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it seemed to him, that this would alter their position, and he desired to learn whether their consent had been obtained.

Hon. Mr. SMITH replied that this matter had been taken into special consideration, but on the whole it did not seem to be of sufficient importance, to prevent the object of the Bill being attained. Some persons had seven, and others, eight per cent., and some claims were drawn for seven—others for eight and twenty years. On receipt of thirty days' notice they would be obliged to accept the money, and the bondholders were quite willing to take it at any time.

The Committee rose and reported, and the Bill was read the third time and passed.

COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) moved the second reading of the Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada.

The motion was carried.

CANADA SOUTHERN RAILWAY.

Mr. OLIVER moved the second reading of the Bill intituled an Act to empower the Canada Southern Railway Company to issue preference stock.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) stated that he would have no objection to the second reading if he were permitted to make suggestions or move amendments, if advisable, when the Bill came before the House after being considered by the Railway Committee.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought it would be more convenient if any objections entertained were submitted immediately, and invited the hon. member from Oxford to explain the purpose of the Bill.

Mr. OLIVER stated that he had informed the hon. member for Elgin that when the Bill came before the Railway Committee, if he (Mr. Macdougall) had any objection to offer to it he would endeavour to obtain for him—as well as for any other person under the same circumstances—a hearing. The provisions of the Bill were similar to those of Bills passed during the last Session, being simply

intended to empower the Company to issue preference stock for five millions, to be used in the payment of overdue interest and in the redemption of a certain amount of first preference bonds of a previous issue, the consent of the holders having been obtained; also for the issue of second preference stock to the extent of \$2,500,000 in order to redeem \$2,500,000 of similar bonds. His only object at present was to have the Bill referred to the Committee, when all objections could be considered.

Mr. PALMER was of opinion that it would be very much better if there was a clause permitting the consent of parties whose interests were affected in this connection.

The Bill was read the second time.

MAIN-À-DIEU.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton)—Is it the intention of the Government to provide funds for building a break-water at the Port of Main-à-Dieu, N. S., this year?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not their intention.

DELIVERY OF LETTERS.

Mr. PELLETIER—Is it the intention of the Government to extend the system of free delivery of letters to St. Sauveur, one of the suburbs of the City of Quebec?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGDON—The subject is under consideration.

INDIANS IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

Mr. COSTIGAN—Is it the intention of the Government to appoint a Resident Indian Commissioner at Tobique, New Brunswick, in accordance with the wish of those interested in the Indian Reserve at that place; and in order to reduce the cost of managing the affairs of said Reserve?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied that the present number was quite sufficient.

MAIL FACILITIES.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Is it the intention of the Government to give three mails per week to St. Cajetan d' Armagh and to St. Magloire, in the County of Bellechasse?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGDON—I may say that the Government have no such intention.

SUPPLY OF RAILS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Have the Government entered into any engagement with any person or persons, company or companies, in the Province of New Brunswick, to supply them with rails to promote the construction of railways; and if so, what railways, and who are the parties and companies, and what are the conditions of such arrangements?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not think that any such answer as was desired should be given. However, he might state that the Government had allowed the temporary use of rails by several branches, such as the Chatham branch, connecting with important points on the Intercolonial; three or four of these roads had applied for this privilege, and he proposed at an early date to bring the matter formally before Parliament.

GRAND NARROWS, NOVA SCOTIA.

Mr. TREMAINE—Is it the intention of the Government to build a pier or brakewater on the north side of the Grand Narrows, Victoria County, Nova Scotia?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—This subject has not been under the consideration of the Government.

BRAS D'OR LAKE.

Mr. TREMAINE—Is it the intention of the Government to place buoys on the Bras D'Or Lake to mark the several shoals between Grand Narrows and Baddeck, and between Baddeck and Little Narrows, Saint Patrick's Channel?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I am not in the possession of sufficient information to enable me to give an answer; but I will make enquiries, and if the work is necessary it will be done.

SHIPPING CERTIFICATES.

Mr. FORBES moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor-General for all correspondence between the Dominion Government and the

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Imperial Government; also between the Local Governments of the Maritime Provinces and the Dominion Government, relating to certificates of service granted by the Dominion to captains in the Merchant Service before 1871.

In explaining the motion, he said it was well known that the merchant marine had rendered good service to the State, and the motion before the House was certainly one that called for the consideration of Government. Canadian captains in English ports were met with the fact that they were unable to clear their ships with the Canadian certificate of service. In 1872 a law was passed in Canada providing that captains in the marine service of the Dominion, upon producing certificates of merit, should receive certificates of service which should carry their ships anywhere in the world. These captains had always done their duty, and were universally regarded as competent men. The English law, on which our Statute is based, allowed English captains to take their vessels wherever they went, whereas Canadian ships were prevented from sailing from England to other ports on Canadian certificates of service. Under these circumstances Canadian seamen were labouring under a disadvantage. He could not see in what way Canadians were inferior to the masters of British ships who sailed in British vessels registered in England. Canadian vessels sailed from Dominion ports registered in the Dominion. The question arose, had the Imperial Government any control over Canadian shipping, and it was a question which was disturbing the mind of the Canadian shipping masters generally. The disability under which Canadian captains suffered was a reflection upon their seamanship. He thought that it was a subject to which the Government should give their earnest consideration, and which called for active measures on their part.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said there certainly was no objection to bringing down the papers there were on the subject, and while he thought there was some force in the remarks of his hon. friend, he did not altogether coincide with his views.

In 1854 a Bill was passed in the English Parliament authorizing the private examination of masters and mates; and providing that any person having been a master on January 1, 1854, should be entitled, as a matter of right, to a certificate of service. An Act was passed in Canada in 1870 providing that masters of ships were entitled to certificates of service, as a matter of course, without any examination, on a certificate of good conduct being produced. He did not think there existed any difficulty in regard to the matter. There were very few of these certificates granted, and they were getting fewer and fewer every year. Many of the persons who held these certificates were undergoing examination for certificates of competency. He would bring down the papers at as early a day as possible.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said this was a matter of some considerable importance when legislation was going on in England affecting the merchant shipping of our country. One of the great objects we should have in view in Canada was to endeavour to get as much relief as possible from interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament. In dealing with the matter we should be able to say, "we ask nothing unreasonable, and we ask nothing that you would not be prepared to deal out to your own people." His hon. friend from Queen's made a statement which was not quite accurate. He had said an English captain could go to any port in the world. This was not so. There were two classes of certificates issued by the Board of Trade, the first of which would enable a master to take his vessel into any port in any part of the world, while the other class applied to home vessels. Some time ago the Dominion Government applied to the British Board of Trade for permission to legislate upon this subject, and introduced a Bill into the Dominion Parliament similar to the one passed in England in 1854.

The English officials who had superintendence of the shipping interests of Great Britain did not like to give the same classification to certificates granted by Canadian authorities as to those granted by English examiners. It

took about three years to convince them that we were just as capable of conducting an examination, just as sensitive about the standing and character of our shipmasters, and just as careful in regulating our shipping interests as they were in England. While they were slow to give way, the English authorities were always prepared to concede what was fair when just reasons were put forward. He thought it would be very impolitic to ask them now to give a higher standard to our shipmasters than to others. In order to have our certificates of competency recognized in England, it was found that our examinations would need to be pretty strict, and this would be likely to exclude a considerable number of officers who had charge of ships for many years, and were good practical men though they did not possess the scientific knowledge necessary. It was found advisable to relieve them just as was done in England, not because it was thought desirable, but because it was considered unwise to throw a large number of men out of occupation. It must be remembered that the English Act was passed in 1854, and consequently but a small percentage of English shipmasters of that time were alive to avail themselves of certificates of service.

Mr. MILLS—That does not affect the principle.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he was aware of that, but he conceived we were weakening our position when we asked another Government to give our certificates a higher standing than they gave their own.

Mr. FORBES—I do not ask for that.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the hon. gentleman asked for the papers for the purpose of getting these certificates recognized in England, where very few such certificates were now in force. We had made very respectable progress in obtaining independence in legislating on this subject. We had only now to ask exemption from British legislation when we had legislated for ourselves. The number of British ship masters who held certificates of service under the Act of 1854 was very small indeed, and when the hon. member for Queen's asked to have such certificates granted

under the Canadian Act of 1870, he requested too much. Our Act had worked admirably, and there had been hardly any complaints against it. Instead of adopting this course, the hon. member for Queen's should advise masters who had certificates of service to educate themselves in the scientific part of their profession, and fit themselves for obtaining certificates of competency. That was what was contemplated when the Act was passed in 1870. He did not rise to oppose this motion, but for the purpose of setting the matter right, and calling the attention of the House to the very important question now raised. While he highly approved of the hon. gentleman's object to raise the standard of the people of his own country, he should not give any just ground to the Government or Parliament of England, to refuse what we might more legitimately ask, and that was that the British legislation now under the consideration of the Imperial Parliament shall not affect our shipping.

Mr. PALMER said the hon member or Queen's was not the only one who had heard complaints on this subject, because he (Mr. Palmer) had heard them in his own constituency. Now, either we had the power to pass the Act of 1870, or we had not. It was utter absurdity to allow a ship to clear from a Canadian port when she would not be allowed to clear from an English port under the same master. It would be better to give no certificate at all than have this state of things continue. He held this Parliament had a perfect right to legislate on the subject, and he denied the right of the Imperial Government constitutionally to make a different rule for Canadian from what they did for foreign ships. The moment they granted this Parliament the right to legislate for their own shipping and govern their own affairs, they had no right to interfere with them in such a manner. Just as well might they undertake to regulate a factory in New Brunswick as the shipping of this country, except for quarantine or other matters which would be applicable to foreign ships.

It was totally inconsistent for them to regulate the duties of masters to sailors, and of sailors to masters. The

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system was most vicious in its nature, and surely it required as much skill to sail a vessel from Liverpool to Halifax, as from Halifax to Liverpool.

Mr. MILLS did not fully understand the position of the hon. member from Northumberland, who demanded that the classification of ships should be under the control of the Parliament of Canada, and yet he assured them that he asked the Imperial Government to concede as a favour, what certainly belongs to Canada as a right. This was a very extraordinary position; and to his mind had somewhat complicated this question of jurisdiction. It was perfectly clear that the Dominion possessed power to legislate exclusively on this subject. Our Constitution was a compact between the various Provinces, a part of whose former powers of legislation we held.

Hon. Mr. SMITH asked his hon. friend, if he thought that this Parliament had power to compel the authorities in England, while our ships were in British waters, to recognize the authority of its acts.

Mr. MILLS admitted that the Imperial Parliament could take away the legislative authority conferred under the British North American Act, though this would be an act of bad faith and of violence; also that it could legislate for Canadian ships in the waters of Great Britain as well as for American or French shipping; all we asked was to be let alone. We had the authority he had mentioned and must exercise it exclusively.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL explained that what he had asked as a favour was not a right to have Canadian certificates recognized in British ports, and consequently he had not complicated the question.

Mr. MILLS held that the Imperial Parliament had nothing to do with Canadian, any more than with American certificates; and this, in his opinion, involved the whole question.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—What about Canadian certificates for the masters of British ships?

Mr. MILLS—That is an entirely different matter. The British North

American Act had conferred on the Dominion the powers belonging to the old Provinces. The Merchants' Shipping Act of England, passed in 1854, also applied to Canada as a Canadian law, but distinctly and separately from its being an English Act, and when it was amended in England the amendments did not extend to this country.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—That is not involved in this question.

Mr. MILLS—I think so.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—The effect of the legislation is simply this:—The Canadian master with a Canadian certificate in his pocket, can go to England and take charge of a British ship in a British port, to sail to any part of the world; consequently the certificate of a Canadian master has the same force and validity in England as the British certificate.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That is the point.

Mr. MILLS—The point was not what the master's rights on a British ship were, under the provisions of a law entirely distinct from the Merchants' Shipping Act—under an Imperial Act conferring power in reference to English shipping. He supposed that this would be admitted by his hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—No.

Mr. MILLS—In interfering with our masters they are acting in direct contravention of the powers conferred on us.

Mr. FORBES considered that the difficulty originated with the course taken by the late Minister of Marine and Fisheries. He ventured to affirm that from this time forward until next year many complaints would be made in this connection. They were told that the masters of Canadian ships could again go to school; but some of them had commanded vessels for twenty-five years. A hardship was felt in this relation by ship-owners as well, and he held that the matter merited consideration from the Government. It was evident that the hon. member for Northumberland did not consider that Canadian were equal in ability to British ship masters, or he

would never have insulted the former, as he (Mr. Forbes) thought the hon. member had done. He hoped that as the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries was himself deeply interested in the shipping interest, this question would receive the attention it deserved.

Mr. KILLAM thanked the Board of Trade for the action it had taken in this connection in the public interest, preventing owners of vessels from engaging incompetent masters. If these captains had sailed since 1870 until now, and were unable to obtain certificates on examination in this country or England, it was time they should go to school.

The motion was carried.

THE GATINEAU BOOM CONTRACT.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved for a message to Senate praying for copy of report made by Select Committee of that Hon. House during last Session on the subject of the construction of booms, piers and other works on the Gatineau.

Delay had taken place in connection with a communication between the Post Office and Public Works' Department, and the question arose as to the time when the tender which was in question had been actually sent to the Government; in consequence the Minister of Public Works felt it his duty to decide that the tender of another party, not the lowest, should be accepted.

A good deal of attention had been given to this subject, and a Committee appointed in the other branch of the Legislature having examined into it, held that under the circumstances the Government would be warranted in making payment to Mr. Palen, whose tender had been the lowest, for the work he had performed. This was perhaps done somewhat irregularly. Mr. Palen had been requested by the person whose duty this was, his tender being the lowest, to go to work in order that time might be saved, as this officer was under the impression that it was very important to do so. He asked the Hon. Minister of Public Works whether under these circumstances Mr. Palen should not be remunerated for the expenditure he had made on the work mentioned.

He was quite satisfied that the Government, in reviewing the case, would discover that there had been some irregularities connected with it. He was also satisfied that his hon. friend the Minister of Public Works would not be disposed to see an injustice done to a private individual who was given instructions by an Officer of the Department.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that Mr. Palen had no right to make complaint in this particular. The proceedings were strictly regular and in accordance with the usage of the Department. It was alleged that it was because Mr. Palen was politically opposed to the Government, and the other parties were partially in favour of the Government, that he did not receive the contract. With reference to that he could only say Mr. Palen on the contrary said he had been and was then a supporter of the Government. Mr. Palen was the only one of the parties he saw and he knew none. He (Mr. Mackenzie) was satisfied in the first place that the tender of Mr. Palen was not in time, and he was at this moment satisfied that the tender was not in time. As there was some doubt in regard to this, it was agreed by his deputy and himself that they would open the tenders and have them extended. An improper notification took place, and he thought the Government would be disposed to consider how far that improper notification led to any expenditure on Mr. Palen's part before he was notified not to proceed. To that extent he (Mr. Mackenzie) was willing the matter should be considered, and would state that Mr. Palen should receive whatever he was entitled to under these circumstances.

Mr. BOWELL thought the First Minister went a little too far when he said Mr. Palen had no cause to complain. Whether improperly or not, Mr. Palen received instructions to go on with the work on the booms on the 9th, and did not receive orders to stop work until the 16th. Mr. Bowell then read the Senate report on the subject in support of this statement.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The report was not adopted.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

Mr. BOWELL said it would have been adopted, and amounted to the same thing.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said, knowing a little of this matter he was glad to have heard the First Minister state that he was disposed to take the matter into favourable consideration. Mr. Palen had reason to complain of the manner in which he had been treated, and he thought he had a right to expect from the Department some little remuneration for his expenditure.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE referred to the evidence given by Mr. Merrill before the Senate Committee, showing that Mr. Palen was notified between the Thursday and Saturday that the contract had been awarded to another party, and that on the following Monday he put from 50 to 100 men at work.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought the matter might safely be left with the First Minister after the statement he had made, and he had no doubt the hon. gentleman would do substantial justice to the case.

The motion was carried.

WHARFAGE CHARGES.

Mr. ROBILLARD moved for a Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolutions:—

Resolved—That it is expedient to provide that each and every person who may have constructed or may be in possession of a wharf on any navigable water in Canada, such wharf not being within the limits assigned by competent authority to any Corporation of Harbour Commissioners, so long as the said wharf shall be maintained in good repair and fit for public use, may levy on vessels moored to such wharf and upon all goods landed or shipped or deposited thereon (except arms, ammunition, and military accoutrements and other amunitions of war, for the use of Government or for the defence of the Dominion, and except also vessels wholly laden therewith), the several rates and dues mentioned in the Schedule appended to the Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the 36th year of Her Majesty's Reign and chaptered 61, subject to the right of the Governor in Council to suspend at any time such power to collect the said rates and dues, or to order the demolition and removal of such wharf should he consider it advisable in the public interest so to do."

Mr. TUPPER—I would like to know if my hon. friend the Minister of Justice has read the resolution.

Hon Mr. BLAKE—I have heard it read before, and I understand my hon. friend the First Minister has consented to allow the early stage to be taken with the view to the discussion taking place on the second reading of the Bill.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole—Mr. Pelletier, in the Chair.

The resolutions passed through Committee without amendment and were reported. The report to be received to-morrow.

FISHING LICENSES.

Mr. GILLMOR moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement of all licenses issued for fishing weirs or traps in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for the years 1874 and 1875; also a statement of the tax collected each year from the same source. He said in the county which he had the honour to represent the fishing interests was very considerable, as would be shown by the following statistics taken from the last census. In his county there were in 1871 no less than 70 vessels engaged in the business; they were manned by 322 men. There were also 687 boats, manned by 1,040 men, besides 130 men engaged in the same business on the shore. They used 47,828 fathoms of nets. In 1871 they produced 475 barrels of mackerel, 10,104 quintals of codfish, 15,722 quintals of pollock, hake and haddock; 124,140 barrels of herrings, and 59,943 gallons of oil. In the returns, smoked herrings and frozen herrings, large branches of industry in the county, were not named at all. In these fishing industries a number of weirs were erected which, prior to Confederation, paid a tax of one dollar each. Very recently that tax had been increased to \$10. His constituents felt this tax was oppressive, and he would read one of several letters which he had received on the subject. It was as follows:—

“The owners of fish weirs in the Bay of Passamaquoddy are dissatisfied, and feel that the Government weir tax of ten dollars per weir a year is oppressive and unjust, inasmuch as it is unequal and bears hard on the poor man, arising from the fact that most of the weirs do not catch enough to pay this tax and afford

him a living besides. That is not in proportion to value from the fact that a few weirs built on first rate privileges have a large catch, while others, and they are the greatest number, are built on poor privileges and get a small catch.

“We hope this unequal and unjust tax of ten dollars a year may be removed by reducing it to one dollar as heretofore, or by making it equal and in proportion according to the privilege on which the weir is built; they may be first, second or third class and taxed accordingly. That in our humble opinion the old tax of one dollar, as heretofore imposed, is more equal and just and better suited to our uncertain business, and more in accord with the wishes of toiling fishermen, working hard and receiving little as a recompense. They feel the ten dollar tax almost unsupportable.”

That communication was signed by 71 of his constituents. He was not engaged in this industry himself, but he had visited that part of the county, and knew something of the hardships the fishermen had to endure. If this tax were necessary it should not be imposed on all alike. The weirs were built at a venture. Sometimes they succeeded, but more frequently they did not pay for the outlay, and it was thought unjust that the unsuccessful should have to pay as high a tax as the successful. He hoped if the tax could not be reduced it would at least be distributed more fairly. In the summer season the fishermen laboured under a great inconvenience from fogs. Often it came on them when they were four or five miles out from land, and he had seen men and women on the shore blowing fog horns by the hour to guide them home. The fishermen did not get through their labour during the summer as the agriculturists did, and they deserved more attention than they had received. There was another grievance of which the fishermen of Passamaquoddy Bay complained. Under the Washington Treaty American fishing vessels, well equipped, stretched their nets for miles along the shore, and our fishermen had to go beyond this line of nets in order to obtain any catch at all. Those nets were so stretched as to prevent the fish from coming near the shore where they could be caught from small boats. This was a grievance which they knew could not be redressed. They had suffered more than any people in the Dominion from the Washington Treaty, and the

least that could be done for them was to give every consideration to their important industry. They did not come to this Parliament asking for protection; they only asked to be fairly considered in the matter of benefits accruing from the distribution of the revenue. He trusted the Minister of Marine and Fisheries would look into this matter, and not only decrease the tax on the poor toiling fishermen, but also give them a few fog bells and harbours of refuge.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I am glad to find somebody else objects to the regulations besides myself.

The motion was carried and the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

THE GUYON ISLAND LIGHT HOUSE.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) moved for an Address to his Excellency the Governor General for copies of tenders, plans and specifications for building a light house at Guyon Island, and all correspondence relating to the same; also for a copy of the contract.

A few days since, in answer to a question, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries had stated that tenders had been invited for this work last summer. The lowest was submitted by a man named Cameron, the sum being \$2,130; the contract had, however, been transferred to a Mr. Sinclair, and the building was to be finished by August next. He had received a letter from another gentleman who had tendered, and who complained very strongly in this connection, representing that tenders were asked for this work last summer, the time for their reception extending up to the 30th of June. The building was further to be completed by the 15th of last October, and \$10 were to be deducted daily for any delay that might occur on the part of the contractor after the date mentioned. This gentleman also affirmed that had he known that the work was not to be finished until August last, he would have reduced his tender by 15 per cent., as the Guyon Island was situated in the ocean, and had scarcely a landing place, while he understood that the work had to be done within

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quite a short period. He (Mr. McDonald) thought that an unfair advantage had been given to the present contractor; the award might as well have been made privately, as in this case the formal notices, &c., proved to be nothing more or less than a farce. He would allude to another contract if he were permitted—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Order! order!

Mr. McDONALD—If not, he would put another notice on the paper. The circumstances were these: tenders were invited for a marine hospital—

Mr. SPEAKER—This is an entirely new subject; you had better pursue the course you intimate.

Hon. Mr. SMITH had no objection to bringing down the papers. The contract had been in the first instance awarded to a man named Cameron who lived, he believed, at Halifax. He was notified, and his partner replied that he would accept. Subsequently, however, Cameron could not be found; and the work was given to Mr. Sinclair, who had sent in the next lowest tender, being some \$60, he thought, above that of the former. A considerable period had intervened, and accordingly the time was of necessity extended. He considered that they had in this acted in the public interest, as advertisements for tenders, &c., required quite a large expenditure. He would be glad if the hon. member for Cape Breton would name the person from whom he had received a letter.

Mr. McDONALD—It was Mr. Poole, who also tendered,

Hon. Mr. SMITH—What was the amount?

Mr. McDONALD—He does not state.

Hon. Mr. SMITH remarked that if he recollected aright this tender was largely in excess of those he accepted—to the extent of some hundreds, or thousands, he believed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that this was an extraordinary statement. His hon. friend ought to be more precise in the information he gave the House than to speak of a difference of hundreds or thousands of dollars.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—It is very extraordinary, but nevertheless true. The motion was carried.

THE SHIPPING INTERESTS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL had the honour to place on the records of the House the following resolution for an Address to Her Majesty, as the opinion of the House—that any legislation affecting British merchant shipping which may be adopted by the Imperial Parliament should not include in its operation Canadian tonnage, or if such legislation should be applied to Canadian tonnage, it should also include foreign tonnage, in order that no advantage should be had by the latter over the former by the effect of such proposed Imperial legislation. He directed to this matter the attention of the hon. member for Bothwell, who was inclined to be abstract rather than practical in this relation. With his advanced views touching the powers conferred under the British North American Act, more especially with respect to the subject of shipping, he (Mr. Mitchell), however, fully sympathised. There had been great reason for the course which Mr. Plimsoll had pursued; but like all sentimental legislation, the action which had therefrom resulted had gone far beyond the bounds of prudence. He felt a deep sympathy with Mr. Plimsoll in many of his representations; but within the past five years but few cases on the Canadian records could be found to which Mr. Plimsoll's assertions would apply; therefore he held that to Canadian tonnage and ship-owners, the legislation contemplated by the Imperial Parliament should not extend. On the 7th of March, 1872, this matter had been in point of fact taken up by the late Administration, and action determined upon.

On the 7th of March, 1872, he found in a report which he (Mr. Mitchell) had himself made to Council, he called the attention of the Government to a memorial received from the merchants and ship-owners of Halifax, and recommended that a Bill be submitted to meet the requirements of that memorial. He found on the 2nd of May following, a petition received from the merchants and ship-owners of St. John, signed by nineteen-twentieths of them,

praying for the passage of an Act to facilitate the organization of a Canadian Lloyd's Registry and Classification of Shipping. That memorial was sent in from the merchants and ship-owners of St. John in consequence of the Plimsoll movement in England.

Mr. McLEOD—Did not the same parties petition against the establishment of a Canadian Lloyds?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he held in his hand a petition in favour of it; which he then read as follows:—

"CITY OF ST. JOHN, PROVINCE OF NEW
"BRUNSWICK, DOMINION OF CANADA.
"2nd May, 1873.

"The undersigned, merchants, ship-owners, underwriters and others, beg respectfully to say:—

"That in their opinion the best interests of Canadian Shipping would be greatly advanced and protected by His Excellency the Governor General and their Honours the Members of the Privy Council of Canada introducing a measure to facilitate the organization of a Canadian Lloyds Registry and Classification of shipping: and

"That provision be made to give the respective Local Boards of Trade a representation in such Association through their President and Vice-President, whom it would be desirable to appoint *ex officio*, or in their room two other members to be chosen by each of the said respective Boards as members of the Committee of Classification, and further;

"That it would be expedient to grant that all the Canadian tonnage, at the time of the opening of the said Dominion Lloyds, which is classed in Lloyds Register of British and Foreign Shipping, or in *Bureau Veritas*, or which is in course of classification in these Registers, and when so classed shall be transferred to the Canada Lloyds Registry Book, and receive therein a similar rating for the unexpired term of their class free from any charge.

"(Signed.)

" Z. Ring,	Joshua S. Turner,
Rob. Robertson & Son,	Allan Brothers,
Hall & Fairweather,	D. R. & C. F. Eaton,
L. McMaan & Son,	Schofield & Beer,
Henry Vaughan,	Daniel & Boyd,
Turnbull & Co.,	C. M. Gardner,
Geo. S. D. Forest,	Taylor Bros.
Wm. Davidson,	Robert Marshall,
John Fisher,	Thomas R. Jones & Co.,
Scammell Bros.,	James F. Cruickshank,
J. & W. F. Harrison,	Cruickshank & Pitfield
Geo. F. Smith,	Simeon Jones & Co.,
John W. Nicholson,	R. E. Puddington,
J. Armstrong & Co.,	R. D. McArthur,
Thos. Gilbert,	C. P. Clarke,
R. A. Chapman & Co.,	W. F. Butt,
L. H. DeVeber & Sons,	Magee Bros.,
Fras. Clementson,	Alex. Yeats & Sons,
Jardine & Co.,	Edwin Frost,
Geo. Eaton,	A. & J. Robinson,
M. Sabiston,	R. Blair,
Vroom & Arnot,	Geo. Carvell,
Thos. A. Temple,	Geo. W. Geron,
Wm. & James Lawton,	R. P. McGivern,
Guy Stewart & Co.,	M. Lawrence,

Troop & Son,
D. V. Roberts,
D. J. McLaughton, jr.,
Quill & Goodwin,
J. & R. Milligan,
T. McCarthy & Son,
Ellis & Armstrong,
John Holden,
White Brothers,
Henry Stewart,
Walters & McLaughlan,
Thomas Furlong,
Edwin Fisher,
Richard & Son,
William Firth,
"To Hon. P. Mitchell,

Charles King,
William Gardner,
George McKean,
John Stewart,
F. Tufts,
Melick & Jordan,
Allan McLean,
James A. Harding,
A. D. Lewin,
William E der,
J. H. Vaughan,
G. S. Baker,
James E. White,
Eastabrooks & Gleeson
Lewis Rivers.

"Minister of Marine and Fisheries. &c.,
"Ottawa."

Whether they had changed their minds or not since that he could not tell; what he could say was, that the hon. member for Kent was one of a delegation who came to Ottawa and induced him (Mr. Mitchell) to prepare a measure and insert the necessary clause empowering the Government to enforce it at any time. On the 5th of May he received the following telegram:—

("By Telegraph from St. John, N. B., to Hon. Peter Mitchell.")

"OTTAWA, 5th May, 1873.

"Add to petition in favour of Canada Lloyds mailed in triplicate, Hon. William Muirhead, Hon. John Robertson, William Munro, Hon. James DeVeber, Steeves, Hillyard and Ruderick, J. D. McDonald, David D. Robertson, R. J. Leonard, Thomas MacLelan, Thomas Edw. Mulledge, A. R. Ferguson, J. & A. Macmillan, Edward Willis, R. G. Lunt, John Vassie, B. R. Lawrence, Berton Brothers, Thomas B. Buxton, Nevius, Fraser & Co.

"(Signed,) ROBERT MARSHALL"

It only required these names to complete the petition. Except two or three shipowners, it included all the leading merchants of the great commercial city of St. John. On the 10th May he (Mr. Mitchell) wrote as follows:—

"OTTAWA, 10th May, 1873.

"The undersigned has the honour to report to Council that he has had brought under his notice the Bill introduced into the Imperial Parliament by Mr. Plimsoll, M. P., and others, the provisions of which will affect detrimentally, and in his opinion unfairly, the seagoing shipping of Canada. The Boards of Trade, both in St. John and Halifax, and the commercial men as well as the Parliamentary representatives of the Maritime Provinces have remonstrated against the proposed legislation above alluded to; and he, therefore, recommends that Her Majesty's Government be communicated with by cable telegraph forth

with, and that they be respectfully requested to urge upon Parliament the exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operation of said Bill, or at least to suspend the progress of it until the Canadian Government can be heard and their interests duly represented

A copy of the memorial from the St. John Board of Trade is annexed.

"Respectfully submitted.

"(Signed), P. MITCHELL,
"Minister of Marine and Fisheries."

This matter was brought under the notice of the Government by himself for the purpose of making representations to the Imperial Parliament. The object of that legislation he would give as stated in the minute dated May 14th, 1873:—

"It had been charged against him that the legislation which he, as Minister of Marine, during his administration of that office, was detrimental to the interests of Canada. He would refer to his record and challenge an expression of public opinion as to the truthfulness of such an assertion. In every action of his life, while head of that Department, he had but one object in view—to promote the prosperity while maintaining the rights in the shipping interest of this country. In this despatch of May 14th, 1873, after dealing with the whole question of Plimsoll's grievances, and the fact while these charges might have been perfectly true as relating to the shipping of Great Britain, they could not with truth apply to Canadian vessels."

He went on to say:—

"The Government of Canada has, accordingly, submitted to the the Canadian Parliament several measures relating to and regulating pilotage, merchant shipping and seamen, several of which have become law, and which are largely assimilated to past Imperial legislation. Amongst these is one, a copy of which is annexed, entitled 'An Act relating to shipping, and for the registration, inspection and classification thereof,' in which provision is made for the inspection and classification of ships within the Dominion of Canadian. Under this law it is proposed to establish a system of inspection and classification which, it is hoped, will take the place, so far as Canadian tonnage is concerned, of both Lloyd's and *Bureau Veritas*, and it is of the utmost importance to the shipping interests of Canada that the certificates which may be granted under the law referred to should be recognized by the Board of Trade in the same manner as it is proposed by the fifth section of the Plimsoll Bill, that the certificates of Lloyd's officers or of the officers of the Liverpool Underwriters' Registry of Iron Vessels should be recognized."

He went on to state:—

"It will also be remembered that the Government has been questioned in the Canadian Parliament as to whether they have taken

steps to obtain the exemption of Canadian tonnage from the operations of said Bill.

"The undersigned would observe that a strong feeling exists in Canada that in questions so vitally affecting our interest as those relating to shipping, and to which our Canadian Parliament give so much attention, and in relation to which our Canadian people are well qualified to judge of what suits their interests, Her Majesty's Government may safely adopt the policy, that wherever the Canadian Parliament have dealt with questions relating to shipping, the Imperial Parliament should exempt Canadian ships from the operation of Imperial Legislation upon that subject."

That he held to be one of the fundamental principles on which he should start in discussing this question with the Imperial Government. We had the power conceded to us—we were quite capable of exercising it, and had exercised it in such a manner as to elicit an expression of approval from prominent English statesmen, and even from Mr. Plimsoll himself:—

"This principle the Imperial Parliament, to a great extent, have already recognized in the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, in exempting colonial ships while within the bounds of a colony having a Parliament or Legislature which has legislated upon the subject, from the operations of said Act. It is desirable that the principle of exemption, in so far as Canadian shipping is concerned, should be extended to all British ports, and that the Imperial Government should throw the responsibility of the legislation necessary to control and regulate Canadian shipping, upon the Canadian Parliament, subject always to the control which Her Majesty possesses, in the approval or rejection of such measures as the Canadian Parliament may enact.

"This course would give great satisfaction in Canada, and would do much to perpetuate those ties which bind us to the Mother Country.

"The undersigned believes that such a policy is in accordance with the general views entertained by Her Majesty's Government, and the experience of past years shows that the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada have not unworthily exercised the great powers which they possess, and he would, therefore, respectfully submit that Her Majesty's Government should be asked to recognize the principle which he has above stated.

"He would therefore recommend that, pending the decision upon the above recommendation, and in order to relieve Canadian shipping from the evils anticipated from the Plimsoll Bill:

"1st. That the Imperial Government be asked that in any legislation that may be had affecting shipping, they should give to the Canadian inspection and classification of vessels, hereinbefore referred to, when it may be organized, the same standing and recognition

as they may give to Lloyd's Registry or the Liverpool Underwriters' Registry for iron vessels.

"2nd. That if the Plimsoll Bill, or one of a similar character, becomes law, that for the first twelve months thereafter it shall not apply to Canadian vessels, in order to afford to Canadian shipping an opportunity to obtain the necessary inspection and classification under the Canadian system of inspection and classification as contemplated by the annexed Bill.

"3rd. That inasmuch as the Canadian Parliament has legislated upon the deck load question, Canadian vessels should be exempted from the operation of sections 15, 16 and 17 of the Plimsoll Bill.

"4th. That Canadian vessels be exempt from the operations of sections 19 and 20 of the said Bill; or if Her Majesty's Government consider that course objectionable, then that due consideration be given to the representations contained in the annexed petition from the St. John Board of Trade in relation to the Load Line of Canadian ships as compared with iron ships."

That was the position taken by the late Government, and he was proud to say the hon. gentleman who succeeded him in the Department, in two despatches he had sent, asked for the same concessions, claimed the same privileges, and demanded the same rights as he (Mr. Mitchell) had contended for. Canada had nothing to complain of in the treatment she had received from the British Government, and Parliament, wherever an injustice had been done us that we represented properly to them, had always been willing to concede everything we had a right to claim. While he concurred to a great extent with the broad and enlightened views entertained by the hon. member for Bothwell, that wherever the British Government had given to the people of Canada the right to deal with questions specially named, we have a right to ask that our legislation on such subjects be not contravened by Imperial Acts, he believed they should rather deal with the subject in a way that would bring about practical results, than in a manner not likely to be satisfactory. He had so dealt with the Masters and Mates Certificate Bill, and it will be recollected that at the time he moved in this matter, Canadian masters and mates were labouring under a serious disadvantage. They could not always allow their ships to remain in dock after a month or more to enable the masters to undergo the

necessary examination. Though he had been charged with having overlooked and undervalued the old masters who were only qualified to get certificates of service, any gentleman who had condemned his policy in this regard did not do him justice. He asked for what they had a right to demand, he knew it was useless to ask for more. They had not the right to ask that the certificates of service given by the Canadian Examiners should have the same importance as those issued by the Imperial Board of Trade. Why? Because England reserved to herself the right to legislate, and had established two classes of certificates of service as distinguished from certificates of competency in her own ports on her own tonnage, and our certificate of service did not cover the same ground—They therefore had no ground for asking that these men who were entitled only to the coasting certificate should have the same privileges, standing and rights as persons who had received certificates of service for foreign lands as distinguished from the coasting certificate—nor had we a right to have them classed with persons who passed their examination for competency before the British Board of Trade. If any gentleman charged him with neglecting to secure the rights and privileges due to Canada, he mistook the powers Canada possessed under the British North America Act. If any gentleman said that the management of the Marine and Fisheries Department during the seven years of the existence of the late Government was detrimental to the shipping interest, he stated what was directly opposed to the belief of the whole country. The next communication in connection with the history of this very important subject is a Report to Council, dated 14th February, 1874:—

“OTTAWA, 14th February, 1874.

“The undersigned has the honour to report to Council that he has had under consideration a circular dispatch from the Earl of Kimberley of the 3rd December last, transmitting copy of a letter from the Board of Trade, enclosing a copy of the “*Merchants Shipping Act, 1873*,” and of the instructions issued by that Department to Registrars and other officers in the British possessions abroad, and requesting with reference to the 12th and 13th Sections, relating to the survey of unseaworthy

ships, that steps might be taken for the passage of a law giving similar power to the proper authority in Canada to that which is by the sections referred to, given to the Board of Trade.

“The undersigned has the honour to report that previous to the passing of the Imperial ‘*Merchant Shipping Act, 1873*,’ the Parliament of Canada had made provision for the cases referred to in Section 26 to 29 inclusive, of the Act passed at last Session of Parliament, relating to shipping and for the registration, inspection and classification thereof.

“Respectfully submitted.

“(Signed,) A. J. SMITH,
“*Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*”

Then comes the following:—

“OTTAWA, March, 18th 1874.

“The undersigned has the honour to report to Council that he has had under consideration the petition of the Dominion Board of Trade, addressed to His Excellency the Governor General on the 12th instant, praying that in view of the fact that legislation will be proposed in the Parliament of Great Britain in reference to the inspection of shipping, such measures may be adopted as are necessary to prevent such legislation from prejudicially affecting the tonnage of the Dominion of Canada; and he recommends that a copy of the petition be forwarded through the usual channel to Her Majesty’s Government with the request that the prayer of the Petitioners may be complied with, and legislation in any degree detrimental to the shipping of the Dominion of Canada may not be enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain until reference has been made to the Government of Canada for its opinion thereon.

“Respectfully submitted.

“(Signed,) A. J. SMITH,
“*Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*”

He considered that his hon friend in this second report had weakened considerably. On the 20th of April he found a letter from the Under Secretary of State to the following effect:—

“BOARD OF TRADE,

“WH. TRILL GARDENS, 20th April, 1874.

“*Merchant Shipping Code—Colonial unseaworthiness.*

“SIR,—I am directed by the Board of Trade to acknowledge receipt of your letters of the 4th and 11th inst., enclosing copy of a letter and enclosures from Robert Marshall, together with a copy of a despatch and enclosure from the Governor General of Canada relative to Canadian shipping.

“In reply I am to state for the information of Earl Carnarvon that the papers in question have been forwarded to the Royal Commission on unseaworthy ships.

“The Board are also desirous of learning whether the Canadian Bill with regard to the

Government classification of ships in the Dominion is going on or not, and, if it is, in what stage it is now in.

"I have, etc.,

"(Signed), THOMAS GRAY."

"The Under-Secretary of State,
"Colonial Office."

That reply was a practical concession to the Canadian demand in connection with Canadian Shipping, and it only required the Government of Canada to assume a firm position, and every thing they asked would have been conceded. On the 21st of May, 1874, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries wrote as follows:—

"The undersigned has the honour to report to Council that he has had under consideration despatch from the Earl of Carnarvon (No. 54), of the 23rd April last, transmitting copy of a letter from the Board of Trade, and requesting that a reply might be made to the enquiry contained therein respecting the Bill for the classification of ships in Canada, as to whether such Bill was in operation or not, and what stage it was in if in operation.

"The undersigned recommends that the Board of Trade be informed through the usual channel that the Government of Canada have not as yet decided to put the provisions of the Act which relate to the inspection and classification of ships practically into operation, and to publish rules and regulations for such inspection and classification of shipping, and that no official action has been taken in the matter since the proclamation of the Act in the *Canada Gazette*.

"Respectfully submitted,

"(Signed,) A. J. SMITH."

While he was willing to do justice to his honorable friend in every way, he thought he was weak on one point in his Administration, namely, in not putting in operation the Act for the inspection and classification of ships. This was the one thing required to make our system complete.

He was not inclined to censure the British Government for including Canadian shipping in their legislation, when one of the most important links in this connection had been omitted by the Canadian Government. On the 10th of April, 1875, the following report was made to the Privy Council:—

"On a report dated 5th April, 1875, from the Hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, stating that he has received information that a Bill has been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, the provisions of which, if adopted, he believes will seriously affect the sea-going shipping of Canada, trading to and from the United Kingdom; and he

therefore recommends that Her Majesty's Government be communicated with by cable telegram, immediately, requesting them to urge upon Parliament the exemption of Canadian shipping from the operation of such Bill.

The Committee concur in the above recommendation and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

"Certified.

"(Signed,) W. A. HIMSWORTH."
"Clerk Privy Council."

"To the Honorable the Minister of Marine and Fisheries."

His policy had been endorsed by his hon. successor, who on the 5th of April made the following report:

"OTTAWA, 5th April, 1875.

"The undersigned has the honour to report to Council that he has received information that a Bill had been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, the provisions of which, if adopted, he believes will seriously affect the sea-going shipping of Canada trading to and from the United Kingdom; and he, therefore, recommends that Her Majesty's Government be communicated with by cable telegram immediately, requesting them to urge upon Parliament the exemption of Canadian shipping from the operation of such Bill.

"Respectfully submitted,

"(Signed,) A. J. SMITH,
"Minister of Marine and Fisheries."

This was the telegram proposed to be sent by the Governor General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"My Government regard Plimsoll's proposed amendments to Shipping Bill as very objectionable, and request your Government to delay measure until mine have time to remonstrate."

The following was an extract of a report of a Committee of the Hon. the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 22nd April, 1875:—

"The Committee of Council have had under consideration the report, dated 20th April, 1875, from the Hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, having reference to the report to Council of his predecessor of the 10th and 14th May, 1873, recommending that Her Majesty's Government be requested to urge upon Parliament the exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operation of the Plimsoll Bill, &c., &c.

The Committee concur in the foregoing Report and recommend that a copy of this minute and documents appended, be transmitted to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"Certified.

"(Signed,) W. A. HIMSWORTH,
"Clerk Privy Council."

"To the Honorable
The Minister of Marine and Fisheries."

His hon. successor had endorsed his own position; and he was glad to say that he (Mr. Smith) had very fairly maintained it by his arguments.

The following are extracts from another official document:—

“OTTAWA, 20th April, 1875.

“The undersigned, with reference to the Reports to Council of his predecessor of the 10th and 14th May, 1873, recommending that Her Majesty’s Government be requested to urge upon Parliament the exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operation of the Plimsoll Bill, as the passage of such Bill might injuriously affect Canadian Shipping, and hold out inducements to transfer a large portion of the tonnage of Canada to foreign flags, and with reference to his report to Council, dated the 5th instant, stating that he had received information that a Bill was again before Parliament relating to the same subject, and recommending that the British Government be requested by telegraph to urge on the Imperial Parliament the exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operation of such Bill, as he understood it might seriously affect the interests of such shipping, has now the honour to report that, although he has not been able to see a copy of the amendments proposed by Mr. Plimsoll to the Imperial Merchant Shipping Act, he has seen notices of such proposed amendments in the newspapers, from which it appears that such amendments, if carried, would seriously affect the interests of Canadian ships while in the United Kingdom, by subjecting them to compulsory inspections and restrictions with reference to dec.-loading.

“With reference to the general question of seaworthiness of Canadian ships, the undersigned remarks that nearly all the sea-going vessels of Canada are classed either in British Lloyds, French *Bureau Veritas* or American Lloyds, which is a good guarantee of their strength and sea-going qualities, and he is now considering the propriety of recommending the adoption of rules and regulations for the voluntary inspection and classification of Canadian ships by the Canadian Government, provided for in the 54th section of the Canadian Act, 36 Victoria, Chapter 128, in order that Canada might have the advantage of possessing a national institution of its own for the classification of its shipping, the rapid growth of its Mercantile Marine, and the large amount of Canadian capital now invested in this interest appearing to require such additional facilities for the classification of its shipping.

“The undersigned, therefore, recommends that Her Majesty’s Government be requested to urge on Parliament the exemption of Canadian shipping from the operation of any of the provisions contained in the amendments proposed by Mr. Plimsoll, until the Canadian Government and Canadian ship-owners had an opportunity of considering such provisions.”

The Government was a little weak-kneed here, and he regretted their retrogression. They had received the following circular:—

“DOWNING STREET,
“22nd October, 1875.

“SIR,—With reference to my predecessor’s circular despatch of the 3rd December, 1873, I

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

transmit herewith for your information and for general publication in the Colony under your Government, a copy of a letter from the Board of Trade enclosing a copy of “The Merchant Shipping Act, 1875.”

“2. I request that you will call the attention of your Ministers to the desire expressed by the Board of Trade, to be furnished with an immediate Report of any case in which grain, etc., is shipped in British vessels in contravention of the Act, and in such a manner as to endanger human life.

“3. I shall be obliged if you will favor me with any observations which may occur to your Advisers with reference to the application of the several provisions of this Act to the Colony under your Government.

“I have the honour, &c.,

“(Signed).

“CARNARVON.”

There was another report made by his hon. friend of date the 8th of February, 1876, two or three days before Parliament met. It was very long, and as far as it went was well enough, but it stopped short of the real remedy. He, however, would only read a couple of extracts:—

“The undersigned is of opinion that no Imperial leg station should take place affecting the question of seaworthiness, or loading of Canadian vessels in Canadian waters—the Canadian Legislature is the proper authority to deal with such questions, and when it becomes necessary to legislate for the safety of Canadian vessels in Canadian waters, he has no doubt the Canadian Parliament will be quite ready to do so, as it has already done in the past.”

“With reference to the general policy of recent Imperial legislation relative to British Merchant Ships, the undersigned remarks that a number of communications, in the shape of petitions, memorials and verbal statements, from owners of Canadian sea-going ships and Boards of Trade, have reached his Department, urging the Canadian Government to take some steps to protect Canadian shipping from the effect of Imperial legislation, so as to place Canadian ships, while competing in the carrying trade, on as favourable a footing in British and foreign ports as for-ign ships.”

He did not desire that the great shipping interests of Canada, in which were interested fifty millions of dollars, should be injured by Imperial legislation for which no reason in this connection existed; we should be severely left alone in this relation.

One link in order to complete our case had not been placed in operation, but if this had been done, the people of Canada would be secure and safe against the existence of the abuses of which complaint had been made, and

he left to his hon. friend and successor to explain why this link was wanting. We should have the sole power to deal with great interests such as the shipping interests, and he wished to avoid the sensational legislation in this regard that had disgraced England. He looked with contempt on the attitude in which the Imperial Government were placed during last Session by Mr. Plimsoll's terrific attack on them, when he outraged deliberately the laws of the House of Commons and creating a sensation unparalleled in that august body. So extraordinary was the effect, that the Government, as it were, fell on their knees before Mr. Plimsoll, and accepted such propositions as he chose to make. Would such things be tolerated in this free Canada of ours? He thought not, and he hoped to avoid the immediate difficulties and pressing evils which he saw overspreading the shipping interests of the Dominion unless we both demand exemption from such sensational legislation. The one link in question should be supplied. His hon. successor entertained, as he had stated, the same views as himself; but simply because some people had changed their minds no action was taken in the direction desired, and the legislation of the country was paralyzed. He trusted that delay would be apparent no longer; and that the abuse referred to which had been allowed to remain for two years' inoperative would be put into force.

Then there are those who might be disposed to laugh at the interest he manifested in this matter, but he felt it his duty to warn the Government of the evil which was impending over the shipping of Canada if they longer dallied with this important interest, and he placed on the Minister of Marine and this Government the responsibility of any bad results that might follow his failure to put this Act into force.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Why did you not do it yourself!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the Act was passed in May, 1873, and in the November following the Government were bowled out by hon. gentlemen opposite. If he had remained in power two months' longer the Act

would have been in full force, as many other important measures affecting our marine interests now were. The Hon. Minister of Marine went to St. John and told the shipowners he would adhere to the legislation of his predecessors, and believed such legislation was right, but the hon. gentleman was too easy and good-natured. He knew what was right, but was a little weak in the knees in not insisting upon carrying it out.

He (Mr. Mitchell) was willing to venture his experience as a public man on the future of this question. If the hon. gentleman relied upon getting the British Government and Parliament to include foreign shipping in the legislation they were now adopting, he was mistaken and Canadian shipowners would be left in the lurch. The complications arising from such an attempt would be so serious that every prominent officer in the Foreign Department and Board of Trade would set himself against it, and when this occurred in England with respect to any measure, it was almost impossible to carry it out. The hon. gentleman knew how he was himself controlled in that way, as every Minister but the Premier was by the officers of his Department.

The only true course for the Government to pursue was to put their foot down and say we have rights in this matter conceded to us by the British North America Act, and had acted on them, and did not desire their legislation to interfere with us. If that policy were adhered to, he felt satisfied the people and Parliament of England would adopt the principle, but a weak-kneed course would lead them to suppose we did not wish to insist upon our rights. The crisis at this moment was such if the Government consulted the true interest of Canada they would at once send the Minister of Marine to England, while this legislation was going on, with a strong remonstrance from the Parliament of Canada against the shipping of this country being affected by it. If he would do this, and put the Inspection of Shipping Act in force, he would confer a great benefit on Canada.

Mr. McLEOD said he had too much consideration for the time of this House

to consume as much of it as had the hon. member for Northumberland in the discussion of this question, nor would he attempt to follow the hon. gentleman throughout his long and rambling speech. He would briefly and to the point refer to some of the subjects raised by the hon. member. He was aware that a petition numerously signed by the shipowners of St. John had been forwarded to Ottawa, asking for the establishment of a Canadian Lloyds, but it was got up under momentary excitement in the belief that the Plimsoll Bill would act injuriously to Canadian tonnage. The moment that excitement died out our shipowners began to realize the risk to which they exposed themselves by having their tonnage placed under Government control. From that moment petitions were sent in against it, not only from St. John, but from every port in the Maritime Provinces. In looking over the memorial of the Board of Trade of Saint John, presented to the Government in May, 1873, he was surprised to find only two clauses of it embraced in the despatch of May 14th, 1873; and so far from having asked for Canadian Lloyds, no such thing was required. They simply asked the Canadian Government to prevent hasty legislation such as the Plimsoll Bill then before Parliament, and that vessels classed in Bureau Veritas should be recognized. The hon. gentleman, instead of doing that, simply referred at some length to the necessity of a Canadian classification, in which opinion he was almost alone. What the people of the Maritime Provinces feared was that in any legislation by the Government of Great Britain, Bureau Veritas would not be recognized by the Imperial Parliament. On looking over this correspondence he was surprised to find that the hon. member for Northumberland asked that Bureau Veritas be not recognized in England.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I approve of that.

Mr. McLEOD said he was glad to hear this from one who assumed to be the champion of the shipping interests of the Maritime Provinces, and it was desirable that the shipbuilders and

Mr. McLEOD.

owners of the Maritime Provinces should know that the hon. member for Northumberland was the man who, in his official capacity, advised the British Government not to recognize Bureau Veritas.

It was well that the shipowners of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia should know to what extent they were under obligation to the ex-Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The hon. gentleman complained that the present Minister of Marine and Fisheries had not put the Act passed by the late Government establishing Canadian Lloyds into operation, stating that it was the one link required to make the shipping laws of our country perfect. He (Mr. McLeod) believed that the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries had acted with good sense, knowing that a strong feeling existed against it in the Maritime Provinces. He was surprised his hon. friend should undertake to cure the evil by the establishing of Canadian Lloyds. He ought to know that the Imperial legislation recognized no classification whatever. They properly took the position that the shipowner should be allowed to conduct his own business with the same freedom as any other trade; but at the same time they held that a shipowner should be responsible for that freedom. Mr. Plimsoll desired to put the responsibility on the Government, and the Government desired to put the responsibility on the shipowners. The hon. gentleman ought to know that of the 750,000 tons of steamers at the port of Liverpool, some 450,000 were not classified at all. That, therefore, destroyed the argument that the necessary link to perfect our system, and free Canadian ships from interference of Imperial legislation was the establishment of a Canadian Lloyds. It was time the British Act did not deal with the question of foreign tonnage. This was a most important point to Canadian interests, and the laws which applied to Canadian vessels in the ports of Great Britain should also apply to foreign vessels. The Board of Trade of St. John, at a meeting held February 19, 1876, approved of the despatch sent by the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries. There was one point urged at that

meeting very properly, and he trusted that it would be listened to by this Government. They sent a petition asking the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries to visit Great Britain with a view of looking after our interest in any legislation that might take place.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—We agree on that point.

Mr. McLEOD said there was another motion on the notice paper relating to the subject, and he thought it was not advisable now, seeing the thing was in the hands of the Government, to take the responsibility away from them by any resolution of the House. He desired then to move the following amendment:—

Resolved, That all words after “that” be struck out and the following substituted:—“The despatch forwarded by the Government of the Dominion to Lord Carnarvon dated 8th February, 1876, is approved, and that the House express a hope that the views therein contained will be adopted by the Imperial Parliament in any legislation affecting the British Merchant Shipping.”

Mr. PALMER was sorry that his hon. friend from Northumberland thought proper to bring forward this resolution. He was sorry there should be any dispute on this question, and did not think the present Minister of Marine and Fisheries should be charged with neglecting the shipping interests of the Dominion. Both the present and the last Minister of Marine and Fisheries had done every thing in their power. He regarded the second part of his hon. friend's resolution nullified the first, because he asked the English Government to legislate on a subject on which he denied their right to legislate. The importance of the shipping interests of the Dominion could not be over estimated, and the rights of ship-owners should be carefully preserved if the property of the country was not to be destroyed.

For the last twenty-five years these interests had been injured by British legislation, though he did not mean to say that this was done intentionally. He agreed with his hon. friend from Bothwell with regard to our rights of legislation, and so much so, that he had been accused in his own city of entertaining a desire for the separation of this country from England; but as

to this he declared—let the interests of every ship-owner in the Dominion be ruined, rather than have such a culmination brought about. He believed that the position he took was entirely compatible with that we proudly occupied in connection with this great Empire. Recent legislation had crippled not only the shipping interests of the Dominion, but also those of England.

The *Mercantile Shipping Gazette*, the highest authority in that country in this respect, stated on the 4th of last February in an editorial:—

“That it is the province of those who advise the Crown, and of independent members in their places in Parliament. But the facts adduced and the arguments employed at a recent meeting, all tend to show that the ship-owners understand their case, and that they have not abandoned the position they have taken up. The Government have seen as the direct result—discontent prevailing throughout the entire ship-owning community, and a whole fleet of ships transported to a foreign flag.”

The ship-owners were not running unseaworthy vessels, but they were building a class of ships which were safer year by year. Sir Charles Adderly in introducing the subject in Parliament stated:—“It was said that there was a general “deterioration of our shipping; that “the disasters were traced to the deterioration of our seamen, and that the “amount of loss of life had increased.” The reverse was the case. He had carefully sifted the figures of a writer who was authority on this subject, and the conclusions the writer had come to were chiefly these:—That the British tonnage had trebled since 1835; that British ships clearing in foreign trade were sextupled in the same period; and, again, the sea trade had doubled within the last twenty years; that British ships had increased not only in the trade of the United Kingdom, but had actually been absorbing the trade of other countries which had actually fallen off, and their trade was rapidly falling into the hands of British shipowners. The wrecks which had taken place since 1836 had steadily decreased in proportion to the number of voyages; and the loss of life between 1833 and 1835 was one in every 4,600 tons of foreign trade, whereas between 1870-72 it was one in every 13,000, or three times the amount. In fact

the falling off in the loss of life was the most remarkable circumstance in these figures. The correctness of the statements he had made were very creditable to the country at large, and that was the first of four propositions resulting from his enquiries.

Further on Sir Charles declared that it was not unseaworthiness which caused the loss of life and property in the greater number of cases, but in reality the inefficiency of the seamen themselves, who were put on board unfitted by drink to navigate the vessel; and why did not legislation reach this, the greatest wrong felt in this regard? The legislation proposed was in the interest of crimps, who by their system were eating out the vitals of both seamen and ship-owners.

Mr. Plimsoll threatened to introduce another Bill, and no man at present dare invest his capital in ship-building. He agreed with his hon. friend from Northumberland and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries that a Canadian Lloyds should be established, and if thoroughly and practically and honestly administered it would be a benefit to the country. At the same time he shared the opinion of his hon. friend from Kent, that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries should not put such a law in operation in face of the ship-owners who were opposed strongly to the introduction of such a measure, unless, perhaps, there was some little tax upon it. The only thing was to make a classification or inspection and give a certificate as to the exact nature of the ship; but the opinion at present in St. Johns is almost unanimously against the formation of that Canadian Lloyds. What was the proper remedy? It was embodied in the following resolution which he had placed on the journals:—

“That in the opinion of this House the right of Legislation to affect Canadian ships and the rights and liberties of the owners thereof belong exclusively to the Parliament of Canada, and that any Legislation on those subjects by the Imperial Parliament (except as far as may equally affect Canadian ships with the ships of all other countries in ports of Great Britain, and such as may affect Imperial interests) would be inconsistent with such exclusive right of the Canadian Parliament and a violation of Responsible Government as conceded to Canada.”

Mr. PALMER.

He traced that right of legislation as far back as the concession of Responsible Government to the country. The moment the right was conceded to Canada to legislate with reference to her own private affairs where Imperial interests were not affected, it was impossible for the Imperial authorities to legislate on the same subject. It might be argued with regard to the British North America Act, that it was a mere distribution of the powers of legislation between the General and Local Parliaments, and no attempt to create new powers. But the 91st Section of that Act provided that the exclusive legislation of the Dominion extended “to all matters within the “subjects enumerated,” and among those subjects were ships and shipping, and trade and navigation. Although this was a mere distribution of powers, and he submitted to his hon. friend the Minister of Justice whether that was not the recognition of powers which already existed. The first section confined legislation to the “good government “of Canada,” which meant government on the well-known principles of constitutional law. But the legal power and the constitutional right to legislate were two different things, and his argument was that while England had the legal authority to legislate in this case, she had not the constitutional right to do so. In the Merchants Shipping Act there was a distinct clause to the effect that any British possession through its Legislative Assembly can repeal any provision of that Act; it would be absurd if they could repeal it unless they could substitute another provision. In giving the right to Canada to legislate for herself, we acquired the power to legislate just the same as an independent country as regards our own affairs. On this point the following passage from Halleck's Book on International Law was quoted:

“We have already remarked that the exclusive power of civil and criminal legislation is one of the essential rights of every independent and sovereign State. An infringement upon this right is a limitation of the natural sovereignty of the State, and if extended to a general denial of this power, it is justly considered as depriving the State of one of its most essential attributes and as reducing it to the position of dependence upon the will of another.”

The point he made was that the

denial of our right to legislate upon one subject was just as much an infringement of our right, as the denial upon others; and if denied, that was a breach of the constitution and its whole safeguards were utterly gone.

Was this confined to the territorial limits of Canada? All knew, with reference to independent States generally, that authority is confined to the territory of such States; but there were limits. The ocean was common to the ships of all countries, and there must be laws to govern those ships, and somebody must have the right to enforce such law. The rule as laid down in this book, page 170, section 24, is that "public and private vessels on the high seas and out of the territorial limits of any other State, are subject to the jurisdiction of the State to which they belong. The ocean is common to all mankind, and may be successively used by all as they may have occasion." The simple point was that public and private vessels on the high seas were subject to the jurisdiction of the State to which they belong. He contended that, constitutionally, Canada could legislate for her own shipping within her own ports, and they were liable to the same laws on the high seas; therefore, what constituted a crime in port was also a crime within the jurisdiction of our Courts when committed on the high seas in a Canadian vessel.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said if we had a Canadian flag it would.

Mr. PALMER said the sovereignty of ships while upon the high seas was exactly the same as the sovereignty of the country to which she belonged. Halleck says on page 171, section 26, "Private vessels of one State entering the ports of another are not in general exempt from local jurisdiction unless by express compact. But there are certain exceptions to this rule, which result from the right of asylum, based on the laws of humanity." It had been said here we were arguing against the right of England legislating in her own port with reference to Canadian ships. He agreed that England would have the right to legislate on the subject in her own ports. He distinguished the constitu-

tional right of England to legislate, which was identical in such regard to Canadian ships, with the right in regard to ships of all other countries; and he trusted that that country was too proud not to grant to us every iota of the constitutional right which we were entitled to. He held that the people of Canada under a Responsible Government had a right to govern themselves or misgovern themselves without the interference of the British authorities, if they chose. If he could think otherwise, he should ask Great Britain to withdraw these powers of legislation from this country, and let them rule us by the Imperial Parliament. Why were the sanitary regulations of our shipping to be subject to Imperial Legislation, and the sanitary condition of our coal mines, our houses and our factories excluded from it?

Now, with reference to our Flag, as though it were involved in the same question, could not a ship be a Canadian ship and British ship at the same time? A man could be a British subject and a Canadian at the same time—and why should they differ? Outside of the Dominions of the British Empire, although a Canadian, you are simply a British subject; and when you apply to the British Consul or Ambassador, he does not enquire whether you come from England or from Canada, and the question in no way bore on the question he was discussing. Then, if you can claim protection in a foreign port from a British Consul as a British subject, why not claim it for British-Canadian shipping. The present Bill introduced in the British House of Commons by Sir Charles Adderly makes it a misdemeanour to send a ship to sea if it is unseaworthy, and more than that, it throws the onus on the owner to prove it is not unseaworthy. This Bill if it became law he considered an outrage. See how it would operate against the shipping of New Brunswick! The ships there were owned by companies, and one of these vessels might be detained in a port—Liverpool for instance—for weeks through malice, before the proprietors could prove their innocence. It was time that this subject should be thoroughly understood and that Canadians should speak out. The principle he

contended for was that Canadian ships should not be included in the general mass of British ships in British legislation, that Canadians should legislate for theirs, and that the British legislation for Canadian shipping in British ports should be identical with that for foreign shipping. If the Parliament of this country were left to regulate our own shipping affairs in our own interest, to see that the lives and property of Canadian subjects were safe, and that our ships went to sea in a proper condition, the result would be that an impetus would be given to this trade, as we had the people and the material out of which to build up a splendid navy.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said it was necessary for him to make a few observations in consequence of the remarks of the speakers who preceded him. He understood the hon. member for St. John to say that the Bill which is now before the British House of Commons making it a misdemeanour for any persons who are guilty of sending an unseaworthy ship to sea was an outrage.

Mr. PALMER said that was not his objection; what he considered the outrage was throwing the onus of proof of his innocence on the proprietor of the vessel.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said a law identical with it had been on the Statute Book of this Dominion for two years.

The hon. member for St. John was in error in supposing we had the power of coasting trade prior to 1869. Since 1853, and up to 1869, it was regulated by Imperial legislation. In the latter year an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament authorizing this Dominion to exercise that power, and unless they did so, the coasting trade of this country would be thrown open to the world. His predecessor was in office at the time, and exercised the power given by the Imperial Government. The hon. gentleman seemed to think, under responsible Government, the Imperial authorities had no power to legislate for our vessels in ports of the United Kingdom.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I never said that.

Mr. PALMER.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said in the Act relating to Masters and Mates, the hon. gentleman, instead of exercising the right which he contended we possess, to legislate for ourselves, stated expressly under Her Majesty's will that Act should remain in suspension; and now he claimed that England had no right to legislate for our shipping in her ports.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—What I said was that England, having given us the right to deal with shipping, she ought not and would not interfere with it if proper representations were made.

Hon. Mr. SMITH asked if the hon. gentleman claimed by the British North America Act that right was given to us, why did he suspend the operation of laws passed by this Parliament?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I will give the reasons for it.

Hon. Mr. SMITH called his hon. friend's attention to the Act relating to the shipping of seamen, which also contained a suspending clause. If we had the right claimed by him, why did he abandon it in both of these Acts? In the measures relating to deck-loads and the loading of grain, the hon. member claimed the right to legislate for English vessels in our ports, yet he denied the right of England to legislate for our vessels in her ports.

He (Mr. Smith) had always been in favour of the establishment of a Canadian Lloyds, but he could not deny there was a widespread feeling among ship-owners against it.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentleman is mistaken.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said if the hon. gentleman could see the files in the Marine Department he would find the great majority of the ship-owners were very much opposed to it, and he did hesitate not to say it was on that account he had refused to put the Act in force. Not six weeks ago a large meeting of ship-owners was held in St. John, at which there was an almost unanimous expression of opinion against the establishment of a Canadian Lloyds. He asked this House whether the Government had not shown prudence in yielding to that sentiment.

The hon. gentleman who now wanted exemption altogether for our own

shipping, simply asked in his dispatch to the Imperial Government that Canadian vessels be exempted for twelve months. Notwithstanding that the present Government forwarded a dispatch asking that the Imperial legislation should not affect Canadian shipping, but it had no effect, because last Session a Bill was passed ignoring altogether our request. On reflection he (Mr. Smith) did not think it reasonable to ask England to exempt Canadian shipping.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Why did you do it, then?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I have explained the circumstances. We found the remonstrances of the Government of this country had no effect.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Because you did not follow them up.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said he had followed them up, but notwithstanding that, the British Government passed their Bill without regarding them. Mr. Plimsoll seemed to have control of the public mind, and even of Parliament, notwithstanding the powerful influence of the British ship-owners.

He believed Mr. Plimsoll was the cause of the adoption of the present Bill and some of its provisions were forced on the Government. He (Mr. Smith) did not think it would be in the interest of Canadian ship-owners to exempt them from Imperial legislation, and was satisfied it would be unwise to separate the Flag, because they knew the prestige it gave them in foreign countries, and whenever English ships got into trouble in foreign waters they only had to appeal to the British Consul for assistance. He could not see that the Bill contained any provisions that were inimical to the shipping of Canada. He did not hesitate to say that if they would only make the law applicable to foreign ships it would be a great benefit. The marked feeling which existed in England was not engendered by Canadian ships. When a Canadian ship got unseaworthy she was sent to England, sold and transferred to the English register. The matter of load-lines was one of some inconvenience, but it was not a great hardship. It was simply a contract

between the owner of the ship and the sailor. Then as to the deck-line there was no hardship and it gave very little trouble. Another objection was that the vessels were subject to survey and inspection by officers appointed by the Board of Trade. One quarter of the sailors could detain a vessel on complaint, but in Canada we also had a law by which a quarter of the sailors could detain a ship. Then a foreign vessel coming into the port of Montreal could be supervised by the Port Warden. Therefore no objection could be offered to the two last regulations which were to be found on the Canadian Statute Book. Ships coming from England to Canada were subject to the laws of the Dominion, and why should Canadians ask that their ships should be free from English legislation in English ports? The despatch dated the 18th of February, and forwarded to England, had met with general approval throughout the whole Dominion, and by the ship-owners in almost every part of it. It seemed to him that the true interest of the ship-owners should be to ask the British Government to make no special discrimination between foreign and Canadian shipping, and to approve of the amendment which had been offered to the House.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he thought the hon. member for Kent, when he asked them to endorse every word in the despatch of the 8th February, was asking too much. He was sure three-fourths of the House had never read the despatch.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—They ought to have done so.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—No doubt; but the hon. gentleman knew that there were many other despatches and documents which are not read. Members have not and cannot get time for the task. The despatch would not appear in the journals, and out of 206 members they would not find twenty who would be able to lay their hands on it and give their reasons for voting. He moved the following amendment to the amendment:—That all words after "that" in the amendment be struck out and the following substituted:—
"In the opinion of this House it is

"desirable that the Government should continue the efforts made by the late and present Governments to insure the exemption of Canadian shipping from the effects of Imperial legislation calculated to place Canadian shipping at a disadvantage with foreign ships in British and foreign waters."

Mr. PALMER stated that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries had made a rather fierce and entirely uncalled for attack on him. He was surprised at the position the hon. gentleman had taken with regard to the legal question. He, of course, admired the extraordinary knowledge of the lawyer, but they all knew that the privileges granted foreign vessels with regard to the coasting trade, and the rights of foreign ships in British waters, were entirely a matter of Imperial legislation. Another of the hon. gentleman's arguments had been equally abstruse to the effect that legislation on this subject was to be reserved for the special assent of the Queen in Council. He had never heard before the argument that a subject concerning which the Canadian Parliament had power to act without any delay, should be so reserved. He had imagined that the greatest tyro in the world would have known more of constitutional law. He had been misrepresented touching another matter. The hon. gentleman had said that he held that the Imperial Government had no power to legislate with reference to ships in their own waters. So far from this being the case, he had declared the very opposite over and over again. Canadians should have the exclusive right of legislation with reference to Canadian shipping; this ought not to be left in the charge of persons who had no interest in, and who might have interests which are entirely hostile to it. The English ship-owners invested in iron, and the Candians in wooden ships. The Imperial Parliament had control over British ships everywhere, and the result might be that if Canada legislated in this relation, we might have laws entirely dissimilar and antagonistic to those of Great Britain.

Hon. Mr. SMITH said notwithstanding the very lucid and clear exposition

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of our constitutional rights of the hon. member for St. John, who spoke *ex cathedra* on this very important question, he did not explain the point he took. Since the establishment of Responsible Government the various British possessions in America had the right to deal with the subject and exercise the right of exclusively legislating with relation to British shipping. England did not legislate in Canada with reference to foreign ships in our waters; we had this matter in our own hands.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—By the passage of an Imperial Act?

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Certainly. When the hon. gentleman said the Queen has power to disallow any Act, that was, of course, very important information. The hon. gentleman did not seem to know the distinction between the right of disallowing an Act and one with which there is connected a suspending clause. As to the amendment, it really did not cover the ground. While in the abstract it was very well, the hon. member would recognise that it was confined to a particular point. The hon. member had read various suggestions from the despatch in question, but he might say that these had received the approval of the ship-owners of the whole Dominion.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Of a few ship-owners of St. John.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—Of St. John and of the whole Dominion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought it very desirable that the House should come to a conclusion in this connection, consistent with the provisions of the British North America Act, and satisfactory to the general sense of the House and of the country. However, as the debate had occupied a great deal of time, as those who were not experts in the matter of ship-building had very little opportunity for saying anything at all on the subject, as it was late and another motion would on the morrow probably occupy a little more of their time than they could spare for this purpose every night, actuated by a wish to arrive at a satisfactory result, he moved the adjournment of the debate. The debate was accordingly adjourned.

The House adjourned at Twenty minutes past Eleven p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 14, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the chair at Three p. m.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK moved that the petition of Frank Smith and others of the City of Toronto, praying for an Act of Incorporation under the name of the British Canadian Loan and Trust Company be referred back to the Select Standing Committee on Standing Orders, in conformity with the recommendation of the said Committee in the report presented to-day.

The motion was carried.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. YOUNG (Waterloo)—An Act to Incorporate the British Canadian Loan and Investment Company, (Limited.)

Mr. CURRIER—An Act to Amend the Act incorporating the Ottawa Gas Company, to confirm the resolution of their shareholders placing the preferential and ordinary stock on the same footing; and to confirm, amend and extend their corporate powers.

Mr. VAIL—To Amend Acts therein mentioned respecting Militia and Defense in the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. CURRIER—Explain.

Mr. VAIL said the Bill explained itself. It was intended to amend the clause that made it incumbent on the Government to make an enrollment of militia during the present year. It was proposed in this Bill to defer the enrollment until 1880, and that enrollments should take place every five years.

Mr. DEVEBER—To incorporate the Maritime Savings and Loan Company.

Mr. NORRIS—To change the name of the Security Permanent Building and Savings Society of St. Catharines to that of the Security Loan and Savings Company.

Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) moved the suspension of the rules in order to enable him to introduce a Bill to incorporate the Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—An Act to amend the Railway Act of 1868.

Mr. BOWELL—What is the nature of the Bill?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the object of the Bill was to provide for the appointment of a third arbitrator under certain contingencies not provided against in the existing law.

VIOLENCE, THREATS AND MOLESTATIONS.

The House went into Committee on Bill to amend the Criminal Law relating to violence, threats and molestations; Mr. Mills in the Chair.

On the second clause,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he had decided not to adopt the suggestions of his hon. friends from Kingston and Cardwell with respect to this clause. He entirely agreed with them as to the importance of preserving to the minority of any trade or occupation its liberties against an improper assertion of the so-called rights of the union or majority, and he would always be ready while he sat in this House to sustain any legislation that time might determine to be necessary for that purpose; but this House might be averse to enact special legislation unless for a real and admitted evil. As far as he knew there was no reason to apprehend that this clause would be inadequate.

The Bill was reported, read the third time and passed.

CROSSING NAVIGABLE RIVERS.

The Bill to make provision for the crossing of navigable waters by railway or other road companies incorporated under Provisional Acts, was read the second time.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE suggested that the Bill should be referred to the Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraphs.

Mr. PALMER said this was a very important Bill and might, if passed, have the effect of injuring the navigation of certain rivers.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he was aware of the importance of the Bill, and his reason for referring to the Standing Committee was to have these clauses thoroughly considered. Of course it could be fully discussed afterwards in the House.

Mr. PALMER said it might be dangerous to put this power in the hands of the Government, and it should apply simply to small navigable streams.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE, in reply to hon. J. H. Cameron, said this Bill took away no right of a company. It was only in case it had no power to build a bridge over a navigable stream that it could apply to the Governor in Council to obtain it.

After some further discussion the Bill was referred to the Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraphs.

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the second reading of the Bill respecting the Intercolonial Railway. He said the only object of this Bill was to remove doubts as to whether the Act respecting the Intercolonial Railway enabled the Government to carry the line into the city of Halifax, as far as the present station that was being built.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had received a telegram from the Halifax City Railway Co., asking that the Bill be postponed until their explanations should arrive.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it merely gave the same power to the Government with respect to expropriation of property, &c., on this extension as they had on the rest of the Intercolonial Railway.

The Bill was read the second time, passed through Committee of the Whole, read the third time and passed.

SUMMARY TRIAL ACT.

The Bill entitled an Act to make other provision as to the more speedy trial in certain cases of persons charged with felonies and misdemeanors in the Provinces of Ontario, was read the second time.

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

The House went into Committee of the Whole (Mr. Laurier in the chair) on the Bill, intituled an Act to provide for more effectual enquiry into the existence of corrupt practices at elections of members of the House of Com-

mons. (Resolution, reported from Committee of Whole on the 10th March, referred.)

Hon. Mr. BLAKE, in amendment of the third clause, moved the insertion—after the word "election," in the 9th line on the second page—of the words, "And have annexed thereto a solemn declaration, signed by the petitioners, stating that they are such electors, and that the allegations of the petition are true to the best of their knowledge and belief;" also, the insertion, after the word "being" in the 17th line, of the words, "County Court Judges, or being."

The third clause, as amended, was adopted.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE explained that he could not alter the 14th clause with the view of not having the judges specially remunerated for these services, in order to obviate a difficulty suggested by an hon. member. He thought that the mischief arising out of special payments, which were plain and palpable, overbalanced the suggested mischief with regard to the referment of the matter to Commissioners, which was within the control of the House.

The Committee rose and reported, and the Bill, as amended, was read the first time.

SUPPLY.

The Debate on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Cartwright, that the Speaker leave the chair, and the House go into Committee of Supply, and the motion of Sir John A. Macdonald in amendment, being resumed,

Mr. FLEMING stated that the tariff which had been submitted two years ago had met with severe criticism. In England the tariff introduced by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone had to pass through the same ordeal, this, however, was not at all unusual. A singular circumstance was noticeable in connection with the deficit. It had been made the subject of rejoicing on the part of a certain portion of the community, who imagined that additional taxation would be rendered necessary, and they would profit thereby. The Leader of the Opposition had framed an amendment

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

in such a manner as to try and catch the largest number of votes. A variety of interpretations might be placed upon it, but for its real meaning, they were obliged to examine the speeches made by its supporters. One member approved of a 20 per cent. tariff, which would be an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It had been represented that American goods were placed on the Canadian market at discounts of 20, 30 and 50 per cent.; and if this was the fact, how could it be prevented by such a small increase duty? A national policy had also been mentioned; he did not know that any member on either side of the House would advocate anything else; all our policies were national. It had again been termed a paternal policy—but when the child grew up he was left to his own resources. An imitative policy, it was further termed; but who were we to imitate? Not Great Britain, but the United States! Imitation was said to be the highest flattery; but were we to destroy our shipping interests, of which we boasted so much? In 1873-4 the Americans paid \$415,924,580 on imports; and goods admitted free of duty were valued at \$179,936,668—\$595,861,248 in all, of which 68 per cent. had been carried by foreign vessels. The exports of the United States for the same period amounted to \$704,463,120 in value, of which 74 per cent., or \$521,394,909 in value were shipped in foreign ships. This would be the condition in which Canada would be placed under a similar system.

Hon. Members spoke of a retaliatory policy. There was a time when, if we had wished, we could have retaliated against the United States. That was upon the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, we could then have excluded the Americans from our canals, and by those means have struck a blow which would have been felt from the shores of Lake Huron to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

But we did not, and he believed it was well we did not, for if we had, Canada, while injuring them, would have suffered herself. The result of such action would have been to have sent the trade of the West down the Erie Canal to New York. Buffalo

would have been built up at the expense of Montreal.

This amendment partook somewhat of the character of a sugar-coated pill. It was to be made palatable by the introduction of the agricultural element. Members had spoken of having received letters from farmers, calling out for protection. He had not been honoured with any such. He had, however, received a letter from one of his constituents in which he said:—"I hope that the Government will be able to carry out their plan of retrenchment and show to the country that it is not an increase in the tariff we need, but economy both on the part of the people and the Government." This gentleman had full opportunity of knowing the sentiments of his neighbours, and he believed that they were those also of the large majority of the farmers in his riding.

A great deal had been said about the benefits of reciprocity, and former speakers had dwelt upon the advantages which would follow free intercourse with the United States. He had no doubt it would be so, but it was simply preposterous to suppose that by putting a duty on American wheat they would be forced to negotiate a Treaty. If the Americans in repealing the old Treaty thought they would force Canada to cry out for annexation they soon found they had made a very grievous error. They put on the screw, but it was a dock-yard screw and only answered the purpose of launching the good ship Confederation. It was asserted this new and undeveloped policy, foreshadowed by the right hon. member for Kingston, would benefit farmers by placing them in the same condition as their neighbours over the line. Now, what was that condition? In the House of Representatives a year or two ago, Mr. Marshall, of Illinois, made the following statement:—

"The farmer starting to his work has a shoe put on his horse with nails taxed at 67 per cent., driven by a hammer taxed 54 per cent.; cuts a stick with a knife taxed 50 per cent.; hitches his horse to a plow taxed 50 per cent., with chains taxed 67 per cent. He returns to his home at night, and lays his wearied limbs on a sheet taxed 58 per cent., and covers himself with a blanket that has paid 250 per cent. He rises in the morning, puts on his humble

flannel shirt taxed 80 per cent., his coat taxed 50 per cent., shoes taxed 35 per cent., and hat taxed 70 per cent.; opens family worship by a chapter from his Bible taxed 25 per cent., and kneels to his God on an humble carpet taxed 150 per cent. He sits down to his humble meal from a plate taxed 40 per cent., with knife and fork 35 per cent.; drinks his cup of coffee taxed 47 per cent., or tea 78 per cent., with sugar 70 per cent.; seasons his food with salt taxed 100 per cent., pepper 297 per cent., or spice 379 per cent. He looks around, upon his wife and children all taxed in the same way; takes a chew of tobacco taxed at 100 per cent., or lights a cigar taxed 120 per cent., and then thanks his stars that he lives in the freest and best Government under Heaven."

The right hon. member for Kingston has said that there was, in his estimation, no life in the world more happy and enviable than a farmer's, under the circumstances in which he is placed in Canada; and yet he would change his condition and place him under a burthen of taxation like his American brother.

He (Mr. Fleming) had always supposed that the right hon. member for Kingston had, during his long term of office, followed the policy of Great Britain as far as the circumstances of the country would admit. In proof of this, he would call attention to the policy of the late Government as indicated by the Budget Speeches of its Finance Ministers. In 1859 Sir A. T. Galt announced a deficit of over \$2,400,000 and increased the tariff for revenue purposes; however, he said at the same time, he did not believe a protective policy was best in this country, situated as we were in close proximity to the United States. Again in 1866, Sir A. T. Galt, in his Budget Speech, stated:—"We have the choice of the American system or the European. If we take the United States system of protective duties, of protecting everything, every branch of industry, we shall to a certain extent assimilate our system with theirs, a course which I do not think this country will approve. On the other hand, if we adopt what I call the European system—because the policy of England is now being generally adopted by other European countries—if we adopt that system as opposed to the American system then, I think, we shall stand in

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"the position of offering to the people and the capital, which for various causes are now seeking new homes and employment, a country possessing more advantages than any other on the continent." At that time a duty of fifty cents per barrel was put upon flour, and ten cents on corn and other coarse grains. The avowed object of this duty was to bring the Americans to terms. It had, however, no effect. In 1868 the duty was taken off. The right hon. member for Kingston said in the House on the occasion of its repeal, that the flour tax had been imposed as an assertion of the independence of the country against American exclusive legislation. It had been maintained with this view until it had been found to work oppressively in certain sections of the community, and was now repealed as a step in the right direction.

In 1868 this was taken off; it had been stated that it was imposed to show the Americans that we intended to act as we pleased; but when it was found to oppress a certain portion of our people it was removed. This was said by the right hon. member for Kingston, who declared further that it was a step in the right direction.

Advocates of protection had announced that though now defeated they would educate the country up to the proper point, and carry the next elections on this policy, but what sort of education would it be to teach people not to depend upon themselves, but upon others? The best training for a young man was in the way of cultivating self-respect and self-reliance; and the same principle held good with regard to manufactures and citizens generally. He was not aware that after all the manufactures were suffering so very severely, and he advised them to follow the example of the Canadian farmers of 1857, when placed under similar circumstances. A poor crop was succeeded by a falling market. The price of wheat had fallen one-half in Toronto within the space of four months; and what did they do? They did not fold their hands; but finding that the growth of wheat was not profitable, they turned their attention to darying and stock-raising;

and in consequence soon restored themselves to prosperity.

One cause of the present trouble, he believed, lay in the belief of manufacturers that they ought to secure a larger percentage of profit than others obtained from their investments. He did not think that the Government had any right to interfere with the profits of capital. To show the condition of several manufactures, he begged to submit the following statistics, taken from the last Census:—

“The manufacturer of agricultural implements occupied 252 establishments, 2,546 hands, employed \$1,104,308 capital, paid in wages \$556,084; value of raw material, \$889,847, and of manufactured do. \$2,685,392; percentage of profit on capital, 85. Manufacture of boots and shoes 4,191 establishments, 18,719 hands, and \$3,266,633 of capital and \$4,159,896 wages; had raw material valued at \$7,927,155, and manufacture valued at \$16,133,638; percentage of profit on capital 123. Cabinet and furniture making employed 854 establishments, 4,366 hands, \$2,050,175 of capital, paid \$1,189,435 in wages. Value of raw material, \$1,414,774, and of manufactured \$3,580,978; percentage of profit 46. Chemical establishments gave employment to 202 hands, \$465,900 capital, and paid \$64,076 in wages. Value of raw material, \$475,538, and of manufactured \$816,250. Percentage of profit 59. There were 8 cotton factories, employing 745 hands and \$632,000 capital, and paying \$129,400 in wages. Value of raw material \$462,000, of manufactured \$781,000; percentage of profit 30. There are 2,295 flour and grist mills, employing 4,992 hands, and \$9,929,898 capital, paying \$1,282,879 in wages. Value of raw material \$32,474,548, and of manufactured \$39,135,919; percentage of profit 54. Foundries and machine shops had 430 establishments, employing 7,653 hands, \$3,760,505 capital, and paying \$2,429,815 in wages. Value of raw material \$2,427,423, of manufactured \$7,325,531; percentage of profit 65. There are 4 sugar refiners employing 359 hands, \$425,000, and paying \$118,200 in wages. Value of raw material \$3,706,000, of manufactured \$4,132,750; percentage of profit 70. Tanneries had 1,142 establishments employing 4,207 hands, and \$2,656,163 capital, and paying \$1,056,204 in wages. Value of raw material \$5,712,642, and of manufactured \$9,184,932; percentage of profit 90. Wool cloth making employed 270 establishments, 44,153 hands, and \$2,776,814 capital; paid \$917,837 wages. Value of raw material \$3,217,068, and of manufactured \$5,507,549; percentage of profit 50. Of nail and tack factories there are 15, employing \$191,870. Value of raw material \$707,080, and of manufactured \$1,147,380; percentage of profit 64.”

If these statistics were correct, manu-

facturers could afford to bear with a year or two of depression. A great deal had been said about the control of the home market, but in the United States the boot and shoe manufacturers, who had complete control of their own market, in 1871 petitioned Congress, stating that the duties placed on articles used in connection with their business, which yielded three and a half millions, while the taxes imposed upon it amounted to eight millions; and this the Administration was reminded, must eventually be borne by the wearers of these articles. On leather was 35 per cent.; on cotton and silk rubber 35 and 50 per cent. respectively; and on lastings and serges, 8 per cent., while these were manufactured by only two establishments in the country.

“We believe,” these manufacturers continued, “that the entire removal of all protective duties would greatly advance our industry, as we should then have the markets of the world to sell our products, thus largely increasing the labour employed and the profits of manufacturing.”

This was signed by the proprietors of 122 factories in Lynn; 15 in Beverly; 22 in Worcester; 96 in Haverdale; 35 in Marblehead, and 84 in the city of Boston—all of Massachusetts; and by 3 in the town of Portsmouth, and by 7 in Dover—both of New Hampshire, numbering 384 of the largest factories in these States.

The present tariff should receive a longer trial. Frequent changes were injurious. Manufacturers should depend more upon their own energies and business capacity than they were disposed to do.

He would quote from a speech made by Mr. Dobell, of Quebec, at the recent annual meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade:—

“The sugar refineries of England have been suffering lately from the competition of beet root sugar imported from France. They did not clamor for protection, but met together and resolved to improve their machinery, manage their establishments more economically, and notwithstanding the bounty offered to the sugar interest in France, still compete with them. For a time,

“one of the locomotive manufactures of England was closed because labour was so high. Locomotives were imported from Belgium cheaper than they could produce them. Did you find the English manufactures rush to the Government for protection? Not at all. They took the sound practical course of business men—cut down expenses, and by their wise policy regained prosperity.”

Our country possessed immense advantages, and almost inexhaustible resources, and he hoped, and was confident, that by economy, both public and private, it would in due time be raised to the position occupied by the most flourishing nations of the earth.

Mr. WALLACE (Norfolk) stated that his hon. friend from Brant had read statistics showing the state of things as they existed in 1871, but he had not told the House that the country was then universally prosperous.

Adversity, however, was now the rule, and every one complained in consequence. He would not affirm that the change was due to the change which had taken place in the Administration; but it was, nevertheless, strange that when we had what was called a corrupt Government prosperity reigned, while since 1873 we possessed what was called a pure Government combined with adversity. He only gave the facts and allowed hon. members to draw their own inferences.

The discussion had been principally confined to the questions of free-trade and protection; but these were not at all at issue. If it was so, he would unhesitatingly avow himself a Free-Trader; and if any hon. gentleman was prepared to advocate free-trade—with its necessary consequence, direct taxation—he would support him. He, however, believed they could get free-trade by a better method, and without direct taxation. The issue now before the people was a question of tariffs. What he contended for was a readjustment of the burdens and not an increase of taxation. It was said that a taxable bread meant an increase in the cost of bread to the consumer. If, however, the price of bread were reduced that interfered with the ability

Mr. FLEMING.

of the producer to purchase other articles he might require to live upon. The advocates of free-trade in Manchester did so, not because the artisans might get more bread, but because they might get bread cheaper, so that they might be able to work cheaper, and in that way make Manchester the great emporium of the world for certain manufactures. Free-trade in England had operated to the detriment of English artisans, and a dispute had arisen between Free-traders and Protectionists as to whether it would not be advisable for England to adopt a policy that would put her artisans on a better footing than that which they had at present. It had been said that the position of Canada was far less dangerous now than it was two or three years ago. With this proposition in one respect he agreed. It was in a less dangerous position, because that which was feared had come. The crisis had come, and the danger was past, but the crisis was followed with a fearful result. Two or three years ago we had prosperity; now ruin had overtaken many, and there was no such thing as prosperity. Those who put forward the Provincial view of the case did not act like statesmen. The duty of a statesman was to view the Dominion as a whole and legislate accordingly. Anything affecting injuriously a portion of the Dominion, affected the whole of it. It was said the country would recover from the commercial squall by which it had been struck. He had no doubt that after the ruin had passed away the country itself would remain, but how would it be with those who had lost their all through the violence of the tornado? It was said that it was an evidence of the prosperity of this country that Canada could negotiate a loan on the London market at a favourable rate of interest. He regretted that the country had borrowed money, for borrowing must prove injurious to any country. But the reason that this money had been obtained at rates so very favourable in England was because the Government which had preceded the hon. gentlemen had succeeded in carrying on the business of the country, in increasing the revenue, and at the same time decreasing

axation. It had been said that borrowing money in England added to the permanent capital of this country. This proposition he regarded as an absurdity. Again, it was argued that the policy of the Government was one of justice. Now, he would ask was it a policy of justice to allow other nations to have an advantage over us in our commercial relations with them? The United States were allowed to have an advantage over us in every respect. Everything we sent over to them they taxed, and many things they sent to Canada were admitted free. Was that justice to the people of Canada? He regarded it as a remarkable argument that in six years, time the country might be in as prosperous a condition as it was in 1871. So that in two years of radical rule, under what was called a Reform Government, the country had retrograded so much that it would take it ten years to recover. If this was reform the people might well say—from all such reform Good Lord deliver us. This was a peculiar kind of progress. The Finance Minister, to a certain extent, was responsible for the condition of affairs in the Dominion. In our commercial condition which was largely based on credit, confidence was essentially necessary to prosperity, but the Hon Minister of Finance struck a blow at confidence in his first Budget Speech. In answer to the question, what could be done to assist the country in its present crisis, he would respond, send for Sir Francis Hinks. Put him in the position of the Minister of Finance and he would institute order at once and restore the finances and credit of the country. He had restored the financial condition of the country twice and could do it again. The present depressed condition was the offspring of human legislation, and by human legislation prosperity can be restored. But before the disease could be cured the cause of the disease must be ascertained. Over-production was given as one reason for our depressed condition, but this he did not believe. Production created happiness, and excessive production must create greater happiness, and on the principle that like produced like, it was impossible for happiness to create misery.

It could not be said that inflation was the cause, for they might look back to the periods between 1851-55, and 1869-73, when inflation was said to exist, and ask if we had suffering then? No; we had prosperity, and all that would seem to be wanting to secure perpetual prosperity would be continuous inflation. Over-importation was only a secondary cause; it did not matter how much we imported if we could only pay for it. He believed that the banks had largely contributed to bringing about depression; the circulating medium in Canada in all amounted to 28,000,000, and all the rest of their capital was used by importers. The banks had injured the country in another way; the depression began in September, 1873, when we should have been prosperous, because the lumbermen were getting their returns and the produce of the farm was coming to market, and money should have been plentiful; but the banks had taken capital to New York where they speculated in gold. The Government should control these institutions, and prevent them carrying capital out of the country. They could do so by refusing to grant them more privileges than private money lenders could secure if such a policy were pursued. Another reason given for the depression was shrinkages in value; these might be either legitimate or illegitimate; loss through wear and tear and decreased cost of production were legitimate, but a pure decline in the price of an article made for sale was illegitimate shrinkage, meaning ruin, perhaps, to the manufacturer. This was the case at present in connection with our industrial interests; and illegitimate shrinkage signified disaster to the manufacturers, and possibly starvation to the operatives. The Government should take this question into their serious consideration, and institute a new order of things preventing such shrinkage.

Two years ago the hon. gentlemen opposite were taken on credit by this country on their professions of honesty and ability to govern, but they had shrunk immediately in value in public estimation. Only a short time ago they were able to carry the Montreal constituencies, but there was a shrink-

age of value there. It was the same in Hamilton.

Mr. WOOD—No! no!

Mr. WALLACE said they were shrinking in value throughout the country very fast, and they would feel it when they were swept out of the Treasury Benches, as he believed they would be next election, and the sooner that happened the better for the country. He might illustrate this shrinkage in another matter. When the hon. gentlemen opposite were in Opposition they said the Pacific Railway should be built by a private company or not at all, but when they crossed the floor of the House they made it a Government work. He believed that was the proper way to build it, but they shrunk in value because of their inconsistency. Again, when in Opposition they declared no contracts should be let without the sanction of Parliament, but in power they let contracts without consulting the people's representatives, and they did many things they previously professed to abhor. They were therefore shrinking in value. It was a legitimate shrinkage caused by their own acts.

It was said the slaughtering of foreign goods in our markets was one cause of the depression. It was impossible to prevent this, however, by legislation. In his opinion another cause, and a very important one, of the prevailing distress was the false system of credit in the country. Our banks lend their credit when their capital stock is gone. In prosperous times they induce men to go into speculation upon bank credit, and this system led to much evil. The only way to prevent this was by devising a monetary system that would be expansive and keep pace with the industry of the country. Money moves industry. Take away the motor and the industry ceases to move. When we have no money industry collapses and depression is universal. He believed we could introduce a system of money which would render credit unnecessary. But before such a system could be introduced it was necessary to know what money is. Now what was money? He would say negatively it was nothing. It could be made out of almost anything

Mr. WALLACE.

and, therefore, it was nothing in itself. It was neither the product of nature nor of industry, but the creation of Governments by which to measure value, and to facilitate the exchange of values. But a measure to be of use must be a fixed quantity, and gold being subject to the laws of supply and demand, did not answer that requirement. Gold could measure nothing, because a starving man would give all the gold in the world for a loaf of bread. Now, the true value of any article is the labour it costs to produce it, and the true measure of its value is its usefulness to man—just what a man would give for it. It is unjust to take one value and make it the measure of all other values, because it gives it a supremacy over all other values, and as gold is made the measure and it bears no proportion to all the other values, the system tends to the depreciation of these values—the restriction of production—the prevention of happiness and the creation of misery. He held the suffering of this country and the depression of trade throughout the world is due to the false monetary system by which commerce is regulated. Our money is unequal to the task of measuring the industry of the world, and we have to supplement it by credit. He would introduce money of the least value possible because the less value it was the truer measure it would be. Paper money, therefore, was the best, because it was the of least value, and was less subject to the law of supply and demand than any other. Paper money bought everything in the United States, and was, therefore, not the "vicious and irredeemable currency" which an hon. gentleman in the debate had tried to represent it. It was plain that money of this kind which would buy all a man wanted and pay all his debts was good enough.

At Six o'clock the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. WALLACE continued, stating that the system of paper money was the best because its value was small, and it was easy of transportation. It might be said that it would be good only among ourselves; but no money

was good out of the country where it was created—it mattered not whether it was of gold, silver, or paper, we did not hesitate to take greenbacks, although we knew that we could not go to the States and get gold for them; they possessed a purchasing power, and could buy gold as well as anything else. The purchasing power of gold was regulated by the law of supply and demand; if scarce, this was increased; if abundant, it was lessened. They would be told of depreciated money; but this was not so bad as depreciated values. If we over imported, money was scarce, property was sacrificed, trade collapsed, and ruin, as at present, prostrated the country; if such a currency existed no one felt it except those who wished to have gold—the importers; and was it not right that the men who caused the ruin should so suffer for their recklessness? If the price of gold was increased the price of imported goods was also increased, and this gave protection and a stimulus to home industries; this was the true system of protection, making industry protect itself, instead of by taxation, which benefitted neither producer nor consumer, but was only a burden. It was far better to collect revenue by direct taxation than by Customs duties, as the cost of collection was thereby saved. The Government should be carried on in a manner more conducive to the interests of the country than at present; money should be issued representing the labour of persons employed by the Administration. The Customs system created a host of revenue officers, non-producers, who, like locusts, preyed upon the country's vitals. Was it more dangerous to empower the Government to issue money than to borrow? He thought not, and that it would be better to issue legal tender notes for twenty millions than to borrow this amount. Circulation would thereby be increased, production be stimulated, and industry benefitted; while borrowing sent money out of the country to pay the interest merely, year after year, to our disadvantage. There could be no comparison between the systems. It had become more profitable to speculate in money than to invest manufactures; and the consequence was that a horde of money-

lenders had been created, who were non-producers, preying upon the industry of the people.

Borrowing money was only discounting the future, and for the construction of our public works, we might discount future by borrowing from ourselves, for although we had no money we had what was better—we had an immensity of wealth in our wild lands, our forests and our mines. At the taking of the last census we had real and personal property worth \$1,028,000,000; and if we wanted to spend \$150,000,000 on public works, we could not realize the great wealth, besides which we had all the wild lands, forests, mines, &c, of the great North-West Territory; yet when we required only eight or ten millions for such purposes, we ran over to England and negotiated a loan. A man would be considered to possess poor business capacity if he had \$1,000, and a house and lot worth a couple of hundreds, and still was unable to obtain funds to the extent of \$150 for any undertaking—this was the position of Canada. If our credit was sufficient to secure gold with which to buy Canadian labour, why was it not good enough to purchase it without the intervention of gold? Was it because the English people had more faith in our future than we ourselves? He believed that Canadians had full confidence in it. Our legal tender notes were, of course, based upon gold; but this did not amount to more than 25 cents on the dollar. The people did not seek to exchange them for gold, but only wanted to get more of them than they had. Our commercial system, which made us go 3,000 miles to secure coal, which was to be found in the Dominion; import iron when we had it under our feet, and wool when we could grow it, &c., could not be right; but still the Government said it was impossible to change it.

Mr. THOMSON (Welland) said it was extraordinary that the right hon. member for Kingston should, in the year 1876, place before this intelligent House and country, a proposition to levy protective duties on the agricultural as well as the manufacturing industries of other countries. The effect of put-

ting a tax on both was to protect neither, and the thing was absurd on the face of it. The right hon. member for Kingston was the last defender of the system of imprisonment for debt, and now, in 1876, he wanted to put a tax on corn and wheat. Whatever law was good for 40,000,000 of people would suit 4,000,000. The laws of nature were immutable, and applied to all countries alike. What suited England would suit us, and it was nonsense to say we should shut out the people of other countries from ours. The one thing necessary to ensure manufacturing for Canada, was to open our doors to all countries without reference to their duties against us. By allowing the products of other countries to come freely into Canada, each family would save from one to two hundred dollars a year—say \$50,000,000, and as capital reproduced itself three times in the year, that would give \$150,000,000 which was lost forever to our people every year by our tariff. The panic in Canada was the result of protection. The interest on money in this country grows every year higher and higher, and there is a something rotten in our system which makes people poorer instead of richer. In the Niagara district, the garden of Canada, all the land in the township where he (Mr. Thompson) lived, could be bought for \$50 an acre; forty years ago it was sold for \$60 an acre. Under true principles of Government, land would be dear, labour dear, and products cheap; but in Canada to-day land is cheap, labour cheap, and products are dear. The true measure of progress is not the production but the consumption of a people. Every country consumes all it produces, receiving something in return for all it exports. If there was a Chinese Wall built round Canada, so that we could not communicate with another country, our people would continue to accumulate wealth as they do now. Foreign trade is nothing but a swap of products, the merchants being nothing but middlemen who amount to nothing in a nation. The cause of our troubles has been that our laws have been made to suit the merchants instead of the producing classes. This should be altered, and the moment it

Mr. THOMSON.

is done the industrial classes will rise from their present condition, and the country will be free from panics. Canada did not want protection. There never was a country in such a position to throw off the time-honoured principles of protection as Canada. She had the courage, wealth and capacity to do it, and if she refused to take advantage of the situation she was a coward, and would sink in the estimation of the world into a two-and-six-penny colony. He desired to say in regard to the question of money and interest, that it made the rich richer and the poor poorer. Men who partook too much of the character of shysters sat in their miserable offices and actually sapped the independence, liberty and intelligence of the whole country by their 7, 8, and 10 per cent. principles. There the difficulty lay. He was quite satisfied that it was possible for a Government like this to make such a system of currency as would credit the exception and not the rule. No legislation that protected the rich man only would be satisfactory to the country. The rich man could take care of himself, and legislation was required to elevate to his true dignity the working man.

Mr. BERTRAM said that if instead of adopting the advice of the hon. member for South Norfolk, to send for Sir Francis Hincks to take the place of the Minister of Finance, the Government were to send an invitation across the House, the hon. gentleman himself might consent to fill the honourable office. The hon. gentleman had also spoken of the extraordinary shrinkage which had taken place in values, and had spoken of shrinkage as consisting of two kinds, legitimate and illegitimate. He (Mr. Bertram) thought it would be a good thing for the House to know the opinion of the hon. gentleman as to the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the shrinkage which took place in the famous Governmental fall of 1873. The question to which the motion of the right hon. member for Kingston gave rise was one of great importance, and one which should be approached with very grave consideration indeed. That motion, if it meant anything,

meant they should overturn the present system and adopt a protective tariff. It was well that they had the experience of the United States and England to guide them in the consideration of this subject. It would, however, be unwise for them in considering the present condition of the country to forget the differences of the condition existing in the three countries. It was well known that land in England was very dear in comparison with Canada, and that money was more plentiful and much cheaper than here. This gave a great advantage to farmers and manufacturers in Canada, and if they examined into the condition of Great Britain they would see she was passing through a crisis almost of the self-same kind as that which Canada has been subjected to.

There was nothing extraordinary in England being in its present condition; which was due, as had been the case frequently, to over-production. In the United States, the circumstances were somewhat different—over-production being combined with an inflated currency and shrinkage in the value of real estate. The crisis commenced there about two and a half years ago, and though they boasted of immense recuperative power and resources, their position was still but slightly changed, while with us the effects were far less grave. We had prospered under our present system, and he did not care whether it was termed incidental protection or modified free-trade, as there was nothing in the mere name. It had given us an elastic revenue, and encouragement to our manufacturers. By this amendment, the right hon. gentleman sought to overturn what he and his friends had built up, acting the part of an iconoclast. If it passed the parties should change names, as the Government would represent the Conservative party of Canada.

The right hon. gentlemen stated that we should all take an interest in Canadian manufacturers; this was quite right, but it was only one half of the truth, for we should also take a deep interest in every individual in the Dominion. The right hon. gentleman further said, that we should encourage, assist, and support our farmers in their

needs; these were fine sentiments, which he was sure every hon. member would endorse; but fine words alone would not do. We were asked directly to exclude American produce from our market; and one reason given in this relation, was rather extraordinary, viz:—that at least it would do no harm. This was inconsequential; and what good would it do? this it was the duty of the advocates of such a policy to show the exclusion of Indian corn was urged on the ground that our farmers would then raise rye, to be used by our distillers; but was it expedient that our wealth and labour should be employed in producing rye, when whiskey could be made of corn with one-half the labour? He thought not. It had been asserted that the farmers paid the present duty of 15 cents per bushel on barley sent into the United States, but he believed that he could prove that it was paid by the Americans. He took wheat as a standard of value for farm products, its price was regulated by that which obtained in Europe. We competed in this article with the United States in Liverpool; and it stood to reason that our farmers would not grow barley if they could get more money for it than wheat. The actual facts were that Canada was yearly exporting a larger quantity of the former; and he considered this was the clearest possible proof that the farmers found it to their advantage to do so; therefore the Americans paid that duty themselves.

An article had been read to show that foreign were replacing English goods in Great Britain, and that these free-traders would soon be demanding protection. This might be so; but one thing would surely happen when England changed her policy in this respect; when she only manufactured for her own consumption, she would rank with Spain in the world's estimation, and in a few years hence the proverbial New Zealander might be seen standing on London Bridge. There was no doubt that a small quantity of Belgian iron had been imported into England, but this was due to the strikes and demands for increased wages in the latter country. If the English manufacturers desired to keep

the foreign trade in connection with certain articles, they should pay more attention to their designs, &c., for instance: At present electro-plated ware was largely brought into the Dominion from the United States, whereas, not many years ago, it had been imported from England. And why? Because the British manufacturer kept in the old grooves, while the Americans had secured new designs and new metal.

One reason was as good as fifty, and he had given one why English manufactures were being superseded in particular classes by those of the United States.

The neighbouring country was *par excellence* one of protection, and what was the result of the system there? In the iron trade there were at this day millions of dollars worse than idle. When the Morrell tariff was first brought into operation it gave such an impetus to industries, and the profits of manufacturing were so enormous that numbers rushed into such employment. The result was where there was only one or two manufacturing establishments of a particular kind, they combined for the purpose of simply robbing the people, and where there were a good many, the competition was so keen that the strongest only survived, the rest being ruined. When prosperity again returns this will be repeated, more people will go into those industries, and the extreme competition will end the same way. The position of this country was different, being neither one of free-trade as in England, nor protection as in the United States. Our duties being very small prevent our manufactures from realizing more than fair living profits. As an illustration of the results which sometimes arise from a high protective tariff, he referred to the combination of the coalminers of Pennsylvania a few years ago to obtain \$2 per ton more than a reasonable profit for coal. If the Nova Scotia coal had not been excluded from the markets of the United States, the poor classes of the New England States and New York would have felt the benefits of competition in the cheapness of fuel.

He could not take his seat without expressing the pleasure with which he

had heard the announcement of the Finance Minister that the deficiency of the revenue was to be met by economy and not by increased taxation. That policy would be sustained not only by the House but by a majority of the people throughout the Dominion.

Mr. McNAB stated that the question under consideration was most important to the farmers, of whom he was one; he had also the honour of representing an agricultural constituency. The amendment had been very carefully worded, indicating no particular line of policy beyond an expression of censure with regard to the Government, and only advised a re-adjustment of the tariff. Still they had a right to assume owing to surrounding circumstances, that if carried, its effect would be to increase the duties on certain classes of goods. The Boards of Trade and manufacturers, with singular unanimity, had concluded that the tariff should be raised, but it was to be remembered that the manufacturing and mercantile classes only formed about one-twentieth part of the population; and yet their proposition was to place higher duties on the articles consumed by the other nineteen-twentieths. He was not surprised that this one-twentieth should ask for protection. It would be a good thing for them, though bad for the farmer. But they argued that the agricultural interest would also receive the benefit of protection, and it was alleged they desired it. He had been a farmer for twenty years, was a member of several agricultural societies, and this year held the position of President of the Agricultural and Arts Association of Ontario, yet he had never heard a desire for protection expressed by the farmers of any section of Ontario. They knew that it was not to their interests that this House should adopt any such measure. They reasoned the matter in this way:—"We farmers are the producers, and there is but one-twentieth of our population which consumes our products. It is impossible in the nature of things that these people can control our market, consequently it is to our interest to have such legislation as will enable us to purchase as cheaply as we can, and sell our products at the highest

Mr. BERTRAM.

"attainable prices." If this motion should pass, everything the farmer consumed, everything he purchased in the cities, whether for use in his house, or in his fields, would cost him more. But it was alleged that the tariff would so increase the price of farm products that it would compensate him for the additional cost of his implements and clothing. In Ontario and Quebec we are not importers to any large extent of coarse grains or cattle, and therefore the duties on such articles would neither protect the farmers nor add to the revenue. It had already been shown that the Canadian farmers derived benefit from the free importation of American corn, which was a grain also used in the manufacture of starch. If this House imposed a duty on Indian corn the effect would be to enhance the cost of the raw material to the manufacturer of starch. But assuming, for the sake of argument that the farmer would be benefited by raising the tariff, he would lose ten dollars for every one he gained by the increased taxation.

Now, the farmers of Canada did not that to be protection. If the Government of the country, after carefully considering the matter, found it was necessary in order to meet the public requirements to impose an additional duty on certain articles, the farmers of Canada would not oppose the addition; but the farmers were not willing that there should be any special legislation for the few at the expense of the many. They sympathized with the manufacturers, but they did not believe the true remedy for the existing depression was protection, but patient perseverance, prudence and strict economy. It would be unwise for the Government to change the fiscal policy of the country in order to meet the depressed circumstances in which the country then was. The motto in which farmers believed was "equal rights and equal privileges to all men and all classes, and special rights to none." That motto they were willing to uphold on this question. The farmers frequently suffered from hard times induced by the failure of crops and other causes, but who ever saw the farmers coming to

this House and asking for special legislation in their own behalf. If the gentlemen opposite convinced him that the carrying of the amendment before the House would advance the great agricultural interest, he would be with them. But he was heartily convinced that it would be most prejudicial to the agricultural interests, and indeed to the interests of those classes who asked for it, and who might in the meantime reap a temporary advantage. Therefore he should with great pleasure vote against the amendment.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said it was greatly to be regretted that the Government allowed a false impression to get abroad in regard to their proposed dealing with the tariff. The hon. member for Chateaugay and Montreal West were looked upon as the accredited agents of the Government in their statements to the people of Montreal. If there was not an actual *suggestio falsi*, there was at all events a *suppressio veri*, and their statements should have been contradicted. In dealings between private persons such conduct would have been scouted and it was the bounden duty of the Government to have stated that there was to be no alteration of the tariff if such was their intention. The Government at the time were making enquiries throughout the country, and were engaged in considering a revision of the tariff.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Does my hon. friend presume to state that I was engaged on a revision of the tariff; because, if so, I beg to contradict him?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—I say the hon. member was considering changes.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I beg to say that the hon. gentleman is making a statement he has no right to make, and which is entirely incorrect.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK reiterated that the Hon. Minister of Finance received information from all parts of the country obtained at his request, and after having received these recommendations it was an act of great discourtesy to the parties supplying the information, if he did not even consider them. The Hon. Minister of Finance was not

"A daring pilot in extremity, pleased with the danger
"When the waves ran high."

He saw the impending storm between the contending elements, led on the one side by the hon. member for Halifax, and on the other by the hon. member for Montreal West. He saw there was great danger in changing the fiscal policy, and he prudently shrank from the encounter. But by raising the false expectations of the merchants, he tended in a great measure to disarrange the trade of the country. The Hon. Minister of Finance had, in all his speeches since he announced his policy, alluded to manufactures in terms of disparagement. He announced his intention of preventing them, so far as he could, amassing "colossal fortunes," which threaten serious mischief to the country. He alluded to them as "lobbyists," forming "rings," that manufactures produced an "artificial transference" of the rural population to the towns which should be checked. He spoke of the "squalid hovels" of the rich manufacturers in the suburbs of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton. He spoke of them as forming only one-twentieth of the population. Nay, in his last speech he says they do not compose one-fortieth of the population. He (Mr. Kirkpatrick) said the whole tendency of the Finance Minister's speeches was to arouse a hostile feeling between the agriculturist and the manufacturer. That he, in effect said, "we are an agricultural country, and do not want manufactures, unless they grow up like mushrooms—that we should not plough the ground nor manure it, so as to encourage their growth." Putting aside for the moment the question of protection and free-trade, let us suppose that we are to remain solely an agricultural country, he (Mr. Kirkpatrick) asserted that as an agricultural country the older Provinces were almost full; only, perhaps, in Ontario were there any good first-class lands still ungranted by the Crown, and even there the quantity was very small. We were pushing immigration into the North-West where we offered acres of rich, fertile, virgin soil, "without money and without price."

If this was the case, could we expect immigrants to settle on our second-class lands? Certainly not, until the

Mr. KIRKPATRICK.

profits of farming were raised to such a degree as to enhance the value of land now occupied, encouraging improved tillage and the cultivation of such lands. The older Provinces should guard their manufacturing interests, otherwise they will remain stationery, or perhaps retrograde. For example: across the Border during the last decade, the greatest increase in population had occurred in manufacturing States; and if an opposite policy was pursued, our population might even decrease; our farmers and their sons would go the North-West, and they would not be replaced. The entire increase in this relation in the United States during the last ten years, amounted to 22 per cent. In Maine, which with its lumbering greatly resembled an old Canadian Province, the population had actually decreased; in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, it increased 23 $\frac{13}{100}$ per cent; in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, the aggregate increase, however, was only 14 per cent. In New Hampshire the figures also showed a decrease.

The Finance Minister was in error when he affirmed that the manufacturing classes did not include one-twentieth of our population. The census informed us that 479,512 persons were engaged in agricultural pursuits; 75,201 in commerce; 60,104 in domestic pursuits; 212,808 in industrial pursuits, and 39,144 in professions; 143,070 not classed; total, 1,009,847; thus showing that our agriculturists did not comprise one-half of the population, and the industrial classes comprised about one-fifth, or taking out the lumbermen, fishermen, &c., they would be more properly speaking, about one-eighth. The Finance Minister should not have treated these interests with contempt and scorn; but he should have dispassionately argued the benefits between protection and free-trade. The Finance Minister said in his Budget Speech, "Theory apart, there are very few of us who would object to a moderately low rate of duty, or would care much to be found opposing a tariff, though in defiance of free-

“ trade theories, which would bring a large addition to the population of the country at a very moderate cost to the remainder of the population.” was precisely the position he took, and he was prepared to argue with the hon. gentleman on his own text. We should have a readjustment of the tariff in order to encourage our native industries, and our agricultural interests. The abstract principle of free-trade was incontrovertible, but it was inapplicable to Canada in its present peculiar position; give us free-trade on both sides and he would support it; and until we could really obtain it we should fight the Americans with their own weapons. He believed that the Canadian farmers would support this attitude, and he saw no reason why a duty should not be placed upon corn. If a duty would not change the price of wheat, as hon. gentlemen opposite averred, neither would it alter the price of flour. There were many anomalies in the tariff which ought to be removed. The locomotive manufacturer in Canada did not enjoy at present equal rights; other industries were protected to the extent of 17½ per cent. while he had only 12; this was improper, and should no longer be allowed to exist. The piano industry should also be aided by a proper method of collecting the duty on foreign pianos. The supporters of the amendment did not favour extreme protection; they desired sufficient protection to foster industries which would yet supply the millions that would settle in the vast North-West, instead of allowing this country to be so furnished from the Eastern States, which would otherwise be the case. He spoke as the representative of a farming constituency, and did not think the policy advocated would result in increased taxation to the farmer; even though it might render necessary a slight increase of taxation, he thought that the agriculturists would support it in the general interests of the country.

Mr. BUNSTER rose to explain why he would give a different vote regarding this amendment than he had cast the other night, touching the motion of the member for Montreal West. When British Columbia entered

Confederation, its tariff was 12½ per cent. on manufactures. By this act the duties were raised 2½ per cent.; and two years ago a similar increase had been made, and uncomplainingly borne. He thought that the farmers had as much right to protection as the manufacturers had; our industries were at present either closed or running on short time, and as the country was being flooded with American goods these interests should receive proper consideration.

When British Columbia entered the Confederation, her farmers had a slight protection, and the articles they consumed were not so expensive as they are now; neither was the Government so expensive as it is to-day. They laboured under the delusion that Confederation would increase their prosperity, but they found every promise broken, and they realized the fact they had been duped. When the hon. member for South Bruce on taking office, appealed to his constituents, he repudiated the agreement made with Lord Carnarvon, and yet the Leader of the Government took him in as his colleague, just as a man who had a bad case secured the services of an able lawyer to make black appear white. The Hon. Premier did not want to give British Columbia her rights, and that was why he took the Hon. Minister of Justice into his Cabinet. Last year he (Mr. Bunster) had shown the latter gentleman a specimen of British Columbia wheat; he would now pass him a specimen of British Columbia barley, and ask whether a country that could raise such grain as that was not worth protection.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I believe it can protect itself.

Mr. BUNSTER said it could not protect itself, because while the Americans had free access to our markets we were practically excluded from those of the United States. In 1875 the Americans sent into British Columbia 728 horses and 1,181 head of cattle, which were entered at less than half their value on bogus invoices. They also sent in 1,454 swine, 8,400 sheep, and other things in proportion, and yet the Government when appealed to for protection, replied: “ We can-

"not change the tariff." He knew to the contrary. They had changed it since he had been in Parliament. But if they could not change it for the whole Dominion they might give British Columbia a discriminatory tariff, or allow her to have one such as she possessed before Confederation, when she was more happy and prosperous than she has been since. Instead of injuring the revenue it would increase it, while it would permit the farmers of the Province to have their own market. If they had free-trade with the United States it would be fair enough, but they were met by a heavy tariff on everything they exported to that country. The coal of British Columbia would be excluded altogether from San Francisco only for its superior quality. As soon as the Pacific Railroad should be built, British Columbia would not object to any tariff that might be considered best suited for the interests of the whole Dominion.

He considered if Indian corn were not imported into Canada, that other cereals to supply its place would be cultivated to a greater extent than now. Therefore he was of opinion that an advantage would result to Canada from the taxation of Indian corn. He thought he had shown that protection in this country was desirable. If they did not want protection in Ontario, he begged to inform them that it was desired in British Columbia, and he hoped the Government would allow them to fix their own tariff, as they would not perform the other promises they had agreed to.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he rose for the purpose of stating clearly to the House, and through the house to the country, the reasons on which he based the vote he gave on this question some days ago, and the vote he would give on this amendment. He was a Free Trader and had been one all his life; but he believed in free-trade being reciprocal. He was in favor of free-trade, then, if they could get it; but since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty the policy of Canada always seemed to be more or less contrary to the policy of the United States. From 1865 to the present time, Canada had been throwing open her markets to the production of American manufactures

and agriculturists, and had failed to obtain any reciprocal treatment in relation to the manufactures and productions of this country. He thought the crisis had arrived, and that it was desirable for Canadian statesmen to take hold of this matter. He would here lay down the principle that they could not get reciprocity in trade without reciprocity in tariff. He did not mean to say that where the Americans imposed a tariff of 50 or 70 per cent. we should impose the same, but he would so re-adjust the tariff that while it would raise the amount needed by the Finance Minister, it would act at the same time so as to protect such of the struggling industries of the country and the agricultural products as it might be desirable to collect the duties on. He did not pretend that he would vote for that resolution on the abstract principle of protection, but as a retaliatory measure for the purpose of forcing the neighbouring country, on which our prosperity so much depended, to adopt more of a liberal policy towards Canada. It might be said that he did not represent the views of his constituents on this subject, but it would be remembered that he had been returned twice to Parliament since he had voted on a similar motion some six or seven years ago, with the view of influencing Americans to be more liberal in their treatment of Canada. He would vote on this occasion with Sir John A. Macdonald, although he might feel it his duty at a future stage to introduce another amendment on the same subject in order to enable him to express more clearly his views in regard to this important matter.

Mr. COLBY said he desired to express what he believed to be the sentiments of the farmers on this subject. It was very properly stated by the hon. member for Glengarry that agriculture was the paramount and predominating interest in the country, all others being largely subsidiary to that all absorbing interest, and that any fiscal policy not in the interests of agriculture ought not to commend itself to the favour of the public men of this country. His hon. friend from Grenville a few days since had called the attention of the House

to the large quantity of Canadian agricultural produce that was exported to the United States. That gentleman's opportunity for observation was very good, living, as he did, at a most important shipping port. He regretted the hon. gentleman did not prosecute his inquiry further, so that he could have explained to the House the cause, in his judgment, of that circumstance.

Why was it that New England and New York absorbed so largely the agricultural products of the States which composed New England, as well as the surplus products of this country before and during the period of reciprocity and now? The answer was quite obvious—they possessed a large consuming industrial population? How did this happen—could it be supposed that it was a mere matter of accident? He affirmed—and after a moment's reflection this would be clear to every hon. member, and every thinking man in Canada—that it was the result of a long and deliberate policy on the part of the very able and sagacious public men who had controlled their interests for many years. Long ago, Daniel Webster, in the Senate of the United States, announced the policy of protection for manufacturers and agricultural products, for woollen fabrics and wool, &c., and from that day until the time of Justin Morrell, the Senator, who initiated the iron-clad Morrell tariff, New England did not want able, far-seeing and sagacious men who had a proper appreciation of their interests to advocate the same policy. We saw the results; they prospered under this condition of affairs. In New England they were quite incapable of producing like the Western States, large quantities of wheat for foreign consumption, cotton or sugar, &c.; but the farmers raised a class of products which must be consumed within the country itself; there was no market abroad for their coarse grains, beef, and the produce of their pastures and meadows; these statesmen accordingly saw that a home market must be created, and they deliberately set themselves to work to make it. The results were as brilliant as they had wisely anticipated; they succeeded; a home market was created; the agriculturists pros-

pered; great industries were built up, and enormous capital being accumulated was sent into the South and West to construct railways, and stimulate their industries; and all this was the effect of a system arranged for the benefit of their own special localities. Was it not well then that our public men should consider these circumstances? How did this affect the New England agriculturalists? It was notably true that in their manufacturing towns and cities their produce sold at higher rates than were obtained in any other part of the continent; and did they pay higher for what they purchased than others have done?

Hon. Gentlemen—Yes.

Mr. COLBY—Hon. gentlemen said yes, if so, notwithstanding all their duties and our 17½ per cents applying to certain articles, how could they ship so large a quantity of things into Canada? This was a matter susceptible of the most exact verification. The New England farmer sold at higher and bought at lower rates than the agriculturalists of any other portion of America. If this held good for that section, why could it not also apply to the agricultural districts of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Eastern Ontario, which were merely the northward extension of New England and New York. There were to be found the same conditions of soil and climate, and the same products, the same facilities for success in manufacturing enterprises, and the same magnificent water-powers. He did not speak for the producers of the South or West, or even for the wheat-growers of Ontario, but for the districts mentioned, whose staples were fitted for domestic consumption and not export. This was the special idea with which Quebec entered into Confederation, having fine water-powers, mines lumbering and a people tractable and easily taught industrial pursuits. She saw for herself a future similar to the position now occupied by New England in the United States when the Great North-West was settled with a producing population. We could not force any industry, whether agricultural or manufacturing, which was not congenial for us; they in Que-

bec, in the Lower Provinces, or in Eastern Ontario, could not become a wheat-growing people; and why not then work concurrently with nature? We should adapt our policy to the country; and if we departed from such a course, we would do violence to nature, and in lieu of aiding and further developing our prosperity, we would retard our progress, and do our people very great injury. He attached very great significance to this point, and he invited particular attention to its consideration: Suppose that all the industries of New England and New York were to-day blotted out of existence, to be at no future period revived, and that the manufacturing centre instead of being located on the sea-board, was removed to the valley of the Mississippi, he asked, what could be the hope and the prospect of the eastern part of this continent as an agricultural country?

What could we raise of produce that we could send to any market of the world to feed a population remote from us? The very supposition of the case shows to any person who will give it a moment's reflection that if agriculture can be made profitable on the east side of this continent, pursued against the disadvantages of climate, it can only be made possible and profitable by having a large consuming population to use the products of the country. He did not speak in favour of extreme protection, but he believed a policy of moderate protection would do for us what has been accomplished in New England where it has been tested for many years, it would be the best day for the farmers they ever saw. But it might be said we cannot become a New England; there is no market. Well, there was very little market in New England before that policy was instituted. Give us our own market and that is a starting point; but are there no markets abroad? Why should not we compete with the world in the West Indies and other non-manufacturing countries? The world is open to us; there are millions of people to be clothed and supplied with manufactures. Their markets are as open to us as to any other nation. Is there any reason why we should not reap that harvest? That is an ambition which should be encouraged.

MR. COLBY.

He had been very much surprised to hear from certain high and influential quarters in this House a sneer thrown at who ever seemed to suggest anything in the direction of giving protection to the farmers of this country. That had been the case from the time that a certain hon. member proposed a committee to consider the condition of the agricultural interests down to this part of the debate. He (Mr. Colby), very well recollected that the first time he addressed the Parliament of this country in 1868, it was on a subject concerning the farmers of this country. On that occasion he had asked for a certain degree of protection to the farmers. He had urged the matter with great zeal, and made use of the expression so often quoted in this debate, "reciprocity in tariffs if we cannot have free trade." After considerable effort the Government of the day conceded the point; and he knew the course he had pursued met with the hearty approval not only of his own constituents but also of the farmers in the adjoining counties of that section. They were very grateful indeed for the protection which had been given them.

The hon. member for Grenville the other night asserted that only three sheep had been imported into Ontario last year. On referring to the blue book and looking over the tables of imports and exports of farming products not the produce of Canada, he found the following figures:—

Total Quantity Imported.	Value.
Butter	\$ 49,050
Cheese	20,159
Lard and Tallow	357,700
Meats	1,940,494
Malt	23,690
Cider	7,435
Horses	59,202
Horned Cattle.....	105,605
Swine	816,153
Sheep	18,677
Fruits (green).....	301,838
Hay, Straw and Bran	20,168
Seeds	164,698
Vegetables	89,382
Trees, Plants and Shrubs	125,040
Flax, hemp and tow (undressed).....	367,893
Flax seed	10,534
Grain, other than Wheat and Corn.....	191,215
Flour and Meal, not wheat and rye	620,171
Wool.....	1,375,484

\$ 6,603,588

This did not include flour of wheat

and rye, Indian corn or wheat. And how much of the same products did he find exported from Canada, not the growth and produce of this country? The following were the figures:—

Bacon.....	\$ 175,160
Beef	18,915
Butter	12,803
Cheese.....	26,756
Fruits	10,481
Horses	1,300
Meats.....	126,434
Peas	24,530
Pork	51,022
Vegetables	498
Lard	452,904
Tallow	{ 145,979
	{ 25,202
	\$ 624,085

Mr. YOUNG— Oh, no!

Mr. COLBY said if the figures in the Blue Book were incorrect it was not his fault. If they were correct, they showed that we imported for consumption in this country something like \$5,000,000 of farm products. If it were true that our neighbours who, as a deliberate policy, excluded us from their markets, sent in here untaxed this large amount, or anything like it, a wrong was done to the farmers of Canada, and this question should not be sneered out of the House or trifled with.

But he would go further and say, even if there were at present no large amount of imports from the United States for consumption in this country, the time has now arrived when a policy should be laid down in the interest of our farmers. Competition with our agriculturists in our own markets is imminent from the great producing regions of the West. If it is not on us to-day, it is coming, and very shortly. Let any one travel through the great States of the West and North-West, as he had done during the last two or three years, and see their boundless capacity for production, and he would be convinced of it. Our Ontario and Quebec farmers are wool-growers to-day, but how long will they be wool sellers without protection? The time is not far distant when wool from Texas, Colorado and those immense agricultural regions will be coming into our markets and under-selling the wool produced in Canada.

It was a simple question whether our farmers were to be driven from the agricultural industry of wool rais-

ing, or whether we should adopt the policy of excluding American wools, except upon the payment of a high rate of duty. The multitudes of sheep which were now being raised upon the immense plains of Texas and Colorado, were proving invaluable to the United States. It was calculated that wool could be produced there at the rate of from 10 cents to 12½ cents per pound. With the advantage of these immense feeding grounds, where there was ample pasturage, and a climate of such a character that sheep required no shelter, how long could we compete with western wool. If it was not to-day, it would be only a year or two years, when, if our farmers wanted the benefit of selling their own wool in their own markets, we must make our American friends pay tribute on all that they send to those markets. Some hon. gentlemen, on speaking of the wool trade of the past, said that low prices would not effect us at all, as our long combing wools were a specialty; but he begged to assure his hon. friend from Ontario that the Ontario long wool business was a matter of short duration, for to his own knowledge that was a thing that was as well understood on the other side of the line as it was here to-day, and there were sections on the American side where they were going very largely into this long wool raising. This business would increase so that in two or three years further the Americans would not take wool from Canada on the terms of paying a high duty on it. The Americans were a shrewd observant people, and when they saw that a certain class of wool was required by the manufacturers in that country they were quick enough to perceive that there was no natural obstacle in the way of the raising of that product in the Northern States, and that it was better to raise wool that would fetch 50 cents per pound than wool that would only bring 25 cents per pound. They were now paying attention to the breeding of Cotswolds, Leicesters and long-woolled sheep in the United States for the purpose of preventing the Ontario wool grower from coming into their markets with their combing wools. It was so with other products. Gentlemen from Ontario were con-

gratulating themselves on the high prices they were receiving for their dairy products; but he would say to these gentlemen who were interested in these dairy products that the great North-West has also found out the fact that butter and cheese can be profitably exported to Liverpool as well as grain, and in his last visit to the West he was surprised to find cheese factories springing up in localities where a few years ago they would never have thought of establishing that industry. Look at the facilities that had of late years been effected in railroad transportation for agricultural produce, and the reduced rates which had been obtained by organized farmers or grangers in the United States, and how long would it be before Texas and Kansas heaves were brought down by rail to the Toronto and Montreal markets to undersell our native cattle unless we were prepared to meet them with some obstruction on the frontier? Our true policy was not so much to encourage foreign trade as to foster our agricultural industries and our markets, and build up a home market where we can sell these articles which could not bear transportation to a foreign market; a local market where we could sell our vegetables, fruits, coarse grains, poultry and eggs at higher prices than anywhere else. He would say, in conclusion, that it would be well for us to take a leaf from the New England book—that if it was sound policy in them to build up home markets, the same policy might be good for us. He would remind the House that great industries could not be built up in a moment. We could not build up great industries or successful manufactures any more than the farmers of the country could change the staple productions of their farms in a moment. It was the duty then of every member of this House to exercise prudent forethought to understand what was best for the country, and endeavour to inaugurate that policy, before the evil day was upon us, which would protect us from impending danger and build us up as an agricultural and manufacturing people. He was surprised on listening to some of the remarks from the members from the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. COLBY.

One would suppose that these gentlemen were all shipowners or interested in the shipping trade. He had been under the impression that there were some mining resources and some farmers in the Lower Provinces, but one would suppose from speeches made that they were the last in the world who would be benefited by a large industrial and mining population. There was an incalculable treasure locked up in our mines, and he thought it was the duty of the Government who had charge of the destinies of Canada to be paternal in its care. We wanted a vigorous policy, we wanted a positive policy, an objective policy, a national policy, the tendency of which would be to unlock the wealth of our mines, stimulate our industries, and develop our resources and defend us from unfair and injurious foreign competition. We wanted a policy that would be positive, not a mere negative policy that permitted the people to drift along the stream without any direction or guidance by the public men as to the investment of their capital or the employment of the industries of the country.

Mr. ARCHIBALD said the resolution was like the one they had seen before, only it had been sugar-coated in order to catch the votes of the agriculturists, but the coating of the pill was too thin to be really taken by them. The agricultural portion of the community would too readily see where their interest lies to be taken in by any such shallow pretence. On a former occasion when this question was before the House, he expressed a strong opinion against any attempt to protect agricultural interests. At that time he had produced figures to show that there were only two articles on which it was possible to levy a tariff that would protect the farmer's wool and corn. At that time he had pointed out that while we were actually importers of considerable quantities of these products, we exported a greater amount, and it was to the benefit of the farmers that these exchanges took place. We exported some three millions of pounds of wool for two-thirds as much money as we imported eight millions of pounds for. The hon-

gentleman from Stanstead said we might look forward to the time when our products would be overwhelmed by the products of the West, and our wool would be swept out of existence. He feared no such danger, and as for the ten cents Texan wool, he for one believed the lower we could buy that wool the better. He did not pretend to say we could ever raise wool profitably for ten cents per pound, but if we could buy it cheaper than we could raise it, it would be better to drop wool-growing and devote our energies to something else.

Honorable gentlemen urging this national policy apparently thought the consumer had no rights at all, and that the seller alone was interested. He claimed that any articles that came into the country enriched it, and it certainly was not good policy to prevent that from being imported which was a source of wealth. The old theory that both parties to an exchange could not make a profit had become exploded, and it was now admitted that a trade between two parties in such cases might result in mutual benefit. The people of this country might have been deceived a few years ago by the arguments advanced in favor of this proposition, but to-day the schoolmaster had been abroad, and they could no longer be hoodwinked by such contentions. The tariff was not the whole tax the consumer paid. The charges of the wholesale and retail dealers would advance a twenty per cent. tariff to thirty per cent. to the consumer. Protection, like some other poisons, was cumulative in its effects, and this arose from the fact that what was one man's finished production was another man's raw material. The manufacturer of pig iron for instance called for protection, and when it was transformed into refined iron more protection was called for. Then it went into the hands of the anchor maker, and he must have his protection. Here the iron was subject to three different protections. The iron trade had flourished in the United States not because it was protected, but because of the natural advantages it possessed for the prosecution of the trade. Protection, however, might have stimulated the trade for a time, but it rendered the

cost of the construction of railroads so great, that the farmer had to pay for the enormous protection in the way of excessive freights. He then went on to show that from the year 1824 to 1832 in England, under a Protectionist policy, while the population was steadily increasing, the exports remained stationary. This was the state of affairs up to 1833 when Lord Sydenham made the first improvement in the British tariff by reducing the taxes on something like 700 articles. Then the exports increased from £39,000,000 in 1833 to £53,000,000 in 1849. On the repeal of the corn law the state of affairs which then prevailed was to a certain extent relieved.

It was true that there was a great season of scarcity in 1846, the year of the Irish famine, preventing to some extent at least the immediate results being witnessed within the first year or two; but shortly afterwards, in 1850, the fruits of this policy were plainly to be seen. He proposed to show how far it had been successful to date—to point out the total amount of exports beginning with the year 1860, after periods of five years each. In 1843, the exports attained \$42,000,000; in 1860 they had risen to \$135,000,000 under free trade; in 1865 to \$165,000,000; in 1870 to \$199,000,000, and in 1874 to \$239,000,000; these were the results of the system which the right hon. gentleman had told them, a few evenings ago, would perhaps in the interest of Great Britain be abolished before long. They had been informed that our manufacturers had thriven until two years ago; but at that time the duties were increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; and did the hon. gentleman pretend to say that this advance had operated prejudicially to the manufacturers. If not, they could not be suffering more than other portions of the population, and it seemed unreasonable for them to come and ask the legislature to create an artificial state of thing to enable them to reap steady certain profits at the expense of the great bulk of the consumers. He was inclined to agree with the hon. member for Frontenac, in his comments regarding the locomotive industry; and his hon. friend would doubtless

admit that the Government, which had remedied the evil to which his hon. friend had alluded, deserved his thanks. The late Administration had admitted free of duty parts of locomotives, as he alleges, interfering very materially with that industry in this country; and this Government had imposed on them a duty of ten per cent. He represented an agricultural constituency; and he wished accordingly to enter his protest against the giving to the agricultural community, and the great consuming public, the mere shadow of protection, while the manufacturers obtained the substance.

Mr. PATERSON (South Brant) would not have spoken had not the right hon. mover of the amendment seen fit to allude to him as well as to his hon. friend from Lincoln, insinuating that he (Mr. Paterson) would have some little difficulty in reconciling his vote on the former want of confidence motion, with sentiments he had uttered; but this was certainly not the case. Eight days before the tariff was introduced he had spoken regarding the appointment of the Depression of Trade Committee, and he took the ground that it was the duty of the Finance Minister, in the introduction of a tariff, to see what industries could be cultivated; what were already established; whether any were being crushed out; and whether any could be successfully fostered. He spoke in the anticipation—it was no matter how he arrived at it—that the Finance Minister was about to introduce a new tariff. This had not been submitted; and, nevertheless, he held that the remarks he had made would still hold good, for they were not to suppose that because it was not done this year such a tariff would never be brought down. When it was it would be the duty of the Finance Minister to do as he had suggested, and he felt bold to say that thus the hon. gentleman would act. Such a policy had existed from 1858 to the present time; it still actuated the Government; and this was what was desired. If he thought that the Administration was about to retrograde in regard to incidental protection and sweep away the duties, he would withdraw his confi-

Mr. ARCHIBALD.

dence from it; but they had no intimation that such a step was contemplated, and in point of fact the contrary was announced. The Finance Minister had told them that he had considered these questions, and that he did not think the manufacturing interests were suffering to the extent believed in outside circles. He supposed that the hon. gentleman had information which was not in the possession of other members, and he was in consequence not prepared to vote for a motion of want of confidence. Boots and shoes had been manufactured in Canada to the extent of sixteen millions of dollars, and as the importations proved to be only worth \$250,000, the depression which existed in this connection must be traced to over-production. So it was with many other classes of goods. He had hesitated, as he would again hesitate, to support any resolution of non-confidence, because the Government had not seen fit to introduce a new tariff during the present year. He believed that their course of retrenchment would recommend itself to the people. But while the first motion failed, another was introduced by the right hon. member for Kingston, who took the ground that the former one was not satisfactory, and yet he and those who support him voted for it. They had entirely changed their policy within a few days. On the first amendment they voted for protection to manufacturers alone; to-night they would vote for protection to all the industries of the country. Now, was that an honest change of base? It was an abandonment of principle for the purpose of securing a few additional votes. He did not wish to impute motives, but he thought if the first part of the resolution censuring the Government were carried, the hon. gentleman would not care so much for the last part. He arrived at this conclusion because he had not heard of this protection to the farmers until the past few days. They had introduced it summarily, and believed the farmers would be caught, but in that they would be mistaken. When he voted for a resolution it would be for one that was *bona fide* in its nature. He aided in securing a Committee to inquire into the condition of the agri-

cultural interest, but before that Committee had reported we found a resolution prejudging the result of its labour and proposing duties on grain in the interests of farmers. On a former occasion he said a tax on wheat, if it would not benefit the agriculturist would benefit the miller, and on that ground he would favour it. The hon. member for Kingston had stated that he had letters from all parts asking for the imposition of a duty on agricultural products. Well, he would reiterate the statement he had previously made that 100,000 grangers would present a petition to the House for the same purpose.

It was desirable to wait for information on this matter. It was possible the farmers might discuss this matter over again and take the view expressed by some hon. gentlemen here that this was but an attempt to draw the wool over their eyes. What did the amendment affirm? Simply that it was in the interest of the farmers that a duty should be put on grain. It asserted nothing as to how the tariff should be amended, and the speech of the right hon. member for Kingston was no better. There was a difference of opinion among the Opposition on the subject. Some favoured a high protection tariff, or as they called it, reciprocal duties against the United States. Others approved of incidental protection and a tariff for revenue purposes. The House had a right to demand something more definite on the subject. The same ambiguity prevailed outside of the House. The *Mail* lauded the policy of the right hon. gentleman to the skies, and said he intended to protect manufactures and the products of the mine, the forest, and the field. The *London Free Press*, an equally ardent defender of the right hon. gentleman, gave a description of what it conceived to be his policy, showing that it is merely a re-adjustment of the tariff for revenue purposes. He failed to see that the right hon. gentleman had nailed himself down to anything in this resolution. When he was removing the duty from flour in 1868 he said it had only been imposed for the purpose of shewing the Americans our independence, and although it had been maintained for a certain time, when it was found that it was unduly

pressing upon a certain portion of the community it had been repealed. That was said by the same gentleman who now tried to make them believe that the right course was to put a tax on agricultural products. He could quite understand that all of the right hon. gentleman's followers would vote for this resolution, as it pledged them to nothing, and all that was in it, or all that could be made out of it, all that stood forth distinct and clear, was this: a vote of censure upon the Government—nothing more and nothing less. Talk of it being an association of great principles. It was nothing of the kind. It simply asked the House to withdraw their confidence from the Ministry because they did not think fit to change the tariff. The right hon. gentleman in introducing his resolution said, in reply to remarks in the *Globe* that he had not been sufficiently definite, that it would be impossible for him to suggest what changes would be made without having access to the papers in the pigeon holes of the office of the Finance Minister. While he made that candid admission, he asked him (Mr. Paterson) and all the members of this House to vote non-confidence in the Government, because they did not introduce tariff changes; they who had access to the papers in the pigeon-holes, and after careful study of them declared it was not wise to make any changes. He would challenge any of the right hon. gentleman's supporters to point out any passage in his speech in which he laid down a policy of protection beyond an assertion of his own that the imposition of a small duty upon grain would benefit the farmers of this country.

Such a duty as would not bear in any way upon the consumers could not be of very great advantage to the interests concerned; therefore, while he maintained the position he had formerly taken with regard to the duty and policy of the Government touching our manufacturing industries, and while he held that the Administration should protect our agricultural interests, still he was not prepared to support a motion, declaring that the present Ministers were unfit to conduct the affairs of this country, simply

because they announced that they did not see their way to the introduction of alterations in the tariff during the present year. For his part he was prepared to vote against the amendment.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) said he intended to vote for the resolution. He had listened with great attention to the discussion that had taken place, and had heard a great deal about policies. He believed the only policy that would develop the resources of the country was that of a revenue and national policy combined. He contended that protection was absolutely necessary for the coal interests of Nova Scotia, and it was only by adopting such a system that we could obtain reciprocity in trade from the United States. He had heard a great deal about the agriculturists of the Dominion, but very little about the coal mining interests of the country, except from one or two gentlemen. He did not refer to this when the matter was before the House a few days ago, as he thought the proper time was when the tariff came under consideration, and when he could back his opinion by his vote, as he intended to do on this occasion. He thought a national policy protecting our coal and other industries would be endorsed by the constituency which he had the honour to represent, and he believed the sentiment of his constituency was a fair indication of the sentiment of other constituencies in that Province.

The Speech from the Throne admitted that there was great distress apparent throughout the country, but the Government did not attempt to take any steps to mitigate the distress they acknowledged existed. He considered it was necessary to do something to relieve the distress this year because next year the result of the depression might be so serious that the sufferers would be beyond assistance. He went on to say that the coal mines of Nova Scotia constituted one of the most important industries in the country, and there were invested in them about \$12,000,000. Altogether there were some 23,000 hands employed directly and indirectly by these mines when they were in full work, exclusive of about 20,000 seamen

Mr. PATERSON.

engaged in the coal trade. This industry was now in a very depressed state and unless it obtained relief he feared it would be altogether closed up before long. The present policy of admitting American coal free was calculated to destroy the trade, and it was the unfair position in which it stood in relation to the United States that the present stagnation of the trade was mainly due. It had been stated that they were all Free-Traders from the Maritime Provinces. He was satisfied that the people of Nova Scotia were not all Free-Traders, and he believed the great majority were in favour of a policy that would encourage the industries of the country. They wanted their coal protected in order that they could supply the Ontario market, and he was satisfied that if the American Government were forced on this point that the reciprocity would eventually be obtained.

He had no hope from the present Government to obtain a duty on American coal. The Hon. Premier a few days ago had unmistakeably declared himself on this point. He stated that nothing less than from two to three dollars duty on American coal per ton would force the people of Ontario to take Nova Scotia coal. This was an extravagant statement for the Hon. Premier to make. It was uncalled for. It was calculated to make the people of that Province believe that the coal mining industries wanted this large tax. This was not the case. That industry simply wanted seventy-five cents per ton on American coal—the same as they imposed on ours. They were now enabled to compete with our own coal industries on very unequal terms, and unless the tariff would be re-adjusted now, he feared it would be too late to do so next year. The Hon. Premier in his free-trade speeches in Scotland, last summer, stated that vessels of 600 tons burthen could now go to Lake Superior, and stated that when the enlargement, now taking place in the canals in Ontario, they would admit vessels of 1,500 tons. With such facilities he could not see why we could not compete successfully with the Americans in the article of coal in the Province of Ontario. The people of the Maritime Provinces were

now and in the past contributing to build their canals in Ontario, while they had no canals of their own—the only one they had was neglected. He thought the people of Ontario should submit to a small duty on coal when we were building their canals.

An hon. member made a most extravagant and unjust statement in regard to the quality of Nova Scotia coal. He meant the hon. member for North York. It was a statement that no member of Parliament should make. He said that a cargo of coal sent to Toronto from Nova Scotia, a few years ago, was so bad that "it was too dear at any price." He was glad, however, that this was contradicted in Toronto itself by gentlemen in Toronto, and it was shown that Nova Scotia coal was superior to the best American soft coal coming to that market; not only that, but it was shown that it was worth from 50 cents to \$1.50 per ton more than American soft coal.

The hon. gentleman declared himself a Free-Trader, and that he was opposed to sectionalism. He was opposed to a tax on breadstuffs in the Lower Provinces—because it would be sectional. He (Mr. McDonald) would show that hon. gentleman the present tariff was sectional, and bore heavily on the Maritime Provinces.

He trusted the member for North York would urge upon the Government to re-adjust the tariff in this respect. He feared, however, the member for North York when the matter came to a vote, would be found protecting the Government by his vote, although that would be inconsistent with his views.

The hon. member for Halifax said that the hon. member for Cumberland was the only representative from Nova Scotia elected to advocate a national tariff policy. He (Mr. McDonald) for himself would say that the hon. member for Halifax had no authority from him to make that statement, whatever authority he had from the other representatives from that Province he had none from him. He would support the hon. member for Cumberland in advocating a national policy that would include a tax on American coal, and he had no hesitation in saying, as far as he knew the sentiments of the people of Nova Scotia, but the hon. mem-

ber for Cumberland could be elected for any constituency in that Province in opposition to any one supporting the tariff policy of the present Government.

Another, the sugar industry, was very much interested in the re-adjustment of the tariff, which was required. He had received a circular from a gentleman who had paid a great deal of attention to this question, and who was as well qualified to form an opinion regarding it as any other man in Canada, and he stated that the manner in which the duty was imposed on the raw and manufactured articles was the very reverse of every other article on the Canadian tariff; also, that so far from the industry in Canada being protected, it was positively weighed down by a duty equal to fifty per cent. of the value of the raw sugar, while on the refined there was only a duty of forty per cent., forcing the greater part of the refining for Canada to be done in New York and Greenock.

The duty on this article should be re-adjusted in the interest of the whole Dominion, as it would be the means of establishing a large trade with the West Indies, to which the Maritime Provinces could send their coal at cheaper rates; and if the amount of refined sugar imported last year required the use of about 50,000 tons of coal, this, if consumed in this country, would conduce largely to the support of this industry. The duty on coal oil ought also to be re-adjusted; and he directed the attention of the hon. member for North York to this item, as the present only weighed heavily on the Maritime Provinces. Kerosene oil was produced in Ontario, and a high protection was imposed in its interest. The Maritime Provinces imported very considerable quantities from the United States, and they were refused a duty in favour of their coals. Nova Scotia paid in duty on coal oil \$23,963, with a population of 387,000, while Ontario with her 1,621,857 people only paid in this respect \$28,108. Hence this was a sectional tax, and a re-adjustment of the tariff he considered necessary.

The tariff, as a whole was unjust to the Lower Provinces; and, as adopted two years ago by the present Government, it was sectional, so far as the

Provinces were concerned. Ontario and Quebec last year contributed to the revenue at the rate of \$4.11 per head, while Nova Scotia and New Brunswick paid at the rate of \$4.25, or 14c. more per head, amounting to an additional \$94,262 for the year in proportion, for their population of a little over 600,000 persons. He hoped that hon. members from the Lower Provinces, who were credited with having great influence with the Government, would secure a readjustment in the direction he had instanced, or else the better terms they had secured some years ago would soon be absorbed in extra taxation and sectional at that.

Mr. CARMICHAEL remarked that the hon. member for Stanstead had not pointed how the mining interests were to be benefitted by duties in their favour, and he would bring to the notice of this hon. gentleman and of the hon. member for Cape Breton, the fact that the word "mining" was not mentioned in the amendment.

Mr. COLBY—I ask if that is not a struggling industry?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I would enquire of the hon. gentleman whether it is a suffering industry? If it is, it is included in the resolution; if it is not it is not so included.

Mr. CARMICHAEL thought that the hon. mover was the proper exponent of his own resolution. The shipping was also a struggling industry, and if it was intended to pass legislation for the benefit of the lumber and fishing interests, it was not indicated in what direction relief would be afforded. Consequently he was of opinion that the resolution was intended to deceive.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Is the hon. gentleman in order?

Mr. SPEAKER—That is rather a strong word to use.

Mr. CARMICHAEL observed that duties on the shipping interest would be disastrous to it, and a grave impediment to trade.

The Finance Minister two years ago had proposed a special tax of \$1 per ton on the shipping of the Maritime

Mr. McDONALD.

Provinces, but it was not carried out—owing, they were told, to influence of hon. gentlemen opposite—or at least only to a limited extent.

A rope factory existed in Halifax, and they only had a protection of five per cent. If it was intended to give other articles which had 17½ per cent. a protection to the extent of 20 or 25 per cent., why should this interest be content with five per cent. This would be sectional legislation. An anchor manufactory was also established in Halifax, and on the raw material in this relation five per cent. was levied, while anchors were admitted free. If this interest was protected, they could extend their operations very largely, and he had been asked before he came up to Ottawa whether there was any likelihood of this being granted. The imposition of 25 per cent. duty in that connection would mean \$5 instead of \$1 per ton on shipping, and his hon. friend from Cumberland should explain how this could properly be levied. The result of such a policy was visible in the United States, whose shipping interests had been destroyed. The hon. member for Stanstead had stated that the prosperity of the United States had been due to protection; but it was not true that protection was the cause of this prosperity. One might as well say that small-pox was necessary for the prosperity of the country as to declare protection was.

England prospered under the feudal system, but of course her progress was slow. When she bounded forward it was exactly in proportion as she adopted the principles of freedom of trade. Were we not now to give her assistance in making further progress in freedom of trade and religion? The favourite example of the Protectionists was the United States, but that country was a conglomeration of nations, and if she prospered, it was on account of free-trade. It was her unbounded resources, with internal free-trade, that enabled her to prosper and progress in spite of protection and slavery. There was a cry about England's decadence, but he would take the testimony of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli in preference to what was to be heard on this side, and they had recently stated the

country was prosperous. When England was governed under the protective system there was distress and fear among her people, and there was danger of anarchy and revolution; but now she was prospering above all other nations. The United States, on the other hand, with all the blessings of protection, was greatly distressed, and numbers of her people were suffering. He thought the thanks of this country were due to the Government for having given us a truly national and not a sectional policy.

Mr. NORRIS said it was his duty to answer the charges made against him by the right hon. member for Kingston, who stated that he spoke in favour of protection and then voted against it, and that influence had been brought to bear on him to that end. This was an error. The Government never spoke to him about sustaining them. He voted of his own free will, and he had no hesitation in telling the House why he did not vote for the motion of his hon. friend for Montreal West. That resolution did not include all he advocated; it was well known that he had always favoured protection for the agriculturists as well as the manufacturers, and he would not have been fulfilling his duty to his constituents if he had supported a motion which did not include both those interests. The right hon. gentleman said that his speeches in favour of protection had been made to influence the Lincoln election. That was a charge which could not be borne out; he never made speeches with the object that they should have effect in Lincoln or anywhere else. He presumed the right hon. gentleman was master of that art, and believed that every person else was practicing it. The people of that county had intelligence enough to decide according to their own judgment, and any speech that either he or his hon. friend could make could not work any change in an election there. Then the right hon. gentleman said his speech had converted him to a Protectionist. If that was the case he (Mr. Norris) was very fortunate in making that speech; he had been successful in missionarising before, but never to the extent that was

now claimed, and he certainly deserved credit for the convert he had made. We must presume the right hon. gentleman's statement was true, because previous to that speech he had never stated in the House or outside of it what his policy was. If the right hon. gentleman had been a true friend of the manufacturers, they would not to-day, perhaps, be knocking at the doors of Parliament asking for protection. Previous to 1866 we had a tariff of 25 per cent. which was reduced to 15 per cent., when the manufacturers of this country needed protection as much as they do now. If anyone was to blame for this it was the right hon. gentleman himself. The reason given for lowering the tariff then was the opposition of the people of the Maritime Provinces to high duties. The same reason applied now as then. He (Mr. Norris) had always been a Protectionist, but never an advocate of a Chinese Wall for this country. He had always opposed discriminating and excessive duties, but he believed in a fair measure of protection to our home industries, manufacturing and agricultural. He would have to vote for the amendment because it covered all he had advocated. Deeply as he regretted having to vote for this motion, he could not go back on his principle. He confessed he had more confidence in the Government than in the Opposition, and believed they were more friendly to the manufacturing and all other interests of the country, but at the same time this motion involved a principle for which he would have to vote.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER suggested that as it was now after One o'clock and several members were yet to speak, the debate should be adjourned until to-morrow, when it could go on till a vote was reached.

After some discussion this suggestion was adopted, and on motion of Mr. Borden the debate was adjourned until to-morrow.

The House adjourned at Twenty minutes past One a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

—
 WEDNESDAY, March 15, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—To supply an omission in the Act extending certain criminal laws to British Columbia.

Also—Respecting the attendance of witnesses at criminal trials.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. TASCHEREAU rose to a question of privilege affecting the character of this House. He found an entry in the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada of the following facts:—"On March 30th, 1865, a certain person named Jean Baptiste Daoust was tried before the Court of Queen's Bench, Montreal, and found guilty of the crime of forgery; that afterwards, on the 9th of June, the following year, the said Court of Queen's Bench refused to order a new trial." A person also named Jean Baptiste Daoust had been introduced to this House as the member for Two Mountains. Under the circumstances of this case, he (Mr. Taschereau) thought it was only due to this House that the entry in the Journals should be read and the matter referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. He therefore moved that the entry in the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada for the Session of the year 1866, relating to production of certain papers in the case of the Queen *vs.* Daoust be now read.

Mr. MASSON said the House was taken by surprise at this extraordinary motion, which was brought up without notice having been given, even to the member for Two Mountains himself. This matter occurred before Confederation, and Mr. Daoust had been since then elected to this House and held his seat for six years without an objection being raised. He appealed to the spirit of justice of this House to say whether it was fair to pursue such a course as this. Mr. Daoust had not only been a member of this House since 1866, but had been an employé of the present

Mr. NORRIS.

Government since 1873, yet no action had been taken against him. The House and the country would view with regret, but not with surprise—he had grown accustomed to such things since the change of Government—the conduct of hon. gentlemen opposite, who showed themselves greatest in the smallest things. Whatever action the majority might take, it was plain that an injustice was being done in raking up old difficulties. However, nothing better could be expected from them after their action in the De Celles matter a few days ago. He protested with all his energy against this act of injustice.

Mr. LAURIER did not think this was the time for the hon. member for Terrebonne to display any passion in the matter. This House was interested in the decision of this case as well as the hon. member for Two Mountains. He and his colleagues only desired an investigation into the case, and that justice be done to whomever it was due. He would be very sorry to see the honour of the House trifled with. It was said by the hon. gentleman that they were dealing unfairly with the hon. member for Two Mountains. That hon. gentleman had accepted a seat in the House and he must therefore take the consequences and face them manfully. The hon. gentleman had said satirically that they were the greatest men in small things. He consented to the first assumption of the hon. gentleman, but he did not agree that the honour of the House was a small thing.

Mr. SPEAKER—If the Hon. member for Two Mountains is in his seat this is the time for him to make his statement, after which he ought to withdraw.

Mr. MASSON—It would be difficult for him to know what is going on, seeing that he has received no information on the subject.

Mr. PALMER was surprised by the motion before the House. He thought it was not for the House to deal with questions of forgery, and he could not see what an Election Committee had to do with it. It was extremely odd that no punishment had followed the conviction for forgery, and he took it

that there must be something very extraordinary in the case. While the honour of the House should be protected, he maintained that it was a very serious matter to bring a charge of this description against any member of the House.

Mr. HOLTON—There is no charge made. The motion is simply that the Journals of the House be read.

Mr. PALMER—Then it is very wrong to take action in the matter.

Mr. LANGEVIN said it would only have been fair that the hon. member for Two Mountains should have had notice of this intended action in order that he might have prepared his defence, and he was satisfied the hon. gentleman who made the motion would, on reflection, see the justice of this. He suggested that the consideration of the matter should be postponed for 24 or 48 hours, for the purpose of giving the hon. member for Two Mountains time to prepare any statement he might have to make.

Mr. LAURIER said what the hon. gentleman who had preceded him had stated was perfectly reasonable, and that they were quite ready to accede to the suggestion, although when the motion was made the hon. member for Two Mountains was in his place.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) thought it would be a great pity to have the matter laid over for a day without some further explanations being made in reference to the whole case. The circumstances as they really appeared from the papers, which he held in his hand, were very different from anything they had had reason to understand from any statement made up to the present time. It appeared this gentleman was indicted on two informations for forgery. At the first trial two of the witnesses whom the accused expected to have on hand did not appear, and he was convicted. The second indictment was for the forgery of the name of the same person, and at the second trial the witnesses whom he had expected at the first trial were examined, and the prisoner was acquitted. He accordingly made application to the Court to have the verdict of his first trial set aside on the ground that the evidence

given at the second trial ought to have been given at the first. The Court granted him a new trial on the ground that he was taken by surprise. Accordingly the case came up for trial a second time, when the Counsel for the Crown objected to the second trial on the ground that the Court had acted illegally in granting a new trial on the ground of surprise; that the Court of Criminal Appeal for Lower Canada, under the Criminal Law as it then stood, had no right to grant a new trial, or take any action in this regard except upon a point of law; and that following the judgments the Courts of Appeal of Upper Canada had given, no right whatever existed for the granting of a new trial on the mere fact that a witness who had been expected had not been present, or upon any other ground apart altogether from questions of law. The learned Judge, before whom the case came, took the same view, and reserved the matter for the Court of Appeals, which determined that there could be no new trial; and therefore the conviction stood. When he had heard that this point would likely arise he had asked a gentleman, a member of the Bar, conversant with these matters in Lower Canada, whether he could show him the judgment of the Court of Appeals on this occasion; and he believed that there was none on record.

An Hon. Member—The case is reported.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON supposed that if this was so, it related to the legal point. The accused from that day to this, under two Administrations, had never been called to appear for judgment by any Crown officer.

These circumstances, which it was but fair to state, were apparent from the official document which he held in his hand; when they referred to the Journals of the House of 1876, as was suggested, they simply saw that on Mr. Cartier's motion certain papers were placed before the House, and that shortly afterwards the resignation of the member for Two Mountains took place; both in the Journals and Sessional Papers reference was made to Sessional Paper No. 31, and turning to where it should be, a blank was found with the explanation that under

the direction of the Printing Committee it had not been deemed advisable to print these documents; but these documents were here now, and they established the facts he had mentioned.

Mr. TASCHEREAU replied that he had been charged by the hon. member for Terrebonne with having been unwilling to act honestly and impartially in this connection; he had not, however, alluded to the case in an invidious way. His object had been to lay the papers before the Committee on Privileges and Elections; and he had not thought that there would have been a discussion on the merits of the case on the present occasion. This he considered unfair to the hon. member for Two Mountains himself. The judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench was to be found in Lower Canada Jurist, vol. 10, was this—that a new trial could not legally be had.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Let it stand until to-morrow.

Mr. TASCHEREAU—I have no objection to give twenty-four hours; and then I will bring it up as a question of privilege.

The motion was withdrawn by leave of the House, with the understanding that it would be brought up on the following day.

SUPPLY.

Mr. BORDEN resumed the debate on the amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply.

He thanked the hon. member for Cumberland for his kindness in interfering in his behalf on the previous evening with the desire of obtaining for him a favourable hearing; and also the Premier for affording him the opportunity of moving the adjournment of the debate. He desired to read a portion of an article which appeared in the paper which was the organ of the Conservative party in Nova Scotia. The extract showed that this journal followed a policy entirely opposite to that laid down by the hon. gentleman from Cumberland on the evening previous. It was headed "Dr. Borden on the Pacific Railway," and read as follows:—"The member for the County of Kings in the Dominion Parliament has delivered—we beg pardon—read

" a speech in the House of Commons on " the Pacific Railway. We say read, because we have the authority of one " who was present"—he trusted this was not a member of the House—

" That the hon. gentleman read every " word of his so called speech like a " child reading a spelling book. Every- " body in Kings knows that the worthy " doctor is incapable of speaking thirty " consecutive words anywhere. He may " have written it, although of that we " have grave doubts, and if any friends " fancy that he can succeed, let him " settle the matter by arranging for the " re-delivery of his Pacific speech with- " out the paper. The speech, taken upon " its own merits, whoever wrote it, is a " piece of blatant and senseless balder- " dash."

He did not suspect the hon. member for Cumberland of having anything to do with the publication of these comments, and he believed that they met with the hon. gentleman's entire disapprobation.

The hon. member for Cape Breton undertook on the previous evening to announce the political feeling of Nova Scotia; this was a new departure for this hon. member, who had hitherto contented himself with the investigation of postal, and similar matters. The hon. gentleman declared that he supported the national policy of the hon. member for Cumberland, and perhaps he thought that this gave him the right to lecture the House and members from Nova Scotia regarding the politics of that Province.

The hon. gentleman said there were no Free Traders in Nova Scotia, but after the vote on the motion of the hon. member for Montreal West, he might feel happy if there were not. If that motion had been carried the cost of living to every one of the colliers of Cape Breton would have been increased, and the existing depression would only have been increased. The hon. gentleman also remarked that the amendment before the House just suited him, but was there anything in the speech of the right hon. member for Kingston which could be construed into a guarantee that the coal interest of Nova Scotia would be protected? There was nothing definite either in that speech or in the resolution before

Hon. Mr. CAMERON.

the House. If the intention of the right hon. member for Kingston was to protect everything, it was clear that nothing would be protected. But he seemed to indicate a desire to protect only the agricultural and manufacturing interests. It was denied by some that he intended to increase the taxation of the people, but if the protection was to be at all adequate, would it not have the effect of destroying the revenue derived from the articles protected? This would necessitate a readjustment of the tariff, and a general increase on articles imported into this country, and not manufactured here. It was plain that there would be increased taxation on everything. The great reason alleged for asking that manufactures be protected was that they suffered from a peculiar depression, but that argument had been exploded. It had been shown that they suffered from the same depression which prevailed in other countries and in all branches of industry at this time.

There were many reasons why a protective policy should not be adopted. We must depend upon the development of our vast resources for future greatness. Our North-West must be filled with population, and we can only attract immigration by making the cost of living cheap in this country. While a protective tariff would be an injustice to the majority for the benefit of the few, it would also enhance the cost of living and drive immigration from our shores.

The only protection for our agriculturists was low duties, which would enable them to purchase the necessaries of life as cheaply as possible. Several Ontario farmers in this House had spoken in opposition to the principle of protection as applied to agriculture, and he believed they expressed the opinions of a large majority of the people of Ontario. He had the honour to represent the largest agricultural constituency in Nova Scotia, and he had no hesitation in saying that the views of the vast majority of his constituents were opposed to protection either to manufactures or agriculture. He had not the slightest doubt they would continue to do so, notwithstanding the captivating pic-

ture drawn by the hon. member for Stanstead of large manufacturing towns and home markets. The same picture had been presented to them when they entered the Confederation; but although the tariff had been increased seven or eight per cent., they saw no such result. No interest of Nova Scotia asked for protection, and the Board of Trade of Halifax had unanimously adopted a resolution against the system. The chief production in his county formerly was potatoes, for the raising of which the soil was peculiarly adapted. Since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty they had been shut out of the United States' markets, and the farmers of King's had been obliged to turn their attention to raising other products. In the year ending Sept. 20th, 1865, the value of potatoes shipped from his county alone to the United States was \$130,992. In the six months immediately preceding the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the value of potatoes exported from the same county to the United States was \$135,229. In the year ending June 30th, 1875, the total amount of vegetables exported from the entire province to the United States was only \$35,257.

It was very clear that the only remedy for Canada was reciprocity. The proposition of the right hon. gentleman would not help them, and he denied that a retaliatory policy would assist Canada. It had been stated that the United States had endeavoured to force us into annexation by the imposition of a high tariff. They had not succeeded, and it was absurd to think that a country ten times weaker than our neighbours could succeed in forcing a policy on the United States. He was further satisfied that a retaliatory policy would result injuriously to Canada. The right hon. gentleman's proposition to protect agricultural products would involve the imposition of a duty on flour. That would be a strange kind of protection for the farmers of the Lower Provinces who had no outlet for their products. Some might accuse him of sectionalism in his remarks, but he was satisfied that he was not open to this charge. Notwithstanding the remarks of the hon. member for Cape Breton he felt assured that among

the leading men of the Maritime Provinces, the determination of the Government to keep down taxation had met with entire approbation. With regard to his own county he believed it was so, and he believed it applied to the whole of the western part of Nova Scotia at least. In conclusion he desired to congratulate the Government on the policy they had adopted in resisting the encroachments of Protectionists on the rank and file of the people, and on the system of economy they had inaugurated.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (South Ontario), held that a retaliatory policy would ruin Canada, and especially the lumber trade. What would the gentlemen conducting their business on the Ottawa say if they had to pay two or three more dollars on lumber? A retaliatory policy meant that we should do the same as the United States without reference to interest or to common sense. One thing which had been lost sight of by hon. gentlemen was, that if a tariff were raised above a certain point it afforded neither protection nor revenue. Last year the hon. member for Cumberland advocated retrenchment and opposed taxation on the ground that the finances of the country did not require it, whilst this year he took an altogether different course. The Finance Minister in the course of his duty notified the banks to prepare for the payment of money falling due to the Government; but the moment they were notified a yell came up from the Conservative party that the whole country was to be ruined by the absurdity of the Finance Minister. But the money was not called in.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings)—Did he not notify the banks that he wanted the money?

Hon. Mr. CAMERON replied in the affirmative, but repeated the fact that the money was not called in. He then showed that the Government had reduced the expenditure on militia and camps \$403,000, and on emigration to the extent of \$195,000. He thought the Government might very well reduce the militia expenditure another \$400,000. If by this system of retrenchment the Government succeeded in maintaining the public credit, they

would receive the approbation of the whole country.

A Government was in difficulty when it raised a tariff suddenly, either without due consideration, or owing to necessity and loss of revenue. Prior to Confederation a Finance Minister came to demand, on the plea that increased revenue must be obtained, double the duty on tea—it was then a penny. The consequence was—as he had warned the House—that \$80,000 of revenue was lost. The farmers did not desire the imposition of a duty on grain; but on the contrary, they wished to see the importation of more grain than at present from the United States. The market was in England, and the only question at issue was whether the grain went by Quebec or New York.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) believed that a large majority of the people residing in the county of Hastings were anxious for increased protection in favour of our manufactures and of a duty on American grain. They also desired the construction of the Pacific Railway to open the great West for emigration. These matters had been brought before the electors of East Hastings in 1872 by a gentleman prominently engaged in lumbering and in shipbuilding; and this gentleman believed that Canadians should levy a duty on American grain, and showed that we were prepared by granting protection, not only to aid our farmers, but also our manufacturers. All would admit that this the latter required; and our agriculturists knew that when these interests prospered, they could readily sell their produce at increased prices, and for cash—which was impossible under contrary circumstances. Protection would consequently be to the farmers' advantage. The importation of Indian corn depreciated the price of our coarse grains; and the policy of the American manufacturers in sending their goods into this country and selling them for their actual cost was easily understood. The Americans had been given the privilege of fishing in Canadian waters in order that the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces might have the advantage of sending their fish and fish oil free of duty into the United States. The farmers of the Provinces of Ontario and

Quebec had not only consented to this, but had also assisted in the payment of twenty-seven millions in order to build the Intercolonial Railway, and place light-houses at proper points. They also furnished money for putting in operation the bankrupt railway of Prince Edward's Island, and they were willing to do all in their power to make the people of the Lower Provinces happy, prosperous and contented. These agriculturists besides wished to secure the construction of a road in order to open up Manitoba and the North-West to settlement. The hon. member for Brant had taken exception to the amendment of the right hon. gentleman, stating that he could not understand the object of the member for Kingston, and holding that the motion meant and went for nothing; and shortly afterwards the hon. member for Lincoln declared that this motion contained what he had advocated throughout his life, showing that he, at any rate, entertained a contrary opinion.

The amendment before the House was one which every member of the Opposition would support, and on which they were ready to appeal to the people. But the Finance Minister had informed the House that our young men should be advised to remain on their farms. Now he (Mr. White) knew many young men who had gone to the cities and towns and succeeded, not only as merchants, but as professional men, occupying the most prominent positions. He believed the motion before the House would have the support of a large majority of the people of his county, and of the country in general.

Mr. PLUMB was surprised to hear an hon. gentleman opposite say there was no use in discussing this question any longer—that there was such a large majority against the amendment that no arguments would have any effect in changing their votes. Now, if the only fact brought out in this debate had been the discovery that we import so largely of farm products from the United States, it was worth while to continue it and to discuss the advisability of taxing such imports. He had voted for the resolution of the hon. member for Montreal West, but he saw

it did not go far enough and he was glad that another had been brought in which recognized other interests. One argument against this resolution was that those who supported it sought to persuade members of this House to impose a high tariff. He had never heard anyone argue in favour of such a policy. Some hon. gentlemen had spoken in favour of a retaliatory tariff; but he did not think they were ready for that. What had been contended for was a recast of the present tariff that it might be so regulated as to give the greatest benefit to home industries, and that the anomalies, in regard to taxing raw material, might be corrected. Nobody denied the fact that our manufacturing and mining interests are depressed, and if it was possible to assist them it should be done. He denied that there was any insincerity on the part of those who supported this amendment. They would prove their good faith by their votes. It had also been said that so small a portion of the community was engaged in manufacturing, and so large a part of the population would suffer from a protective policy, that it should not be adopted; but it must be remembered that what affects any considerable class must affect the whole people. Hon. gentlemen opposite had asserted that those who suffered for want of protection should read certain authorities on free-trade. It was a strange way to pacify starving people to tell them to read free-trade literature. It was not the manufacturer himself who suffered, but his employes and their families who could not find work. This House had heard something of such distress, but he predicted they would hear more before next summer. The agricultural interest needed a protection which would give it a steady market not affected by the fluctuations of other markets.

An eloquent gentleman on the other side of the House, who had made an excellent Protectionist speech, drew the conclusion that he must vote against any measure for protection, because, he said, agriculture was the main-spring of our prosperity. He (Mr. Plumb) admitted that, and if anything could be done to aid the farming interest, everyone in this House

ought to be ready to support such a measure. On the frontier, where he resided, they had for a long time access to the American markets. During the war in the United States all our products brought high prices there; now our neighbours are our competitors. They taxed our products in the following style:—Beef and pork 1c. per lb.; hams and bacon, 2c. per lb.; cheese, 4c. per lb.; wheat, 20c. per bushel; butter, 4c. per lb.; lard, 2c. per lb.; rye and barley, 15c. per bushel; Indian corn, 10c. per bushel; oats, 11c. per bushel; rye flour, 10c. per bbl.; potatoes, 5c. per bushel; vegetables, 10 per cent. *ad valorem*; flour, 20 per cent. On our side we had no corresponding duties. It had been said by the hon. member for South Ontario that protection would injure our millers. That need not be the case if grain to be manufactured into flour by them be admitted in bond, and that they did not think so would be seen by the following petition:—

“*The Petition of the Dominion Millers Association.*”

“*Humbly Sheweth*

“That your petitioners, in the interest of the millers of Canada, numbering upwards of twelve hundred persons, having in the aggregate thirteen millions of dollars invested in the manufacture of flour in the Dominion of Canada, submit:

“That the interest of your petitioners, and the prosperity of the agriculturists, and of those engaged in the manufacture and export of the agricultural produce of Canada, are greatly prejudiced and injured by the marked inequality between the terms upon which cereal products are permitted to be imported into the United States from Canada, and those on which similar products are admitted into Canada from the United States; and your petitioners humbly submit that the free admission into the Dominion of grain and flour from the United States, while heavy discriminating duties are levied by the latter country upon similar products coming from Canada, is an injustice to the farmers and millers of this country.

“And your petitioners further submit, that while the charges, trouble and delays involved in bonding grain and flour of Canadian growth or manufacture, form a grave impediment to trade therein between the inland and seaboard Provinces of the Dominion, in the absence of any corresponding restriction on the importation into the latter Provinces of grain and Flour grown or manufactured in the United States, a decided preference is created in favour of foreign over native produce, to the discouragement and diminution

of inter-provincial trade, and consequently to the detriment of the political as well as of the commercial interests of the Dominion.

“And your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that duties corresponding to those levied by the United States upon agricultural produce grown or manufactured in Canada, may be imposed upon similar imports from the United States, and that a drawback may be allowed upon the export of foreign grain when manufactured in Canada.”

He thought that this was a sufficient answer to what had been stated by the hon. member for South Ontario with regard to the millers.

The Government had told us that they found no necessity for recasting the tariff. A very large balance was undoubtedly held to the credit of the Administration by Canadian banks, but this represented a debt—not a surplus. It had been borrowed for certain purposes, on certain pledges, and for those alone could it be expended. It was not intended to tide over difficulties and provide against deficits. He had been very sorry to observe in the economies of which they had heard so much—but which were only economies when compared with the profuse expenditure of the Government during last year and the year before—a reduction of \$400,000 in the estimates for the Militia Department. He was aware that the hon. member for South Ontario had extreme views on this subject, but he doubted greatly whether the majority of the people of Canada agreed with that hon. gentleman on this point. He could hardly believe that this hon. gentleman's arguments had induced the Government to make this reduction. The whole apparent retrenchment of which the Government boasted was simply reduction of expenditures for the current year as compared with the extravagance of the last and would prove to be no ultimate saving at all. They were told that so small a portion of the people were engaged in manufactures that it was unfair to tax the great portion of the community which constituted the remainder. He desired, however, to show that the manufacturing industries of the Dominion of Canada in 1871 were: Capital invested (cents omitted), \$77,964,020; value of manufactures, \$221,617,773; wages paid, \$40,851,000; hands employed, 187,942. This shows

that about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population were engaged in manufactures, and allowing that the wages of each operator sustained three individuals on an average, it would appear that about fifteen per cent. of the whole population are depending upon manufacturers for the necessaries of life. Each operator produced on an average \$1,179, and received in wages for so doing \$212, or 18 per cent. of the production.

The manufacturing class amounts to 44 per cent. of the agricultural class, or nearly one-half, and their wages for labour, \$40,851,000, would have purchased the total cereal products of the Dominion in 1871. The products of their labor may be estimated at 75 per cent. more. The value of raw material used was \$125,907,841, leaving \$65,709,927 for wages and profit.

Now, if the manufacturing interest was in the prosperous condition it might be, there would be no necessity for four hundred thousand young Canadians seeking work and wages in the neighbouring Republic. Canada would have been in a very different position to-day if the native industries had been properly fostered. He believed that a small tax on bituminous coal would be a source of great advantage to Nova Scotia, inasmuch as it would enable that Province to supply Ontario, as far West as Toronto, with coal. What they wanted really was a national policy. He deprecated the Pacific Railway policy of the Government, asserting that if they had undertaken to build the road as was first intended, it would have given confidence to our population and have proved a great boon to the country by giving work to a large number of people, adding that a system of protection might have been adopted in connection with that policy, which would enable the iron for the road to be furnished from Canadian mines.

A good deal had been said about the prosperity a free-trade policy had conferred upon England, but he could not discover any analogy between the conditions of the two countries. England was in a very different situation when free-trade was adopted from that of Canada at the present time, and much of her sudden prosperity arose from

the increase of railways. He was satisfied that free-trade would be ruinous to the trade of this country. In conclusion, he trusted that the hon. gentlemen who had avowed protection sentiments on the other side of the House would not follow the example of the hon. member for Brant and the hon. member for Grenville, but would adhere consistently to the positions they had taken.

Mr. OLIVER contended that the imposition of a tax on corn would seriously affect the lumber interest. The hon. gentleman from Niagara had said that the importation into this country of the products of the soil was nearly as large as the exportation. This statement was not correct, and was refuted by the trade and navigation returns. In answer to the hon. member for Stanstead, he stated that the farmers of this country, in Ontario at any rate, were opposed to giving bonuses to manufacturers, believing it to be an unsound policy. The same hon. gentleman had advocated the taxation of the products of the soil, claiming that it would build up a large manufacturing population that would consume the annual products of the soil. This was a very plausible argument; but where were they to find an outlet for the manufactured articles? It was admitted that Canada could not compete with Americans in their own country, or with the English in their own market. Therefore, they would have no outlet for their manufactured goods.

The great difficulty about the theory of building up, through protection, the manufacturing interests of the country and a large consuming population for natural products, was that an outlet could not be found for the goods manufactured under this system. What would be the effect of the imposition of a duty on certain articles the hon. member for Stanstead mentioned? The latter strongly urged that a duty should be imposed on wool, but this would be a direct tax on the people of this country. We bought and sold this article largely; according to the Trade and Navigation Returns, we purchased last year 7,947,879 lbs., costing \$1,375,484, and we exported 2,647,498 lbs., realizing \$919,680, leaving a balance of

3,300,351 lbs. in favour of our importations. The quality we required for manufacture was very different from that which we raised; the latter was long and fine, used in the New England States, and the former was short. Our selling price averages 31 cents. per lb., and our buying price 18 cents. per lb., paid to the Americans, obtaining on the transaction a handsome profit. Any one who had paid the slightest attention to the rulings of the Boston market would know that at all times Canadian commanded from 5 to 10 cents per lb. more than American wool; and this was the reason—as he had been repeatedly told by manufacturers—in consequence of our more vigorous climate our wool had a finer finish than the American. The same observation held good with regard to furs throughout the past, and he apprehended for all time to come our product would obtain a higher price than the American. His hon. friend from Stanstead feared that our wool should be excluded from the market across the border; but as we did not raise a sufficient quantity for our manufactures, a tax of 12 cents. per lb.—equal to the American duty—on wool imported would compel our manufacturers to pay in this relation 30 cents per pound, instead of 18 cents, to their great detriment; and the consumer would pay an increased price per yard for cloth. His hon. friend also advocated the imposition of duties on pease, oats and barley; but as we did not import a single bushel of these grains this would be folly. They next came to wheat and flour. The right hon. gentleman who moved the amendment, said that he had his pockets full of letters he had received from farmers urging such protection, but in the first place it would not require a great number of letters to fill the hon. gentleman's pockets, and in the next place, he did not doubt that the member for Kingston had a sufficient number of admirers among our agriculturists to fill with letters many more pockets than this hon. gentleman possessed; but where were the petitions from our farmers laid, in this regard? On the table? He admitted that such a document was in circulation, though not presented perhaps, among the millers of this

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country. He had read the proceedings of the millers who had met in Toronto, and he found that they complained of two things:—First, that their interests were not protected, and, secondly, that the railways discriminated in favour of grain, which was carried for 25 cents per 220 lbs., while flour, barreled, was charged 40 cents per 220 lbs., a grievance which could be remedied. The Miller's Association resolved to lay these matters before Parliament, but it appears that this has not been done, and they fall back on the device of increasing the price of flour by means of protection.

It was laid down by every political economist, and everyone who has studied the trade of this country, that as long as our exports of flour and wheat exceed the quantity we raised, it was impossible for any protection to regulate the price of these articles, as this was done in the market where they were sold. It was said that our imports in this relation equalled our exports; but this was a mistake. We exported of wheat and flour last year 8,594,460 bushels, realizing \$10,004,069; and imported 7,444,086 bushels, which cost \$9,120,270, the former showing a balance of 1,150,372 bushels in favour of our people, worth \$883,749. The quantity appeared very small, but, as he had stated on a previous occasion, this was a good and sufficient reason for the decrease as compared with our imports; hundreds and thousands of acres were now used for the growth of certain other agricultural products, which were planted with cereals a few years ago. The people of the western section, and also, he was glad to say, those of the eastern section and the sea-board Provinces, had gone largely into the manufacture of dairy produce.

It being six o'clock, the House took recess, Mr. Oliver still having the floor.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. OLIVER resuming, stated that about eight or nine years ago we imported about one quarter of a million's worth of dairy produce; but at present we exported it from Ontario to the value of \$7,500,000. He was happy to say that the county, a part of which

he had the honour to represent, exported of such produce a million dollars worth during the past season. This information was not to be found in the Trade and Navigation Returns; but he had it directly from the Secretary of the Dairymen's Association, and he could vouch for its accuracy.

It was proposed to benefit our manufacturing industries and agricultural interests by means of protection; but the farmers ought to see what they would pay for--what they would receive under such a policy. Between 1870-1, when a duty was imposed on foreign produce imported, it realized only \$78,000; and if it was re-imposed, only a corresponding amount would probably be obtained, while for its sake the agriculturists would be obliged to pay a very much larger sum.

Last year we imported dutiable goods to the value of \$78,000,000; and even if an extra 2½ per cent. were levied on manufactures imported it would increase their price, at all events, to that extent, and the taxation by two millions. The consuming public would be obliged to pay this advance! They again found that not one but every industry must be protected, including mineral products, the lumber and mercantile interests; and if the mineral products were taken into consideration, it appeared that the very small sum of fifty cents per ton must be placed on coal, of which we imported 660,000 tons, raising such a duty, consequently, to \$330,000 per annum. We purchased yearly tea to the value of four millions of dollars; and a movement was afoot in favour of the re-imposition of the duty taken off from this article. Since the duty was removed the Americans had full liberty to compete in our market, and beyond question this had lowered the price of the article. If the duty was re-imposed it would cost the consuming public \$400,000 per annum. The sugar refiners desired further protection, and the member for Montreal West affirmed that they now manufactured sugar at a loss of 12 cents per hundred pounds, owing to the drawback allowed on the American article when exported here. If the demand of the refiners was granted it would increase, at the lowest estimate, the price of our sugar one cent per pound.

We used 11,000,000 pounds, and consequently we would have to pay therefor \$1,111,000. He was told by a gentleman who thoroughly understood this trade, that the advance under such circumstances would exceed one cent per pound; and, as he had mentioned, the people would at least be taxed an extra \$1,111,000 for the benefit of three or four institutions. Taking their condition into consideration they knew that some refiners who, like many other persons in Canada, had commenced operations with very small capital, had realized very large competencies, showing conclusively that the undertaking was profitable.

The hon. member for North Huron, by his Committee, would ask for a re-imposition of the duty on salt. We import 2,560,000 bushels of salt, for which we would have to pay the additional price, at 5 cents per bushels, of \$118,000. It would be impossible to estimate the taxation which this protective system would impose on the country, but on the articles he had mentioned it would be something like \$3,969,000 which the consuming population was asked to pay to put into their pockets the small amount of \$78,000. But it was asserted the imposition of protective duties would not increase the cost of the articles protected. He thought he could prove the contrary from the history of the petroleum interest, which was protected by a tariff of 15 per cent., and paid an excise duty of five per cent. The American duty was 20 per cent., so that the duties were nearly reciprocal. The result of this protection was that rings were formed among the oil producers and refiners of West Ontario to increase the cost of petroleum to the consumers. Refineries were standing idle and their proprietors were receiving three to five thousand a year for keeping their machinery idle. Instead of oil selling at 15 cents to 20 cents it costs 28 cents wholesale. Another result of this protection was that smuggling was carried on so extensively it would require double the number of preventive officers to watch the frontier. Such were the results of over-protection. The hon. member for Stanstead advocated a policy which would make a close cor-

poration of this country, where everything we could produce would be consumed by a manufacturing population. What effect would that have upon our shipping interest? If everything is to be protected, as a matter of course all the articles that enter into the building of ships would cost more, and the result would be the same in this country as in the United States where the shipping interest had been destroyed by over-protection. Admitting for the sake of argument that the price of flour could be increased by protection, it would add to the cost of breadstuffs consumed by the Lower Provinces. Would the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick be content with that? He apprehended they would feel discontented, and it would be injurious to the future of this country if any of the smaller Provinces had reason to believe that Ontario and Quebec had used their great influence to tax them unfairly.

The policy of the Government, with reference to the cash at their command, had been attacked. The late Government deposited it in the bank of Montreal. That bank went down to Wall Street and speculated on the money which belonged to the people of Canada. The present Government put a certain part of this money into the various banks of the country. It was alleged that this produced inflation, and was a principal cause of the prevailing depression. Now there was nothing more important than to have sufficient money at the command of the commission merchants to move the grain every fall. The people merely had the use of their own money when it was required.

It had been said that the policy proposed by the right hon. member for Kingston would benefit the farmers. This was a mere assertion, which nobody had backed up with facts or figures. The hon. member for South Norfolk had stated that there was prosperity in this country until the present Government came into power; but he forgot that the depression of 1857-8 occurred while the right hon. member for Kingston was in power. It would hardly be asserted that the influence of the present Government extended to England, Germany, or the

United States; yet there was depression there as well as in this country.

Representing as he did one of the best agricultural districts in the Dominion, he had deemed it necessary to make these remarks before voting on the amendment before the House.

Mr. WOOD said that two years ago, when he had the honour to move for a Committee to investigate into the manufacturing industries of this country, he had no idea that the question of free-trade and protection would so soon engage the attention of Canada. The report of that Committee showed the injustice done to the manufacturing interest, and their right to redress. He maintained that the farmers would not object to taxation if it could be pointed out that it was to their interest, which he thought could be done. They were willing to be taxed for railroads that would open up to them markets which they had not formerly been able to reach. The fact was that protection merely asked for the creation of a home market for their rural productions. The hon. member for South Brant had stated that a number of things in the United States had a protection which amounted to some 80 and 100 per cent., but the hon. gentleman forgot to tell the House that scarcely any of these articles were imported. These articles were manufactured in the Union and were sold to the people at as low a price as they could purchase them in a foreign country. The welfare of the country demanded the protection of home industries. (At this point, Mr. Wood, in consequence of sudden indisposition, was unable to proceed with his remarks).

Mr. MILLS said the resolution proposed by the right hon. member for Kingston was said to be a very comprehensive one, and he thought the observations which had been made by supporters of that hon. gentleman, not only in the House but in the press, showed this statement of the character of the resolution was literally correct. In fact, it was so comprehensive that the Free-Traders who supported the gentlemen opposite found no difficulty in endorsing the sentiments which it expressed, and the Protectionists on the Government side of the House

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were equally ready to support it in the interests of protection. Some hon. gentlemen had complained that this had been a discussion on the questions of free-trade and protection, and that these questions were not necessarily raised by the motion before the House. He dissented from that proposition, holding that these questions were strictly pertinent. The hon. gentlemen who supported the resolution did not say they desired more taxation for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the public service, but a redistribution of the tariff in order to encourage home industries. He remembered that when the terms of the admission of British Columbia were under consideration, the right hon. member for Kingston and his colleagues in the Government found it necessary to propose a resolution in which they stated that in carrying out these terms no increased taxation would be required. It seemed that gentlemen, belonging to the party of retrogression as well as the party of progress, believed that progress was a public blessing, but the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House since the Session had commenced had abandoned the ground they had formerly taken. In the discussion of these resolutions the ground had been taken that taxation was really a public blessing, and under the circumstances it seemed to him that the question of free-trade and protection became very important, and the real issue before the House. He never had been able to understand the logic of those who declared in favour of free-trade as a matter of principle, and at the same time were practically in favour of incidental protection. He held that free-trade was an undoubted advantage, and did not subscribe to the doctrine laid down by the right hon. member for Kingston that it was a mere subordinate branch of political economy, but rather the outcome of certain facts. It was a logical deduction from a great number of facts that had been considered, not incidental in its character, not influenced by circumstances of time and place, and which was equally applicable to all people, whatever might be their peculiar condition. He did not think it

was in the public interest to impose more taxation than was absolutely required. Now, what did they find in that principle of incidental protections? They found that the country collected a very large amount of taxes, a very small proportion of which, it might be, went into the public Treasury. The tax imposed on imported goods, or a considerable portion of it, at all events, went into the public Treasury, but the incident to this customs tax imposed on goods being produced in the country went into the pockets of the manufacturers and the distributors. By incidental protection they took the money from one portion of the people and gave it to another portion engaged in different pursuits. He would be very sorry, seeing that Canada had, to some extent, entered upon what he considered to be a wrong path in adopting this principle of incidental protection, if they should seek to press it further. He believed it was in the public interest that they should depart from that system and get back to a more rational and wholesome basis of taxation.

As a matter of principle, there was no difference between incidental and direct protection, and in his judgment no advantage could be gained by either system. So long as indirect taxation existed a considerable amount of money must be collected, which did not go into the public Treasury; and one of our aims ought to be to limit this to the greatest possible extent. We paid on goods paying specific duty, a tax of \$2,366,944; and on these the importer and retailer realized a profit of \$929,718. Goods paying specific and ad valorem duties paid a tax of \$2,328,663; and the ordinary profit to the importer and retailer was \$815,033. On goods paying 25 per cent. duty, \$2,826,076 were collected, and on these a profit of \$98,936 was obtained. Goods paying 17½ per cent. gave a revenue of \$9,519,688.61, the profit being \$3,331,260; 10 per cent. goods paid \$2,083,242, and the profit amounted to \$99,134. On goods worth five millions, five per cent. was paid, the tax raised being \$292,834, and the profit was \$102,291. In order that \$15,344,000 might be received into the Treasury, taxes in the

form of profits to the importer and distributor of the good—but not upon the original price or cost—were paid to the extent of \$5,273,000; making in all \$20,618,000 in taxation, of which only \$15,000,000 had come into the Treasury. Besides there was the cost of collection. He did not say that we should adopt the system of direct taxation, for there were certain advantages arising out of the present system, as under it people paid taxes when they could do so, and according to their proportions. The disadvantages were, however, immense, and deserved the very gravest consideration. He thought it would be seen that it was possible for the public to pay, besides the five millions to the retailer and importer which he had mentioned, a very large sum to the manufacturer. He did not say that when 17½ per cent. of taxation was imposed the price of the articles in question was increased to this extent; but this might be the case. If this was assumed to be so, on the \$76,000,000 worth of goods we annually produced, corresponding to those that paid 17½ per cent., the people would be obliged to pay the additional sum of \$18,000,000. He did not pretend that this was paid, but he said that the price of articles was considerably increased in consequence of protection; else how could it confer any benefit? Our whole theory of admitting raw material free of duty was based on such an assumption, and this increase must be added to the \$15,000,000 of which he had spoken; so that in connection with the collection of the \$15,000,000 of Custom's duties, the people paid a very large amount which formed no inconsiderable portion of the total amount of taxation levied. They had been told that protection would be in the interest of the farmer; it seemed to be a most extraordinary statement that taxation was a benefit. The manufacturer did not add a dollar to the public wealth, which consisted of what he compelled others to contribute to his capital; his profits were wrung from the industry of others, and this was the necessary consequence of the system. The mover of the amendment averred that protection would increase the prosperity of the Canadian farmer;

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but he would like to see this proven, for he could not see how it was to be done. How could it produce this effect? We were told it would be produced partly by the increased cost of rye. We produced in Canada 3,800,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 of rye, and the imports of such grains were for the use of farmers and lumbermen. How then could they be benefited by this taxation on articles which they used themselves.

The hon. member for Stanstead had pointed to New England to show how protection could build up industries. He (Mr. Mills) had in his hand some interesting statistics of the consequences of protection in that country. Industries protected by duties of 60 and 70 per cent. had benefited by that policy; but the farmers had found the markets at their own doors too expensive to be profitable. The price of land depends on the profits derivable from the soil, and yet we find, since the adoption of this policy, there are not to-day so many houses in proportion to the population in New England as there were in 1860; there are not so many engaged in agricultural pursuits now as then, and the value of land has decreased in all the New England States and Pennsylvania.

The right hon. member for Kingston had advocated a hostile commercial policy for the purpose of bringing our neighbours to terms, but a Government which adopted such a policy injured its own people more than the people of neighbouring countries.

Spain furnished a striking illustration of the effects of a high protective policy; yet the commercial un wisdom which had crippled the energies of Spain, was what the right hon. member for Kingston recommended to the favourable consideration of this House. The neighbouring country had tried it, and the result was shown in the woollen interest. In 1867 an agreement for mutual protection was entered into by the wool producers and the manufacturers of woollen goods, and received the sanction of Congress. In three years from the time of its adoption, one thousand sets of woollen machinery in the United States, involving directly the labour of 16,000 workmen, and indirectly the support of three

times that number, were stopped. Woollen factories costing \$1,000,000 were sold for less than \$200,000, and converted into establishments for the manufacture of cotton. The reason given for the increased duties on woollen goods was that labour in the United States was so much higher than in England, but we find from the *New York Commercial Bulletin* that the price of labour forms but 17½ per cent of the cost of production. That would not make a difference of more than two or three per cent. between the cost of production in England and the United States, notwithstanding the protective tariff of nearly 60 per cent. One hon. gentleman had asserted the other night that States in which manufactures were established were more prosperous than those which depended altogether on agriculture. In the decade between 1860 and 1870, Pennsylvania increased in population 20 per cent., in Maine and New Hampshire the population decreased, in Vermont the gain was only 5 per cent., and in Rhode Island, 25 per cent.; while Iowa, a purely agricultural State, increased in the same decade 83 per cent., Michigan 60 per cent., Illinois 50 per cent., Kansas 200 per cent.

The hon. gentleman who sat near to him pointed out that the wool produced in Canada was a much more valuable article than that which was used in the manufacture of woollen goods in this country. Now, a tax on imported wool would not benefit our farmers in the smallest degree, as it would produce no effect on the price of wool, which was governed by the foreign market to which it was sent. The hon. member for Stanstead threatened Canadians with being run out of their own market by the wool from Texas. But the effect of the protective policy of the United States had caused a reduction in the number of sheep raised year by year in Texas and Ohio. They had been told of the advantage protection would be to our manufacturers; but in the United States, manufacturers were not now in a prosperous condition. Of the 75,730 persons engaged in manufactures, 25,240 were without employment, and had no choice between being supported as

paupers or by means less lawful. This was the system which hon. gentlemen recommended to this House for its consideration in the face of the experience of the United States. The fact that the English market had fallen in 1873, 1874 and 1875 was due to the fact that the continental customers of England had been impoverished by the late war, but as soon as these customers recovered from the effect of this war the prosperity of these trades would return. The hon. gentleman did not deem the experience of England as anything, saying that every country began with protection. This was true, but there was a time when the theory of medicine was not so advanced as it was now, and he apprehended his hon. friend from Cumberland would not have them go back to the days of Galen because the country was new. There had been discoveries in economic science, as in other sciences, and instead of commencing where our ancestors began, we should profit by their experience and learn something from their wisdom. Certain industries were undoubtedly depressed, but he would not state the precise cause, whether owing to over-discount or its consequence, over-importation, or to sympathy with the condition of our neighbours. If the restrictive system was beneficial, why should the canals be widened and railway facilities increased, for their object was to cheapen transportation and equalize prices. An hon. member had already pointed out that all round Protectionists would find a great deal of difficulty in carrying their theory into effect, as increased duties would be placed on all articles coming into competition with our interests. There were three elements in the price of every article—wages, taxation, and profits; and they were told that an increase of taxation could be made without affecting either wages or profits. This was absurd. He had never been able to understand how this could be done. Coal was a raw material, and yet a duty upon it in favour of the Lower Province interests would be prejudicial with regard to Ontario manufacturers. He did not understand the hon. member for Cumberland to say that it would be specially advan-

tageous to the latter, but rather that standing alone it would be injurious to them; yet if a tax was put on flour for the benefit of Ontario simultaneously, mutual benefit and blessing would follow. This was the argument. The hon. member for South Norfolk told them that our difficulties would be removed if we had money which had no value—if the Government would employ an engraver and establish a paper mill. This he could not comprehend. Of one thing, however, he was certain, that if we ventured to frame an extreme Protectionist policy, the greatest difficulty would be experienced before a rational system could be obtained.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER regretted that the hon. member for Bothwell had not favoured them with the long and philosophic address he had delivered at an earlier period in the debate. He feared that at this stage no line of argument which any hon. gentleman could take would prevent a certain amount of weariness being felt by those who were compelled to listen. He had spoken on two former similar occasions, and he would not have risen in this connection had not reference been frequently made to the opinions he had advocated. One objection taken to the motion, which he supported with very great pleasure, was that it was too comprehensive; one hon. gentleman said that any Free-Trader could vote for it with perfect consistency, and another hon. gentleman had affirmed that it was in favour of protection. Both these statements were true; and why? For the reason he had previously given. In the condition of Canada it was idle to discuss questions of free-trade and protection as abstract principles; it was impossible, situated as we were alongside of a great nation, to adopt a fiscal policy, framed utterly regardless and irrespective of any policy pursued by our neighbours. Hence a defensive policy to which a Free-Trader might object on the principles of free trade, should be supported by him in order that he might secure his purposes; the extreme Free-Traders, if they liked, occupied a common platform with protectionists in this relation. Free-trade could only be obtained by one mode. Individual members might be opposed

to reciprocity, but both political parties were favourable to such a treaty, which meant free-trade to a certain extent with the United States; and it could only be attained by one means—by adopting a defensive policy. Why did we get it twenty years ago? Simply in order to remove the customs duties, which restricted the free-interchange of certain products between the two countries. Why did they adopt that treaty? It was because there was a hostile tariff on both sides of the line, and the time has come when, if we would secure a renewal of reciprocal relations, we must have something to offer. Therefore, everyone who believed in reciprocal free trade with the United States was bound to support the resolution before the House. This Government, rightly believing that reciprocity would promote the prosperity of the Dominion, sent a commissioner to Washington to negotiate a treaty, but he had given everything in advance; he had nothing to offer, and he could accomplish nothing.

An hon. gentleman had complained this resolution was too comprehensive, but that was just the policy Canada required—a broad, comprehensive, national policy, that without looking to any particular part of the country would promote the prosperity of the whole Dominion. He did not believe any man in this House had the moral courage to stand up and deny the soundness of the principle contained in this resolution. Was there an intelligent man in this country that would not, if he could, so reconstruct the tariff as to alleviate a stagnation of business which was deplored in the Speech from the Throne. It must have been a severe depression which would cause the Government to make such an allusion to it, and the only ground on which it could be justified was that they were prepared to ask Parliament to adopt measures for its removal. Was there a man who would deny it was the duty of the Government, if they could, to afford fitting encouragement to our struggling industries? If there was he would like to see him. He (Mr. Tupper) saw no reason why the free-traders in this House should

not join with the Protectionists in supporting this resolution, and finding some means of dealing with this difficulty in a statesmanlike and practical manner. The speech of the hon. member for Bothwell proved how absurd it was to discuss this question from an abstract point of view. He denounced incidental protection, which the Premier whom he supported, had advocated in this House and elsewhere. Even in the Government itself there was a difference of policy. He (Mr. Tupper) held that however much they might differ in opinion, they were bound when they presented themselves to Parliament to agree upon the great fundamental principles of public policy. When, therefore, the Premier declared himself in favor of incidental protection, it was not open to the Finance Minister to say he was opposed to it. He was not surprised the hon. gentlemen disagreed. Two years ago the Finance Minister declared to a deputation he was personally in favour of protection.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The hon. gentleman is making a most inaccurate statement. I never declared such a thing.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said it was so reported in all the Ministerial journals and not denied. The hon. gentleman was strangely misunderstood by another deputation also. They left him recently under the impression that he was in favor of increased duties, but the only protection hon. gentlemen opposite believed in was the protection of their seats.

He then proceeded to read from a speech of the First Minister to show that he had made a solemn pledge that there would be a readjustment of the tariff and increased protection whenever the revenue failed to meet the expenditure, and had thereby increased the financial depression which existed in the country by the discouragement of trade. The gentlemen on the Treasury Benches believed in nothing except that which, regardless of the welfare of the country, would continue their tenure of power. The Hon. Minister of Finance had given a pledge that the tariff should be this year increased, and he

would give the hon. gentleman the grounds on which he made the statement. The hon. gentleman had made a Budget Speech, in which he had left the House in ignorance as to what would be the financial position of the country three months hence. But the hon. gentleman had given figures which would enable those who placed confidence in him, to arrive at the probable condition of the country on July 1st, 1876. The hon. gentleman stated that if he had not imposed the new tax in 1873-4, there would have been a deficit on July 1st 1874, of \$1,300,000. At the end of three months, however, there was a surplus of \$126,522, and yet he told them that there would have been a deficit if it had not been for the new taxation. Now, in order that the deficit might have existed there would require to have been an increase of expenditure over the revenue of \$1,426,522 during the remaining portion of the year. The statement of the hon. gentleman laid on the table a few nights ago, as to the financial condition of Canada up to the 10th February, showed that the expenditure exceeded the revenue by \$1,145,713. The railway suspense account amounted to \$1,167,950, making a total of \$2,213,663. To this amount must be added the amount of the surplus at the end of nine months of 1873. \$126,522, which, together with the \$1,300,000 deficit the Finance Minister said would exist if the new taxes were not imposed, gave a total of \$3,640,186 as the deficit which, by his own figures, the Finance Minister showed would exist on July 1st. He maintained that in view of the pledges which had been made by the First Minister in favour of incidental protection and a revenue tariff, the country had a right to expect a different policy. The Hon. Finance Minister, when he asked the House to impose \$3,000,000 additional taxation in 1873-4, stated that in order to get money cheap, it was necessary to prevent the possibility of a deficit being charged against the Government if it was desired to get the highest price for Canadian securities.

He asked the hon. gentleman to tell

him how this was consistent with that declaration. Were we done borrowing money? The hon. gentleman knew that this was not the case. The hon. gentleman had told them that we must borrow money in order to take up our debentures as they fell due, in addition to carrying on our public works. The hon. gentleman who told the House yesterday that the honour, prosperity and future of Canada depended upon giving him supplies that would avert a deficit, now sat stolidly by and allowed the Government to succumb to the influences which had been brought to bear upon them at the eleventh hour — permitted this enormous deficit to strike down and ruin the credit of the country. What did the hon. gentleman say in a speech that he (Mr. Tupper) held in his hands. That we would have had a deficit; that our credit would have been practically broken; that we would have had a repetition of the disgraceful condition in which this country found itself during the year 1866, when Canadian five per cents were quoted on the London market at 75 or 76 cents on the dollar; and the Canadian Minister of Finance, standing in his place, was obliged to rise and tell the House that he was unable to borrow money in London on the credit of Canada at eight per cent.

Did the hon. gentleman wish to restore this state of things, and put Canada in the position he had indicated. The hon. gentleman had told the House that if he was not given three millions, when he did not need a dollar, such would have been the result; and yet the hon. gentleman, when by his own showing a four millions deficit would exist on the 1st of next July, was prepared to hold on to office and abandon the settled policy of the country, going back on the pledge given by the First Minister of the Crown, throwing away his own public character and disregarding the declarations made to the people of Canada at the bidding of gentlemen who said that they would not consent to any addition to the tariff. He was informed that the hon. gentleman's tariff resolutions were printed; so far was he from not having—as the hon. gentleman had intimated on the previous night—even

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considered the representations made by the different sections of the country.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I beg to tell the hon. gentleman that whoever told him so, stated a wilful and deliberate falsehood.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER replied that under these circumstances he was obliged to accept this averment; but he would add that he had reason to believe that his statement was correct. Nevertheless, if it were not they ought to have been printed—if good faith had been kept between the First Minister and the Canadian people, and between them and the Finance Minister, who had pledged his reputation as a man that no deficit should exist, because it was so utterly disastrous and ruinous to a country in the condition of Canada. One of the hon. members from Prince Edward Island—Kings County, he believed,—took credit for the pressure he and his friends had brought to bear on the Finance Minister at the last hour. What did he find in a paper of Charlottetown, which was the organ of the Minister of the Interior? A telegram; and if the hon. gentleman wished to see the authority for the belief the people entertained in this regard he should look at the journal, the property of one of his own colleagues. And this telegram sent from Ottawa declared that the Finance Minister desired to meet the deficit by the imposition of new duties, but that the Government had been pressed by a deputation from the Maritime Provinces which expressed its hostility to any such measure. The hon. gentleman had inserted in the gracious Speech from the Throne the statement that the depression of trade was such as to require the attention of the House, and they had prepared a policy which was consistent with their pledges, but at the eleventh hour this has been abandoned, and all they offered to the country was a protective policy with regard to the Treasury Benches alone. He had said that any person in favour of a Reciprocity Treaty must expect to obtain it by one means alone, and that would be by adopting the policy he years ago had advocated, when he was met by the same declarations that he had heard

during this debate. As a Canadian he could not listen to them without a blush, and he had no hesitation in saying that no man in Canada should hear without shame the assertion that our position was so utterly humiliating and at the mercy of the United States that we dare not follow a policy which we considered to be in our interests. A Canadian who did not blush for such an admission, was unworthy of the free institutions which we enjoyed. He was proud to be a Canadian; but this pride would become abject humility, if we were obliged to accept the policy of self-abasement the Ministerialists proclaimed to the world had to be followed, and if we could not adopt the fiscal system we believed the interests of Canada required at our hands; if we were forced to abase ourselves at the feet of our neighbours, and if they could dictate on what terms trade could be carried on between the two countries. He would not go into the question of slaughter markets; but the facts were known. While the products of Canada were met by a hostile and prohibitive tariff, we occupied a position which enabled the Americans to come in, destroy, and cripple, and break down all our industries. The hon. gentleman told us to be careful about what we did, and to speak with bated breath lest these great neighbours of ours might hear us, and sacrifice and destroy our interests.

Canada possessed the rights and privileges of a free country, and her Parliament could legislate in her own behalf, irrespective of the dictation of her neighbours. We were bound to deal with these questions in the true and national spirit of national policy. He had advocated these views previously; and one of the ablest members of the House at the time controverted them, enunciating the same doctrines to which he had just previously listened with such pain and dissatisfaction. But what were the opinions which that gentleman to-day held? He referred to Sir Alexander T. Galt, who as everybody knew, had been foremost in propounding the principle that the true policy of Canada was not to excite by retaliatory measures, and the adoption of a hostile tariff, any

ill-feeling on the other side—that all difficulties should be smoothed away, and all made serene, in order to bring about reciprocal trade in this way; and what was his position to-day? After six years of patient waiting for the success of his own plan, he had adopted the views he (Mr. Tupper) had advocated in their entirety. That gentleman was now satisfied that the only true policy for Canada was to legislate, as far as regarded the United States, in the same selfish spirit in which they legislated with reference to us; and that in this manner, and in this manner alone, could we hope to attain any great future for this Canada of ours.

What had the hon. gentleman who had just sat down told the House?—that 600,000 tons of coal had come into Canada during the past year without the imposition upon it of a farthing of duty; and why should not this article pay duty as well as the clothing we wore, or any other article of consumption? Canada possessed the most magnificent coal mines on this continent; and why was it that our mining interest should not be included in this resolution as one of the most struggling industries to be found at present in Canada? The hon. member for Bothwell had revealed the secret; while this interest, in which twelve millions of capital were invested, was stagnant and paralyzed, and while the deepest suffering in consequence prevailed, what were we doing? Receiving with open arms from the United States, which excluded our products by a duty of 75 cents per ton, coal to the extent of 600,000 tons, on which not a farthing of duty was paid. Would a contra-impost be a sectional tax? The Finance Minister knew that in his own tariff he had proposed a tax of \$1 per ton on ships, but because he was unable to carry it he reduced it to twenty cents. He (Mr. Tupper) could point to a product in Ontario on which 150 per cent. was paid by the people of the Maritime Provinces—the article was petroleum.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT I did not put a tax on it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired whether a tariff carried through the House by the hon. gentleman was his own or

not. The hon. gentleman had undertaken to change and remodel it, and therefore he was responsible for it. 150 per cent. was levied on petroleum, an article which was the exclusive product of Ontario—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! No!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER stated that the duty on petroleum was 15 cents per gallon, and the hon. gentleman was aware that it was produced in the United States for something like ten cents per gallon. The people of Ontario did not pay the duty because it was obtained in their midst, but it was more convenient for the Lower Provinces to import it from the United States. He did not say that this course was politic or impolitic, but it did not answer for gentlemen who maintained such a tariff to say that, when coal was produced in Nova Scotia, the people of this Dominion must buy it from a foreign country to the extent of 600,000 tons without paying a farthing of duty.

Could the hon. gentleman give him any reason why this was not a legitimate article of taxation the same as anything else in this country? At any rate he was ready to accept a duty on flour for this reason. If we were ever to follow the example of the United States, who had built up by their commercial policy a great internal trade, we must adopt a similar policy. It would be wise even to subsidize a line of steamers to carry coal and other products from Nova Scotia to Ontario, and transport flour and other products in return. While it would yield some revenue it would stimulate interprovincial trade. Such a policy would be worthy of this country and its people.

Hon. gentlemen who claimed credit for having formed this policy, admitted that protective duties build up great cities, but they complain that it takes the population from the country. They say "sweep away the large cities of Canada and the country will be as good as ever." The man who believed the great commercial centres of the Dominion could be swept away without spreading devastation throughout the country had yet to learn the alphabet of the progress of nations. He

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pitied the man who could look at Montreal and Toronto without feeling they were places of which Canadians might justly be proud. The Finance Minister seemed to deplore the fact that any man could be induced to do anything except remain at the tail of the plough. The hon. gentleman seemed to think these great centres of wealth, refinement, talent and education, were not worthy of a moment's consideration. Canada was in this position—her industries were inseparably interwoven with each other, and he defied anyone to injure one without injuring the whole.

The policy of the late Government when they found they had more money than they required, was to make tea and coffee free, but left the protective duties unchanged, which was the true policy. He was prepared to go to the fishing hamlets of the Maritime Provinces and submit to them if they were not prepared, for the sake of getting tea and coffee free of duty, and their own industry fostered to pay something on flour. It was a disgrace to this country that we did not furnish flour to all the people of the Lower Provinces from the granaries of Ontario.

He had the pleasure of finding that the doctrines he had propounded six years ago, and which met with such hostility from the most experienced public men in this country, were now endorsed in all their entirety. The hon. member for Halifax said such a policy would alienate England, but it would be perfectly right and just for Canada to discriminate in favour of the mother country. Our products instead of being met by a hostile tariff were received freely, and it would be wise and fair and would be attended with the best results to promote intercourse between the two countries.

He contended that the true policy of this country was to offer inducements to capitalists to invest their money in the Dominion, that industries might be built up in our midst. For want of such a policy one great interest had been driven out of this country, carrying all its capital with it to New York. We were losing capital, and we were losing what was more valuable—men. We were spending our money freely

in bring immigrants to settle here, but the want of manufacturing industries had driven a quarter of a million people from Lower Canada across the border, and no doubt they had increased to half a million by this time.

He asked whether the statement of Mr. Howland, that 400,000 men from the western section of this country were now to be found scattered over the western and middle States of the neighbouring republic, was not worthy of consideration. A policy that would repatriate our country with these loyal and enterprising men, was a policy that Canada must adopt if she wished to do anything but hold a stationery position or to retrograde from her former prosperity.

The late Government had adopted a tariff that was as high as was necessary in the condition of the country at that time, to raise the revenue that was required. When reductions were made it was by taking the duty off tea and coffee, and placing on the free list articles which were required by our manufacturers as raw material. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase for which hon. gentleman opposite claimed credit was not commensurate with the change in the labour market of this continent. While they apparently gave protection with one hand, they swept it away with the other, by taking out of the free list articles required in our manufactures, and that accounted to a great extent for the changed condition of our manufacturing industries.

The Finance Minister claimed credit for pursuing a policy of retrenchment, and asserted that it caused umbrage. Any gentleman who could take umbrage at the retrenchment policy of the Government was very sensitive. What was this retrenchment policy the Hon. Minister of Finance had brought forth? At all events he had pleaded in extenuation that it is a very little one! The hon. member for South Ontario almost shed tears of gratitude over him for having reduced the Militia expenditure nearly \$400,000 but instead of reduction, the fact was the House was asked to vote in reality more than the late Government had expended in 1873-4. Was that the kind of economy that should meet with an overflow of gratitude! He

would ask him if he had not a little gratitude for the Government that really expended less on that service in 1873-74 than he had asked the House to vote on the same service. It was an insult to the House for the Government to claim credit for retrenchment or economy. They asked the House to vote \$5,483,684 more for the expenditure of 1874-75 than had been expended in 1873-74. They made a pretence of economy by asking the House to vote \$3,000,000 they did not require, and finding they could not spend the money they ask for less now, and call it economy. The late Government spent during the last fiscal year they were in power \$19,174,641, while the expenditure of the present Government last year was \$23,713,071, which was \$4,538,430 more than the expenditure of the late Government during 1872-73. The estimates for the coming year are \$3,708,172 more than the expenditure for 1873-4. Hon. gentlemen opposite would have to find some other grounds than those of pretended economy and retrenchment to sustain them. If the industries of this country were to be given fair play, an entirely different policy would have to be adopted with regard to Manitoba and British Columbia. They were most deeply interested in the policy propounded in the resolution. The large deficit which would exist by July would strike a fatal blow at the credit of Canada, and put the country in a condition which, according to the Finance Minister, would prevent it from obtaining money for less than 8 per cent. No one would suppose that a railway from Lake Superior to Red River would be constructed by Canada with money borrowed at 8 per cent. interest. The hon. gentleman by allowing a great deficit to stare the country in the face would effectually strike down the credit of the country. The hon. member for South Ontario says we are wasting time—that we can not expect to change the majority of sixty-four sustaining the Government. In agitating this question then they were appealing to the country and not to the members of the House, who regarded the interests of the people as subservient to party. It was true the hon. gentlemen might have a majority

of sixty-four with which to vote them down, but they could not forget that that majority, two years ago, was more than one hundred. Let his hon. friend, the First Minister, look across the House at the seat occupied by the member for North Victoria and he would find where he had an able and intelligent friend and supporter sitting one short year ago, sat to-day an able and intelligent opponent of the Government. Let him cast his eye upon the county of Berthier, and he would observe that where one short year ago he could elect a representative in the Ministerial interest by acclamation, an able and intelligent representative of the people of the county, in opposition to the Administration, had been returned by a majority of 270. Let him glance at the County of South Norfolk. He (Mr. Tupper) did not wish to hurt the hon. gentleman's feelings, by reminding him of the strenuous efforts he had made to defeat the present representative of this constituency, and he would simply say this—that in this, one of the finest agricultural counties in the whole of this great Province of Ontario, which had by a majority of 90 two years ago sent a member to sustain the Government, had recently reversed its policy, and by a majority of 158 elected one of the most pronounced opponents the Administration had on that side of the House. Let the First Minister turn his attention to Two Mountains, and he would find that where he had a member elected by acclamation two years ago, one short year ago his candidate was defeated by a majority of 127. The hon. gentleman who now filled this seat had been bitterly assailed in the House, and taken at a disadvantage; but was he returned by a paltry majority? No,—but through the united support of every man of every stripe of politics in the country. He (Mr. Tupper) knew nothing of the matter to which allusion had been made in the House; but if the hon. gentleman required a character, this election by acclamation, under such circumstances, was sufficient for the purpose. Again, in the city of London a majority of 61 in favour of the Government had at the first opportunity, after a fair and generous trial had been given the

Administration, been turned into a majority of 128 against them. Then if the First Minister went to Bellechasse, where he had a majority of 581 two years ago, he would see that a majority of 255 had been recently registered against him. In South Huron a majority of 84 of two years ago had dwindled into insignificance, and a gentleman who had for many years borne the banner of Conservatism in the county and fought in the Conservative interest, had not only rescued it out of the hands of his political opponents, but come to the House elected by acclamation. In Chambly county, a majority of 104 in favour of the Government two years ago, had been turned in favour of his hon. friend behind him, this county's able representative, to 150 against it; in East Toronto 130 of a majority for a supporter of the Government, on the earliest occasion which presented itself, had been changed to a majority of 414 against it. In Dorchester, where after an extremely violent contest two years ago, his hon. friend behind him had been returned by a poor 21, this hon. gentleman had recently been borne back triumphantly into the halls of the Legislature by a majority which was swelled to 466. In West Toronto a majority of 240 two years ago in favor of the Administration had been turned to a majority of 352 against it; in Charlevoix, a stronghold of the Government, which was supposed to be a Ministerial close-pocket borough, the candidate who had 276 of a majority only two years ago, had been defeated by his former able colleague, now at his side, the Opposition candidate, with the handsome majority of 211. He (Mr. Tupper) would say as little of North Renfrew as possible. Although it was carried by the Opposition candidate, his hon. friend had had his revenge. He (Mr. Tupper) had been there pitted against a gentleman whose physique was so incomparably greater than his own, weak as the hon. gentleman's cause was, that he had never recovered from the result of that three days' duel; and in this county a majority of 48 for the Government of the day a year ago had been turned into a majority of 242 for the present member.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

What of Centre Toronto? Did the hon. gentleman think it a triumph to have this constituency represented as it was to-day, and whose place had the hon. member taken? If there had been a man in the House ready to accept any statement which the Government might make, or back any policy which it might propound, that man was Mr. Wilkes, who whether in or out of the House was prepared to do the work, which was not always of the most creditable nature, the Administration had for him to perform.

An hon. gentleman—Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER would also repeat, "Hear, hear," for he was rejoiced to know that what made it impossible for Mr. Wilkes to show his face on the hustings of his constituency, when he was condemned to meet the electors again, was the manner in which he had acted as Chairman of the Committee, tyrannizing over the present representative for South Norfolk, one of the most respected members of the House. If on this floor a majority could not be found to condemn that proceeding, he was proud to be assured of the fact that in such a great constituency as Toronto Centre this conduct had been visited with condign punishment.

Who came in Mr. Wilkes' stead? One of the most outspoken opponents that the Government had encountered in connection with the most important question of the Brown-Washington Treaty. If there was any one who deserved well of his country it was he who, when the interests of Canada were about to be sacrificed by the Government, had the independence to come forward, and apart from all political ties, declare that he was an open and unflinching foe of such a policy. That gentleman had said that the Administration endeavoured to inflict on the country a treaty which would have been utterly ruinous and disastrous to it; and he (Mr. Tupper) was rejoiced to find such a change made in the representation of this constituency.

What should they say of Hamilton? Elections had taken place in that city, and he asked the sitting members if they would have obtained their seats and a re-endorsement at the hands of the electors, if they had proclaimed

the doctrines which the Finance Minister had recently announced. They would reply: "No!" There was not a person in this country who did not know that these hon. gentlemen were elected, not in support of the policy propounded by the *Globe* in Toronto, or the *Herald* in Montreal, but the contrary, whatever might have been their personal predilections or prejudices.

Then there was Lincoln, and was its representative elected through his endorsement of such a policy as the Government had announced. He (Mr. Tupper) felt almost sorry to accept the support of this hon. gentleman who, owing to his patriotism, was obliged to tender reluctantly his vote in opposition to the Ministry, because when listening to the hon. gentleman he perceived that his political attachments were so strong that that it was almost breaking his heart to give the Opposition the slightest support. What occasioned this action on the hon. gentleman's part? Why, he knew that as an honest representative of Lincoln he must vote against the Government on this important question—the most important indeed that could ever be submitted to the House: and the hon. gentleman knew that in vindication of what he believed to be the true interests of Canada, he was obliged to turn his back on those who sat on the Treasury Benches.

Then he came to West Montreal. The Premier, to beat Mr. White, had brought out an old supporter of Sir John A. Macdonald, who, while in Parliament, had for years voted against the hon. gentlemen opposite, and on the hustings declared himself opposed to the fiscal policy of the present Government. Though a Ministerial candidate, he advocated a reciprocal tariff and was opposed to the Government on the tea duties and the Pacific Railway policy. The battle was close, and even with this candidate, who pledged himself to vote against the Government on every important part of their policy, he was able to secure a majority of only 50 in a constituency which they had carried but two years before by 594 majority. These were evidences that hopeless as it might be to endeavour to grapple with the stolid indifference of men who thought their

whole duty was to sustain the Government in doing one thing to day and another to-morrow, the Opposition could look beyond them to the intelligent and less confiding people of Canada, who by such verdicts had shown they only required an opportunity to complete the victory, which would be decisive when the people were permitted to speak. The man was blind who with those facts before him could not see standing out on the living page of our country's history, like the handwriting on the wall, the fact that these gentlemen had been tried in the balance and found wanting. The man must be deaf who could not hear the funeral knell of this Government which was peeling throughout the land, and the voice which was calling to the Ministry, "get you gone and let better men take your places!"

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had listened with some amusement to the torrent of vituperation which the hon. gentleman had launched against the Ministry. Not that it was unusual — but nothing could more effectually prove the utter weakness of the hon. gentleman's cause than the necessity which he found for levelling such charges, and assuming knowledge which he did not and could not possess. He had chosen to charge the Government again, and the Finance Minister particularly, with having not only contemplated and prepared a new tariff to be brought before the House, but even having it printed at the time. The declaration which had been made the other night that no such tariff had been prepared or announced should have been sufficient to prevent the hon. gentleman from indulging in such senseless tales, but nothing was too extravagant to say, and nothing too inaccurate for him to re-assert. He had stated that in 1874-5 the Government asked for \$5,000,000 more for public service of the country than was asked for in 1873-4. It was possible more money was voted, but it was on capital account. The expenditure of 1873-4 was altogether \$23,316,316. For that expenditure the late Government were responsible, because their successors were bound by the estimates of the current year, and had to make their estimates accordingly.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

The expenditure in 1874-5 was \$23,771,864, and of this sum there were four entirely new items amounting to \$538,702, besides many minor items, in consequence of a new Province coming in. Deducting this amount, the entire expenditure was \$23,232,000, or \$93,000 less in the first year of the new Government than in the year preceding it. The estimates for this year were \$24,833,000, which embraced new items which had not at all to be provided for by the late Government, to the amount of \$800,000, leaving the expenditure for the current year \$24,000,000. This would show the extreme inaccuracy of the hon. gentleman's figures, but he was also astray in the militia estimates. The entire militia expenditure for the ensuing year was \$649,000, while the smallest estimate of the hon. gentlemen opposite was \$880,000, showing a reduction of \$240,000 this year.

The hon. member for Cumberland had brought his power to bear, not in favour of protection so much as to discredit the Government. They did not object to his attack upon their action or criticisms of their policy, but they did object to his claiming they had no regard for the public interest. He had such regard for the public interest that he might have been on the Treasury Benches long before he reached them, but he would never stoop to the means adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite to gain power, or retain his hold upon the Government.

The hon. member for Cumberland, speaking of the member for Montreal West, endeavoured to show he was opposed to the general policy of the Government; but this was only a proof that no man of respectability would support hon. gentlemen opposite. He (Mr. Tupper) had read over a list of elections that had taken place since last Session, to show that the Opposition had carried nine elections, and the Government only three. That was very easily accounted for. The wave of popular indignation which swept the late Government out of power undoubtedly gave the Liberal Party more than their normal strength in the country. It was not a matter of surprise, therefore, that there should be some changes during the recess.

The hon. gentleman said a few

nights ago that the Government had blindly adopted their predecessors' tariff, and had not the originality to construct a tariff of their own. They took the tariff of the hon. gentlemen, but now the hon. member for Cumberland said it was ruining the country. He would ask them to imagine the intellectual capacity of the men who could conceive that the true way to alleviate commercial distress was the imposition of new taxes. That was the most extraordinary remedy for commercial distress that could be imagined. He was surprised the hon. gentleman declared that his resolution meant nothing, but it was only following out the logical sequence of all his speeches. He did not remember that when in 1874 they imposed an additional percentage on some classes of goods they were charged with introducing the thin edge of protection. The hon. gentleman was then a Free Trader, and riding a free trade hobby, but now that the Government was not disposed to impose any new taxation he took an entirely different ground. The hon. gentleman charged him with having in his (Mr. Mackenzie's) speeches advocated incidental protection. He denied that he had ever been an advocate of protection, but he had stated frankly and openly that he was a Free Trader in principle. He had stated that the geographical position of the country and other conditions made it impossible to obtain the revenue required in any other way than by customs and excise duties. This would be the principal item from which the revenue would be drawn so long as the neighbouring republic continued the policy they at present adopted, and the burden should be distributed so as to confer the greatest amount of benefit on all classes. The hon. gentleman himself predicted that the financial cloud in the United States would overshadow a portion of this country. They knew that commercial crises came every ten or twelve years with the utmost certainty, and they had had an extravagant Government in power for many years, who had in the most wanton way increased the expenditure of the country. They saddled the Dominion with \$10,000,000 or \$12,000,000 debt for the purpose of

securing financial support. They imposed on the country the enormous burden of the construction of the trans-continental railway, and in view of these facts it became the duty of the Finance Minister to make preparations to meet the expenditure the former Government had pledged the country to, and to meet the coming cloud which was certain, sooner or later, to cover our country as it had covered other countries before. The hon. gentleman stated, with the greatest possible coolness, that the effect of the imposition by the late Government of 50 per cent. duty on coal was to reduce the duty on coal going into the United States. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had a great opinion of this country; he believed we were a great people, and he believed we would be a greater people. But if the hon. gentleman succeeded in making the United States reduce their duty on coal, he would admit the hon. gentleman was a greater man than he thought he was, and that we were a greater people than he thought we were.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will the hon. gentleman allow me to state the facts?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I thought the hon. gentleman had stated the facts; as he has not I will state them myself.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said it was supposed that the Committee of Ways and Means in Washington reduced the duty on coal, but as soon as the Canadian Budget Speech was made they put it on again.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that the duty in Canada was imposed in 1871, and the reduction of the United States' tariff was not made until 1872. The hon. gentleman said a retaliatory policy would meet the case.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was glad then to hear the hon. gentleman repudiated the sentiments of so many of the hon. gentlemen about him.

The hon. gentleman declared in favour of reciprocity of tariffs, which meant that we should impose on American goods precisely the same duties that our neighbours levied on our own. This was in the worst sense, a retaliatory policy, a most stupid course to

recommend. Independent of all rules of trade, and of all knowledge of commerce and business, the hon. gentleman urged the adoption of the United States tariff, whether it would be suitable to us or not.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I do not.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then the hon. gentleman does not want reciprocity of tariffs.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I do.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That is certainly then what it means.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE - The hon. gentleman had made a speech, which he had delivered on several occasions, and launched very strong and vigorous language at the Administration, depicting in glowing terms the chances of his own return to power, and the blessings this would bring to himself and the country. His hon. friend had also attempted to paint the distress which at present prevailed, and induce the House and country to believe that this state of things was to be attributed to the Government, on account of the tariff which they had adopted in 1874, and of the tariff which they had not imposed in 1876.

He thought the hon. gentleman could not for a moment doubt that the effect produced upon the country by the commercial disasters which had overtaken it, was simply what might always be expected when a time like the present came round in its usual way. The hon. gentleman must know, if he had looked back over our history, that the worst commercial crisis that ever took place in Canada occurred during the years 1856-7 and 8; also that his present leader was then the leader of the Conservative party, which came into power in 1854, when prosperity was enjoyed by the farmer and mechanic to such an extent as had not existed for years past; for he remembered then the Ontario agriculturist obtained \$2 per bushel for his wheat; when wages were higher than they now were; and when a great tide of prosperity rolled over the country. Yet two years afterwards the shadow of commercial distress overspread farmers, mechanics, and merchants,

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distress, such as had not since been experienced, and as he hoped would never again be witnessed in this country. The hon. gentleman still spoke of the distress which at present prevailed as something extremely lamentable, causing his heart to bleed; and of the heartlessness of the Ministry, which would not raise an arm in order to avert any portion of the calamity from our suffering people. He (Mr. Mackenzie) believed that the suffering was confined to a very small section indeed. He could point to men who, six or eight years ago, were worth only from \$10,000 to \$20,000, and who by manufacturing to-day possessed fortunes of nearly half a million. Large sums had been made by the manufacturers. He did not grudge them what their enterprise had brought them, but everyone knew that their fortunes came out of the pockets of the people, and when a crisis like the present came, these men must in common with all classes make up their minds that the high tide of prosperity which they had enjoyed for a time was not likely to last forever, but that there must be periods of distress for manufacturers and their employes, as well as periods of comparative famine for the farmers and the classes dependent upon them.

The hon. gentleman and the member for Kingston—who was not present—had ventured the remark that instead of helping the country in its needs, and instead of sympathizing with the distressed classes, such as the manufacturers and their workmen, the Government almost ridiculed them, treating their representations with contempt. He could only say that nothing of the kind was fair or just; the comments were quite the opposite to true; he never ridiculed, and no hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches had ever ridiculed any section of the population. They were bound to receive, as they did, all the representations of manufacturers and merchants with the utmost possible patience; and he need not say that if the Government had been convinced that the interest of the country required such a revision of the tariff as had been recommended, and as many of the deputations asked, they would

not have hesitated for one moment to incur the displeasure of hon. gentlemen opposite by making the change in the tariff which they required. They represented not only the manufacturing and commercial classes, but the whole country, upon which they were bound to consider what the effect of such a policy would be; and it was necessary for them to act in the interests of the great bulk of the people. This course they had pursued. The hon. gentleman might say that they were not honest in their motives; that they were actuated simply by the desire of retaining office; and that it would have pleased the great majority of the House and the great mass of the people had they adopted a different policy. But they surely were as able to comprehend the feeling of the House and country as was the hon. gentleman; and they would, moreover, be devoid of principle if they took a different course, merely in order to give their Administration greater strength. The very fact—if it was such—that they had displeased the majority of the House and country by their action, showed that they must hold their offices but lightly, risking them for the sake of carrying out what they deemed was for the best interests of the country. He feared, however, that the hon. gentleman was assailing the views of the great majority of the members of the House and the people of the country. The concluding remarks of the hon. gentleman all led up to one point—the restoration of the hon. gentlemen opposite to power; but if they had no other or better means of obtaining this object, than the policy at present pursued, he thought it would be long indeed before hon. gentlemen opposite would be entrusted with the destinies of the country. The hon. gentleman said that he, for one, would be prepared to discriminate in favour of England in our tariff arrangements. He would like to see the hon. gentleman carrying out such a policy; what would the result be? The hon. gentleman desired the Government to impose a duty on coal, but would he discriminate in favour of English coal? Would the hon. gentleman answer that question?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman said no. Then the hon. gentleman would only discriminate where it suited him; the hon. gentleman wished to conciliate public feeling in England, and this was a very cheap way of doing it. Although in favour of proceeding against the well understood policy of the Empire, his hon. friend was nevertheless to discriminate in favour of English merchants and manufacturers, and now he wanted the Government to impose a duty on English coal. He was afraid that when he came to particularize they would find there were very few articles in connection with which they would be able to carry out the policy the hon. gentleman pretended to favour.

He had to deal with another point, and he would then leave the matter in the hands of the House. The right hon. member for Kingston had accused him with neglecting and stopping public works; he had asked what this meant, and he had obtained no reply. He repeated his enquiry, for at no period in the history of Canada had there been so many public works carried forward as were at present under contract, and yet got no answer.

The expenditure of public money upon these works was greater and would be greater during this year than next, or than it was likely to be for years to come, so there was no ground for that charge. The Finance Minister had raised the last loan for the specific purpose of taking care that our public works should be proceeded with, and every effort was being made to push forward the works which were contemplated in the general scheme of canal improvements. The hon. gentleman charged the Government with imposing a very high duty on petroleum oil. The Government made no change in the tariff; they never touched the duty upon petroleum in any way whatever, and if the extraordinary reduction of price in the United States had made it possible to introduce the oil of that country at a lower figure to compete with Canadian oil, the hon. gentleman should have foreseen it. The hon. gentleman on the one hand had clamoured for protection on certain articles, and on the other hand for the removal of protection where it

existed. He proposed to deal with the one point the resolution was intended to effect. The hon. gentleman hoped to make the farmers believe that he was specially their friend, and this resolution was intended to convey to the farmers the impression that although the Opposition were in favour of giving some special protection to manufacturers, they were also willing to give the same protection to the farmers. But he maintained, and his hon. friends who had spoken on that side had proven that it was out of the power of this House to give any protection to the farmers; that it was an utter delusion to pretend that such could be given, because of most coarse grains we import none, and the one we did import the hon member for North Wentworth had shown it was of great consequence to the farmers not to protect, but to obtain as low a price as possible. The Americans could grow corn cheaper than we could hope to do, and our farmers could sell their barley at higher rates than they could purchase corn. The idea that people could make money by being prevented from engaging in this sort of traffic was an utter delusion. The hon. gentleman seemed to think that it was part of the duty of this Legislature to prevent people from buying and selling where they could make money. If they should adopt the policy which the right hon. member for Kingston proposed, they would simply exclude foreign goods from the country and compel the people to trade with each other, and we would lose our foreign commerce. The hon. gentleman spoke about lowering his tariff as being a step backward, but to reimpose these duties would really be a step backwards in civilization. When the attempt was made to impress the belief upon our farmers that they would benefit by such legislation, he mistook their spirit, intelligence and political knowledge if he imagined that they were to be caught with such chaff. The views of the majority had been tolerably well explained, and all that had been said on the opposite side went to show their willingness to take advantage of any occasion to give a little temporary embarrassment to the Administration. The concluding remarks of the hon. gentleman opposite,

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and of the leader of the Opposition, who moved this resolution, showed conclusively what was the real motive that guided them in proposing it, and he could only hope the verdict of the House would be so unmistakable on this as it was on the other motion that they would soon perceive that taking up so much time in the House in discussing a question of this kind was only losing time. He believed the intelligence of the House and of the country was abundantly sufficient to detect the sophistries and poor arguments that had been advanced by the gentlemen who opposed the Administration.

Mr. CASEY said it was apparent to everyone this amendment was nothing but a bid to catch the agricultural vote. The right hon. member for Kingston, in his speech had remarked that we should place our farmers on a level with those of the United States. This was something which he (Mr. Casey) did not desire to see, because our farmers were ahead of their rivals. If the policy of the Opposition were carried into effect it would make Canada a dear country to live in, and that would not be acceptable to the farmers. It had been held that a protective duty would facilitate the interchange of our flour for the coal of the Maritime Provinces. It was true if a sufficiently high tariff were imposed this could be done, but it would increase the cost of both articles to the consumer. The average value of coal exported from Nova Scotia to the United States in 1875 was \$2.33. The cost of bringing it to Toronto would be about \$4.50 per ton, which would make the price delivered say \$7 per ton, while the average cost of United States coal imported into Ontario was \$5. The duty required to force Ontario to use Nova Scotia coal would have to be \$2 per ton. Ontario consumes say 400,000 tons, and the increased cost to the people would be \$800,000. The right hon. member for Kingston advocated reciprocity in trade or in tariffs, which meant that because the Americans shut themselves out from buying in the cheapest market we should do likewise.

The adoption of a retaliatory policy virtually meant the closing of our markets for the Americans; and notwithstanding what had been said in

support of the amendment, he did not know a single farmer who was in favour of the so called national policy. He hoped that the policy of the Government would be supported.

Mr. DECOSMOS believed that he was the only member of the House, and possibly the only parliamentary representative in the Dominion, who had resigned his seat in order to test the sense of his constituency on the question of protection; and he had been successful. The entire country was interested in the matter at issue. The leader of the Opposition had pronounced in favor of protection; and the leader of the Government had declared in favor of free-trade. He was opposed to a policy discriminating against the United States and in favour of England, unless Great Britain was prepared to use our timber and corn instead of obtaining its supplies of these articles from other countries. This was not a question to be considered as affecting the interests of the Ministry, but those of the Dominion. When British Columbia entered the Confederation its tariff was well calculated to foster its industries; but the Dominion tariff had proved to be unsuitable with regard to their agricultural interests, on behalf of which he favoured protection. If the Government were wise, taking a statesmanlike view of the great country they controlled, they would give to each section what was best adapted for creating wealth within it. All they asked was protection against the large farming interests of California and Oregon, and for such a proportionate reduction in articles of importation from foreign countries as would benefit the country. The First Minister should promote home in preference to foreign industries. The hon. gentleman had spoken of a five million deficit, but this would not be of great consequence if 5,000 people were induced to settle in British Columbia, who would earn \$5,000 each at the gold mines. Any respectable government in this country could obtain enough money to construct a railway from Montreal, if necessary, or from Matawan to Victoria within the next ten years without oppressing any of the inhabitants of old or new Canada. The Government could ask Great Britain

to guarantee a loan of fifty millions at two and a-half per cent. They had hoarded up some fifteen millions of dollars, of which twelve and a-half millions were, he believed, guaranteed for the Pacific Railway, and one and a-half millions for fortifications. The Administration substantially refused to carry out the terms to which they agreed with regard to the building of this railway, for which, if fifty millions were loaned for the purpose, the balance of twenty-five millions could be realized by the sale of lands, by which means the interest, sinking fund, &c., could be met. He sincerely hoped that we would never attempt to threaten the United States; but he still trusted that the Government would not allow the industries of this country to be crippled for fear of levying such duties on American imports as would protect our manufacturing interests. He did not think it was wise to talk of retaliation. The hon. First Minister remarked that the expenditure this year would be greater than for many years to come. He was very sorry to hear such a remark from the Premier. He had supposed the true policy of a country in time of depression was to augment public works and carry them on, and by these means employ the population until times became prosperous. Therefore, he held it to be the duty of this Government, instead of curtailing expenditure, to increase it and make provision for those who were suffering for want of employment. He believed that the farmers should be afforded such protection east of the Rocky Mountains as would enable them to provide the flour out of which to make bread for the people of the Maritime Provinces, and that in return we should impose a duty upon coal upon this side of the Rocky Mountains as would cause the people of Ontario and Quebec to be supplied from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He believed in building up a home trade; and as an instance of its beneficial effects pointed to the wonderful recuperative powers of France, after the war with Germany, in consequence of being self-supporting. San Francisco exported last year \$31,000,000 worth of American pro-

ducts to the markets on the shores of the Pacific, and imported \$35,000,000 from abroad—nearly one-half the imports of the Dominion of Canada that had a population of 4,000,000, while the state of California had only 600,000. If our great Canadian Pacific Railway were constructed the products of our manufactories in the east would be carried into the markets on the Pacific, and compete with the exports of California. His constituency was principally in favour of protection to agricultural industries and the fostering of home manufactures. They did not ask for any prohibitory tariff; they did not ask for a tariff to encourage the growth of silk worms, or to bring into existence industries that our people had not thought of. All they asked was that as new industries arose in this country, we should impose a tariff to protect and foster these industries, and he believed the same principle would apply to the east as well as the west side of the Rocky Mountains. British Columbia stock raisers suffered severely from the low *ad valorem* duty at present imposed upon stock. They would prefer to see \$5, \$6 or \$7 a head on cattle; \$10 on horses; and \$1 or \$2 on sheep. The late Administration refused to give a separate and modified tariff to British Columbia; that was due to some extent to the Local Legislature not having formally asked them to do so. He had asked the present Finance Minister if such a thing would be done for British Columbia, but up to the present moment he had received no satisfactory reply. He intended to vote for the amendment of the right hon. member for Kingston; he did not care whether it was a censure of the Government or not, he voted for it on the principle that he believed in protection for every native industry of the Dominion.

Mr. McKAY (Cape Breton) said it would seem from the motion of the right hon. gentleman from Kingston and his speeches that he had in his hands the care of the manufacturing and agricultural interests of the country, but he had overlooked entirely the coal mining interest. When he heard the hon. member for Cumberland speak it seemed to him that the resolution was more mixed. The hon. member did not

go in for a retaliatory policy; he did not go in for a reciprocal tariff, and he would like to know what he did go in for. He did not feel inclined to support such an amendment as the hon. gentleman had brought in, unless it was going to be of some benefit to the coal interests of his Province. Supposing the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House were to assume the reins of power, what guarantee had the members from the Maritime Provinces that they would impose a duty on coal imported from the United States. By voting for this resolution he would be voting to impose an additional tax on the head of the people of Nova Scotia. He very much preferred to have the tariff remain as it was, at 17½ per cent., than there should be such a change in it as would only protect manufacturing industries and agriculture. If they could not protect all, the most advisable course to pursue was to leave the tariff as it was. It was very much better to

“Endure the ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of.”

Mr. McCALLUM considered they were not legislating in this House for the present day, but for the future, and for that reason they should endeavour to foster and build up the industries of the Dominion. He believed in protection that would encourage manufactures, furnish the people with employment and build up a home market for Canadian produce. An hon. gentleman argued that it would require a tax on American coal equal to the freight on Nova Scotia coal to force it up to Ontario. Any man who was engaged in the commerce of the country knew very well that the principal freight was from the West to the East, and that freights from the East to the West were very cheap. If a trade were established between Ontario and the Lower Provinces they could bring up Nova Scotia coal as far as Toronto and it would not cost more than 50 cents per ton more than American coal.

Mr. KIRK said he did not intend at this late hour of the night, to detain the House but for a few minutes. This question has been before the House two or three days, and has been ably discussed from every stand-point, and there was now nothing new to say.

There was a principle laid down by an hon. member on the other side of the House, which is: "To legislate injuriously to any portion of this Dominion injuriously affects the whole Dominion." With this principle he entirely agreed, and it is because he agreed with it that he could not vote for the resolution of the right hon. member for Kingston, now under discussion. There is an epoch in the history of our country anterior to which hon. members are sometimes wont to look; and when we look beyond the time when Confederation took place, in the history of Nova Scotia, we find that up to as late as 1854 we had in that Province a tariff of but 6½ per cent., a purely free trade and revenue tariff. After our railroad system commenced the tariff was increased to 10 per cent., and never in the history of the country was it higher than 12½ per cent. Revenue under the 12½ per cent. tariff, flowed into the treasury so rapidly that the Government of the day reduced it to 10 per cent. in one year, at which it remained till Confederation. It would be remembered, that Canada at that time had a 20 per cent. tariff. Now hon. members will not have forgotten the deep strong feeling which existed in Nova Scotia against Confederating with Canada. There were two principal causes for this bitter feeling of hostility. The first was the hon. member for Cumberland and those associated with him in promoting the scheme, refused to submit the question to the people at the polls, forced Confederation on us, and treated us as serfs, and not as free men enjoying a free constitution. The second was, the fear that the 20 per cent. protection tariff which then existed in Canada would be forced upon us in Nova Scotia. There need be no better arguments to prove that our people in Nova Scotia were then a free-trade people, and he was bold in stating that their minds have not since changed in that respect. He well remembered how eloquently the hon. member for Cumberland and his associates expatiated on the bright, the glorious future that was in store for Nova Scotia, and which was to commence immediately on the consummation of Confederation. We were to have mills and manufactures on every

stream; we were to have the capitalists and manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec coming down and establishing their manufactures in every town and village in the Province. The sound of the pinnaul and hammer, and the whiz of machinery were to disturb the slumbers of the sleepy villagers; there was to be nothing but prosperity and no hard times. Where are the promised manufactories that removed to Nova Scotia? Instead of this being the case, what are the facts? We have the hon. member for Cumberland coming before this House and asking hon. members to enact a law to force the people of Nova Scotia to pay taxes to support those struggling manufacturers in Ontario and Quebec. It was said that the resolution of the right hon. member for Kingston may mean free-trade, or it may mean protection. When we take it in connection with the speech of the right hon. gentleman in putting the resolution to the House, with the speech of the hon. member for Cumberland, who seconded the resolution, and in connection with speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite supporting it; and taken also in connection with the vote given by these hon. gentlemen on the resolution submitted to the House by the hon. member for Montreal West, it can mean nothing else but protection, which means taxation—additional taxation. It is said in support of the right honourable member's resolution that the agriculturists want protection. On looking at the Tariff we find the agriculturist is already pretty well protected. There is a duty of 10 per cent on hay, straw and beans, on animals of all kinds except for the improvement of stock, a duty of 10 per cent on vegetables, including potatoes and other roots. There is also a duty on the products of the dairy, on butter 4 cents per pound; or a duty equal to 25 per cent, and on cheese 3 cents per pound, or a duty equal to 30 per cent., and a duty equal to 10 per cent. on lard, tallow and so on—Now, we find on looking at the trade returns that these duties have been pretty effectual in keeping out foreign products. We find that of horses there were imported in 1875, but 1,225 whilst there were exported 4,382 and

4,130 of which went to the United States. There were imported of horned cattle 4,580, whilst we exported 38,968—34,651 of which went to the United States. Of sheep Canada imported 8,690, and exported 242,458, of which 236,808 went to the United States. Of butter Canada imported but 221,966 pounds. She imported 9,268,044—6,579,405 pounds of which went to the United States; and of eggs Canada imported 35,637 dozen, and exported 3,521,068, of which 3,424,850 dozen went to the United States.

These figures show that the balance of trade in these products of the farm was largely against the Eastern States and in favour of Canada. The Maritime Provinces have been appealed to in this debate to come up and support a protection policy as one in their interest. Now the interest of the Maritime Provinces are varied and important. He spoke more particularly for Nova Scotia as he had the honour to represent, however unworthily, a constituency in that Province. We have agriculture, fishing, mining, ship-building, and lumbering, not one of which can in any way be benefited by a protection policy. High tariffs as has been so often and so ably explained during this debate, mean high labour, dear food, a higher price for everything that enters into the consumption and production of all their industries. The agriculturists of Nova Scotia want no protection. They have no competition from the United States for any of their productions. Wheat in Nova Scotia is not grown to any extent, and consequently the farmer must of necessity procure his flour from abroad, and if a duty is placed on flour as contemplated by the resolution, it will be a tax on the Nova Scotia farmers. Nova Scotia imports annually about 400,000 barrels of flour. A duty of 25 cents per barrel on this article would make a tax of \$100,000 on the people of Nova Scotia. During this discussion, we have heard but little about the fishermen of the Dominion, a most important branch of industry—except that some hon. gentleman from the other side of the house has said, “that much had been done for that class, and it ought now to bear a tax on flour and meal for the benefit of the farmer.” What

has been done for the fishermen? It is said the market of the United States had been opened up for the sale of their fish.

There was exported from Canada in 1875 \$5,580,527 worth of fish, of which \$3,738,165 were exported from Nova Scotia, of which only \$892,010 went to the United States. Now, this is what has been done for the fishermen—merely the right or privilege to sell \$892,010 worth of fish annually. But what has the fishermen given for this privilege, Sir? We have been told that the “only lever we had to enforce “this much desired Reciprocity Treaty “with the United States had been “given away.” Well, what was that lever? Was it not the right to fish in our waters, which has been given away, a consideration for which it is expected this Dominion will receive a large amount of money. This money will be paid to the treasury of Canada, and the fishermen will see none of it. Then, the fishermen have paid dearly for the paltry privilege of selling a few fish to the Americans, and he protested against this House imposing a duty on their flour and meal.

Now, a great deal has been said about placing a duty on coal. He did not believe that any duty this House will submit to will be of any benefit to the coal interests of Nova Scotia, and for the same reason that he would vote against a duty on flour and meal he would vote against a duty on coal, because it would be sectional. Whilst in the case of flour and meal the tax would fall on the Maritime Provinces; in the case of coal it would fall on the western Provinces. If the Government desired to do anything to relieve the coal interests he would inform them wherein he thought this can be done, and done fairly to the whole Dominion. The coal owners of Nova Scotia pay now—and have paid since mining commenced in that Province—a duty to the Local Government for revenue purposes of 10 cents per ton; this amounts to a duty of 5 per cent. on all the capital engaged in mining. He thought it was a matter worthy of the consideration of this Government, in view of the fact that the Local Government cannot afford to relinquish this

tax, to arrange with that Government in the way of commuting the amount which gives to the Local Government a sum annually of about from \$80,000 to \$100,000, according to the amount of coal raised. He remembered when the Finance Minister introduced his tariff two years ago, the hon. member for Cumberland violently attacked the policy of the Government, and said that it remained for an Ontario Finance Minister to impose increased taxes on the Maritime Provinces—that he was entering the thin wedge of the Protectionist. He could only say it now remained for a Nova Scotia representative to labour industriously to drive that wedge home.

Mr. HAGAR said he was well aware it was time this debate should cease. The question had been most ably and exhaustively discussed, and a most formidable array of figures and statistics given to the House, to add to which, he felt, would be an infliction. He would therefore confine himself to a few general remarks.

When he read the amendment of the right hon. member for Kingston, he was forcibly reminded of the angling proclivities of the right hon. member. He was, it was well known, an adept in the piscatory art, for he had himself confessed that he had often thrown his net and caught therein many a fish—big as well as little; and now, not with his accustomed skill, he had made another cast; once more thrown his net, baited it with protection, and hoped thereby to draw within or entangle in its meshes, no less a prize than the farmers of this country. But he (Mr. Hagar) imagined they were too shrewd, too intelligent, and too wary to be allured by such a bait; and unless it was changed for something more palatable, he would find his catch, not only small in size, but few in numbers. He (Mr. Hagar) denied that the farmers of this Dominion required increased protection, and had yet to learn, that in any number they had asked for it. He was himself a farmer, and represented a farming constituency, yet he knew of but one farmer in his county who advocated protection, and as it was understood he had given the hon. member for Centre Wellington the benefit of his

views upon the subject, they would doubtless be *embalmed* in that report which all were so anxiously expecting. No one would question the magnitude and importance of the farming and lumbering interests of this country, and yet neither of these great industries had sent one single petition to this House, or one deputation to the Government, asking for increased protection, not but that they felt the prevailing hard times, not that they suffered from the general depression (and he could speak feelingly as well as truly when he said no interest suffered more keenly or severely than the lumbering interests), yet they did not seek relief at the expense of their neighbours. They had not, like some smaller industries, besieged the Government, which in their way they would fain make paternal by replenishing their pockets, which perchance extravagance, mismanagement or misfortune might have depleted. Neither of these great industries asked for increased protection, but they would hail a Reciprocity Treaty with our neighbours across the lines, if such a thing could be brought about on a fair and equitable basis, as the greatest boon that could be conferred upon them.

He did not desire to seem uncharitable, and he must confess it appeared to him as if this whole agitation for a protective tariff was conceived in greed, begotten of selfishness, and (with the exception of a small number of honest visionaries who believed what they practised, and that opposite class who desired to make political capital out of it) it was sustained and nourished by the few who desire to enrich themselves at the expense of the many. In these times of general depression, which extend to other countries, not perhaps more favourably situated, but certainly wealthier than our own, when trade languishes, when every interest suffers,—when capital is withdrawn, because confidence is weakened, he considered that unless it were absolutely necessary for purposes of revenue to meet our engagements, it would be worse than folly to increase the burden of our taxation. The opinion of the hon. member for Cumberland, to the contrary, notwithstanding he believed the course the Government had taken

upon this question—the policy of retrenchment they had initiated—seeking by a wise, prudent, and judicious economy to curtail expenses, and to make our income square with our expenditure would commend itself to, and meet with the hearty approval of, the great majority of the people of this country. This policy was in accordance with that sound, true and correct legislation, the great object and aim of which was to confer “the greatest good upon the greatest number.”

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) was understood to say that he would not have spoken at such a late hour after so many eloquent speeches that had been delivered, but for the fact that he represented here an important industry whose interests had not been much discussed during the debate. He did not believe in protection as a principle of political economy, but he felt that the large duties which the United States imposed upon lumber and timber going into that country, while large quantities of lumber and timber came from Michigan to the Quebec market free, was an unfair competition with the Canadian lumbermen. He held in his hands a letter which stated that contracts had been made for the delivery of deals in the Quebec market, and he felt that some measure of relief should be afforded to the lumbermen of this country from such competition. He had heard it stated that the passage of the Michigan lumber through the country was a benefit to our carrying trade, but he had not heard anything advanced to justify the belief, that this lumber was not carried in American bottoms. He believed that such an adjustment of the tariff as was indicated in the resolution before the House would have the effect of bringing about reciprocal trade relations with the United States rather than the continuance of the slaughter policy which had been so long adopted, and had produced so unsatisfactory a result. With reference to the farming interests they were identical with the interests of the lumber trade. When one flourished the other flourished and when one languished so did the other. Believing as he did that a proper adjustment of the

tariff would benefit the country he would support the resolution.

Mr. DEVLIN said it would require two or three hours to go over the points raised on this important question. He gave the House notice in order that members might retire if they chose; but if the House wished to vote now he would reserve his speech for another occasion.

The members were then called in, and the House divided, when the resolution was negatived on the following division:—

YEAS:

Messieurs

Baby,	McDonald (C. Breton)
Benoit,	McDougall (T. Rivers)
Blanchet,	McKay (Colchester)
Bowell,	Macmillan,
Bunster,	McCallum,
Cameron (Cardwell)	McGreevy,
Caron,	Masson,
Cimon,	Mitchell,
Colby,	Monteith,
Costigan,	Montplaisir,
Currier,	Mousseau,
Cuthbert,	Norris,
Daoust,	Orton,
DeCosmos,	Quimet,
Desjardins,	Palmer,
Devlin,	Pinsonneault,
Dewdney,	Platt,
Donahue,	Plumb,
Dugas,	Pope,
Farrow,	Robinson,
Ferguson,	Robitaille,
Flesher,	Rochester,
Fraser,	Rouleau,
Gaudet,	Schultz,
Gill,	Short,
Haggart,	Stephenson,
Harwood,	Tompson (Cariboo)
Hurteau,	Tupper,
Irving,	Wallace (Norfolk)
Jones (Leeds)	White (Hastings)
Kirkpatrick,	White (Renfrew)
Langevin,	Wood,
Lauthier,	Workman,
Little,	Wright (Ottawa)
Macdonald (Coruwall)	Wright (Pontiac).—70.

NAYS:

Messieurs

Appleby,	Jones (Halifax)
Archibald,	Kerr,
Aylmer,	Killam,
Bain,	Kirk,
Barthe,	Laird,
Bécharde,	Lajoie,
Bernier,	Landerkin,
Bertram,	Langlois,
Biggar,	Laurier,
Blackburn,	MacDonnell (Iverness)
Blake,	Macdougall (Elgin)
Borden,	McDougall (Renfrew)
Borron,	MacKay (Cape Breton)
Bourassa,	Mackenzie,
Bowman,	McCraney,
Boyer,	McGregor,
Brouse,	McIntyre,

Mr. HAGAR.

Buell	McIsaac,
Burk,	McLeod,
Burpee (St. John)	McNab,
Burpee (Sunbury)	Metcalf,
Cameron (Ontario)	Mills,
Carmichael,	Moffat,
Cartwright,	Oliver,
Casey,	Paterson,
Casgrain,	Pelletier,
Cauchon,	Perry,
Cheval,	Petres,
Christie,	Pickard,
Church,	Pouliot,
Coffin,	Power,
Cook,	Pozer,
Coupal,	Ray,
Cunningham,	Richard,
Davies,	Roscoe,
Dawson,	Ross (Durham)
Delorme,	Ross (Middlesex)
De St. Georges,	Ryan,
DeVeber,	Rymal,
Dymond,	Scatcherd,
Ferris,	Sevier,
Fiset,	Shibley,
Fleming,	Sinclair,
Flynn,	Skinner,
Forbes,	Smith (Peel)
Fr�chette,	Smith (Selkirk)
Galbraith,	Smith (Westmoreland)
Gibson,	Snider,
Gillies,	Stirton,
Gillmour,	St. Jean,
Gordon,	Taschereau,
Goudge,	Thompson (Haldimand)
Greenway,	Thomson (Welland)
Hagar,	Tremain,
Hall,	Trow,
Higinbotham,	Vail,
Horton,	Yeo,
Huntington,	Young.—116.

PAIRS.

YEAS :	NAYS :
Messieurs	Messieurs
Cameron (Victoria)	Ross (Prince Edward)
McQuade,	Cockburn,
Brooks,	Wallace (Albert)
Brown,	Lafamme,
Macdonald (Sir John)	Holton.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said he was paired on Monday and Tuesday with Sir John A. Macdonald, and understood that the pair terminated with the sitting last night. They both expected that the vote would be taken last night, but some hon. gentlemen seemed to understand that the pair continued until the vote was taken. Had it not been for that he would have voted against the amendment with the utmost alacrity.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the hon. member for King's County (Domville) told him he paired with the hon. member for South Waterloo, but he observed the latter had voted on this occasion.

Mr. ARCHIBALD said the pair expired at half-past seven this evening.

A pair was made for Mr. Charlton, and that gentleman not having returned, he and Mr. Domville would stand against each other.

Mr. BROWN said he paired with Mr. Lafamme for Friday night.

The House then went into Committee of Supply—Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

On the item for the Militia Department, \$35,151,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL suggested there should be a reduction of expenditure at headquarters.

Mr. BOWELL pointed to an increase in this item of about \$4,000, which he could not understand under this policy of economy. Every salary, with the exception of about three, had been increased, and there had been additional messengers employed.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said those increases of salary were statutory.

The item was passed and the Committee rose and reported progress.

The House adjourned at thirty-five minutes past Two a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 16, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. ROBINSON—To incorporate the England and Canada Mortgage Security Company.

THE JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. ROSS moved the adoption of the fourth report of the Committee on Printing. The last paragraph was a recommendation to dispense with the printing of the journals of the House, by which a saving of \$2,350 will be effected. This was the system adopted by the Senate.

The SPEAKER said this was such an important matter that time must be given for due consideration of it.

After a brief discussion the report, with the exception of the last paragraph, was adopted.

THE MEMBER FOR TWO MOUNTAINS.

Mr. TASCHEREAU moved that the Journals of the House of Assembly for the Province of Canada for the Session of 1866, relating to the production of certain papers, in the case of the *Queen vs. J. B. Daoust*, be now read. He proposed, if the motion should be carried, to refer the case with the papers to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. DAOUST then read the following statement:—

Before withdrawing from the House, according to the practice, when any motion in which a member has a personal interest is under consideration, I beg leave to make the following statement:—In the month of March, 1865, two indictments were found against me for forging the name of my brother-in-law to two notes, one for \$500 and the other for \$300. I knew that my brother-in-law had authorized me to place his name on those notes, and that a witness was present when the authority was given to me; but when the first indictment was tried I could not remember who the witness was. I could not swear to the fact myself, and I was convicted because I could produce no witness to substantiate my statement. The trial of my case was published in the newspapers, and my witness heard of it and came forward to testify to my innocence. The first indictment was tried in March, and the second indictment in April, when the witness came forward and was examined. On his evidence I was at once acquitted by the jury without leaving the box. I then directed my Counsel to move to set aside the verdict and to obtain a new trial on the first indictment. Judge Mondelet, before whom the motion was made, set aside that verdict and granted me a new trial on the affidavits that I put in; the Counsel for the Crown consenting that a new trial should be granted. When my case came before Judge Aylwin for the new trial, he held that the new trial was illegally granted, because no new trial could be granted on facts alone, and directed that it should be referred to the Court of Appeal for adjudication, and that Court so decided on the appeal at the Crim-

Mr. Ross.

iminal Term following. Mr. Ramsay, as Counsel for the Crown, moved for judgment against me, and Judge Mondelet, before whom the motion was made, declined to entertain the motion, declaring that his order to quash the verdict against me had never been set aside, and there was therefore no conviction against me on which any sentence could be passed.

Mr. Speaker, I might close my statement here, but I consider that I should not make it complete unless I called the attention of yourself and this honourable House to the fact, that after these charges had been made against me, I was elected to this House by acclamation, and sat as the Member for the county of Two Mountains for for a whole Parliament; that the the members of the present Government, who were then in this House, sat in the House with me; that the Hon. Chief Justice Dorion, the leader of the members from Lower Canada who were opposed to me, also sat in that House, but no one of them, during all that time, ever made any motion against me, nor since the present Government took office have they ever instructed any Crown officers to ask that sentence should be passed upon me on that conviction now ten years old.

On this statement of facts, Mr. Speaker, I think that I may fairly leave the consideration of my case to the members of this honourable House, believing that as I now withdraw from their presence for a time, they will speedily restore me to the position to which my constituents so lately unanimously elected me.

Mr. Daoust then retired.

Mr. MASSON thought the House was entitled, after the statements made by the hon. member for Two Mountains, answering conclusively any accusations in advance that could be made against him, to know if any of these assertions were questioned by the mover of the resolution or any hon. member present. If not, he hoped the Premier would take this question in hand, and move that the House do proceed to the next order of the day.

Mr. LAURIER thought the matter should be discussed dispassionately, and he proposed to deal with it in this spirit. He had not seconded the motion in order to gratify spite against any one, but with the view of doing his duty towards his Province. The statement which the hon. gentleman had submitted disclosed facts which should go before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, in order to ascertain the legal and responsible position of the member elect. The hon. member had certain rights and privileges, but these might conflict with those of the House. He had been indicted for the committal of two forgeries, and found guilty on one accusation; on the second, he was acquitted. A new trial was granted; but afterwards this ruling had been set aside. A technical question arose; it was said that a part of the decision of Judge Mondelet had not been overruled by the Court of Appeals, but simply the portion which granted the new trial. This was technically and substantially true, but when the order granting a new trial was set aside, did not this also do away with the ruling concerning the verdict? He could not conceive that a judge could set aside a conviction and not grant a new trial; if he could do one he could do the other thing, or if the latter was beyond his authority so was the former.

These facts had been laid before the House by the Attorney General of Lower Canada, the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, and the papers being submitted, the hon. member only three days afterwards resigned his seat. The hon. gentleman had been since elected, it was true, and no steps had been taken in the matter. But what was the legal aspect of the case at present? Any Crown prosecutor acting in the District of Montreal could at any time move for judgment against the hon. member. The Court of Appeals declared that the conviction remained in full force, and the question was, whether a man so liable was fit to sit in the House. In this a technicality was involved, but it was quite clear that the circumstances should be referred to the Committee mentioned.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) thought that the hon. member for

Drummond and Arthabaska had shown very strong reasons why they should proceed in this connection with a great deal of care. He quite agreed with what the hon. member had said; this question was not to be approached in a party spirit. The statement read by the hon. member for Two Mountains revealed facts, not one of which was disputed, that required the House to pause before it took action.

If the witness who had come forward on the occasion of the second trial had been heard on the first, without doubt a verdict of acquittal would also have been given in the former instance. Mr. Johnson, the Counsel for the Crown, who conducted the two trials, as appeared from the papers on the Clerk's table, had at once consented to a new trial being had; this being the case, it struck him that in Upper Canada, under such circumstances, the Crown would have intervened. The whole proceedings in Lower Canada in connection with the verdict had been entirely contrary to law. Judge Mondelet had clearly no power to grant a new trial, as the law did not provide for cases of surprise, error, or mistake. It was also clear that the Judge made two orders, or one order combining two propositions; one quashing the verdict, and another, according to a new trial. He could not say, owing to unfamiliarity with precedence before the courts in Quebec, but if there was power for the issue of the two orders, no appeal could certainly be taken against one of them. The steps taken with regard to the appeal had been absolutely contrary to law, and without precedent. The judge who reserved a case under the Criminal Appeal Act, was the judge who tried it; and Judge Aylwin before whom this case came for a new trial afterwards, had as much power to send it before the Court of Appeals as his hon. friend or himself, and no more. It was however so transmitted; and the judgment there pronounced was really in controvention of all provisions of the law. Beyond question, the verdict of guilty still stood against the hon. member for Two Mountains. What did the Crown say? It could at any time, before a verdict was given, according to the practice in our

Courts, enter a *nolle prosequi*; and this could be done even after a jury was sworn to try a case.

The jury gave a verdict, and a *nolle prosequi* being entered, the Crown could not interfere except by granting a pardon or bringing forward a new indictment. In the case of the member for Two Mountains a verdict had been given, but no judgment entered, and none of the consequences which were involved in a judgment could by any possibility come against him. They could not sentence him because the time gone by would require that a record of conviction should be first had, and after the statement of the facts which had been presented to the House the Crown would never allow a judgment of record to be given. The Crown had the right both before and after conviction to pardon the accused if it thought proper, but in the event of the latter the stigma remained. Now, in this case the stigma of conviction should not be allowed to remain. The hon. gentleman had sat in the House several years since the conviction, and after an interum of a few years he returned, and was arraigned on a conviction which had never matured into a judgment, and of which, if the facts stated that day in the House were true, he ought to have been acquitted. He (Mr. Cameron) considered that it would be more to the hon. gentleman's advantage to have this case go to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, from which it would return exonerating him from the whole procedure if there was nothing to contradict what he himself had stated. He was perfectly certain that the gentleman who was implicated in the matter would receive at the hands of the Hon. Minister of Justice as much consideration and tenderness in the administration of the duties of his office as though he were the hon. gentleman's warmest political friend.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the House would readily understand that when the hon. member for Two Mountains rose to make his statement it would not have been generous in him (Mr. Blake), to make the suggestion he was about to offer. It would not have been right to have prevented an hon.

member standing in his position from making a statement, although he might have thought it a little premature. His hon. friend the member for Montmagny, who made the motion, pointed out that he intended to follow it with another, and that he would reserve his remarks until the papers were read. The hon. member for Two Mountains followed that motion with his simple statement. He agreed with the hon. member for Cardwell as to the spirit in which they should approach the consideration of this matter, but it seemed to him that in entering upon a grave judicial investigation of this character the first thing to be done was to have the papers before the House. He begged to submit to the consideration of the House whether it was not proper in the interest of the hon. member for Two Mountains that the papers should be read without further discussion.

Mr. MASSON thought the Hon. Minister of Justice had misapprehended the position in which his hon. friend was placed. The motion made on the previous day was accompanied with expressions bearing heavily on his hon. friend from Two Mountains, and he (Mr. Masson) considered he should take the first opportunity to make the statement he had made. He thought the hon. Minister would see that the hon. member for Two Mountains had acted as he should have acted, by laying his case before the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he would be sorry to think that the House understood him to call in question the course the hon. gentleman had thought proper to pursue. He merely wished to point out that it would be more formal and regular if they first permitted the formal motion to pass, and then go on.

The motion was adopted.

The papers were then read in French, The reading in English being dispensed with.

Mr. SPEAKER—The Clerk informs me that in connection with a case of this kind, it is the custom of this House to enter the statement of the member on our Votes and Proceedings. I do not know that this is done

in the English Parliament; but I think that if it is to be so entered, it would be more in order if it came after the entry of the reading of the papers, than if it was inserted previous to them. Yesterday I called on the hon. member for Two Mountains to make a statement and withdraw, because the hon. mover in this matter chose while asking for the reading of the papers, to go somewhat into the merits of the case. To-day I thought that it was an entirely new proceeding; and proceeding more regularly, a motion was merely made that the papers should be read. As this did not of itself convey any charge, I did not feel that it was the time to call on the hon. member to make a statement and withdraw. He however volunteered to read a statement before the papers were produced; and, I think that with the consent of the House, I would instruct the Clerk to record the statement as having followed the reading of the papers, as it may form a precedent hereafter. Without this precaution some confusion might result.

May tells us:—The practice on learning the charge against him, after being read in his place, is for him to withdraw from the House. The precise time at which he ought to withdraw is determined by the nature of the charges; when founded on recorded petitions or other documents, or on words spoken, and taken down with sufficient explanation of the charge, it is easy to have them read, and for the member to withdraw before any question is proposed.

The papers have now been read, and if the hon. member were in his place, it would be quite in order for him now to make a statement and withdraw. If the House will consent, I will direct the record to be prepared in that way.

Mr. MASSON—Two years ago, Mr. Delorme, the member for Provencher, was assailed in the House, and it is recorded simply on the Journals that he made a statement.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Perhaps the matter may be left over for a short time, and then definitely settled.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell)—If the papers are entered on the Jour-

nals, I think that the statement should also be entered.

Mr. MASSON—I contend that the statement then should not be placed on the Journals verbatim; but only the part the hon. member may require.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It is to be observed that almost the whole of the statement, with the exception of one point—the denial of the truth of the accusation—may be said to be argumentative; probably the suggestion of my hon. friend the First Minister should be followed.

Mr. SPEAKER—I see it recorded that “the said Pierre Delorme having stated in his place, that the said charges were utterly unfounded and untrue.”

Mr. MASSON—These words were inserted, but not the statement he made.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Probably that was his whole statement.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—This was the substance of the statement.

Mr. SPEAKER—It occurred to me as a matter of justice to the hon. member whose character is impugned, this statement should appear.

Mr. TASCHEREAU wished to correct his hon. friend from Cardwell regarding certain points. On the back of the indictment were these entries—after the words true bill—arraigned 8th of March, 1865; trial fixed for the 30th March; trial had same day; verdict guilty, and recommended to mercy. The Court had simply granted the motion for a new trial, but the first conviction had not been actually quashed. Judge Mondelet had differed from all his colleagues in the Court of Appeals regarding the question. Judgment was given on the 8th June, 1865, and when the matter came up again in September 1866, the only thing that Justice Mondelet said was, that he had not changed his mind, and that, according to his opinion, he could not pass sentence on the first trial. Desforges denied that he had given the hon. member any authorization to sign his (Desforges) name.

It was strange also that the line of defence in the first case was this—that

the signature was genuine and no forgery. It was said the Crown prosecution was favorable to the prisoner, but his statement in Vol. 9, L. C. Jurist, page 86, was as follows:—

"The Court will probably consider that under the peculiar circumstances of the present case I am precluded from offering opposition to the motion of my learned friend. The first indictment was supported by direct and positive evidence, as, indeed, was the second, but there is this difference between the two cases, viz.: That in the first the evidence for the prosecution was not encountered by any testimony on the prisoner's behalf tending to explain or exculpate his conduct, and the conviction upon that indictment was, therefore, a matter of course; while upon the second trial, it was proved by evidence that was only discovered after the verdict in the first case, that authority to sign the name of the prosecutor existed to an extent to satisfy the jury of the prisoner's innocence. I feel, therefore, that he should have the opportunity accorded to him of adducing the same justification in the case now before the Court. It has been suggested to me that upon this motion being granted, I should file a *nolle prosequi*. I am not prepared to go that length however. I am bound to protect the rights of the prosecutor as well as those of the prisoner, and the prosecutor must have in the present case an opportunity of rebutting the prisoner's evidence if he can. I will take the prisoner's recognizance to appear on the first day of next term."

It had also been said that the ruling of the Court of Appeal was based on Lower Canadian law only, and not on English law. He found, however, on page 203 of the 10th volume of Lower Canada Jurist, page 223, the following opinion of Judge Meredith:—

"The first question submitted to us by the learned judge is, whether a second trial can be legally had in the present case, it being a case felony, and I think that this highly important question may at this day be answered in nearly the same words used by Chitty half a century ago, namely: 'In case of felony or treason it seems to me completely settled that no new trial can be granted.' There is, it is true, one case, *Queen vs. Scaife*, in which a new trial was granted in a case of felony. This much is plain, that whatever may be the rule with respect to cases moved by *certiorari* into the Queen's Bench, the rule with respect to cases tried in the ordinary course of law was, when the criminal law of England was extended to this country, and still is, that there cannot be a new trial in cases of treason and felony. Repeated attempts have been made in Parliament to change the law in this respect, and those attempts have invariably been resisted, not on the ground that the law was not as stated by those who sought to change—but on the contrary, on the ground the change proposed would not be an improvement. It is true that in Upper Canada the distinction between misdemeanors and crimes of greater magnitude has been done away with, in so far as respects the right to obtain a new trial; but this has been done by statute, and if legislation for that purpose was

necessary for Upper Canada, it is still more necessary here, for it is plain that if an application for a new trial were allowed, it ought to be made to the Court of Queen's Bench sitting in appeal, held by at least four judges, and not to the Court of Queen's Bench on the Crown side, usually held by one judge. And it is equally plain that under the existing law such an application could not be made to the Court of Appeals."

The notes which formed the basis of the two indictments were signed at two different dates and were for two different amounts. The evidence in the second trial was quite different from the testimony in the first. It did not appear in the second trial Desforges was a witness as to the question of authority, but he was in the first trial and gave evidence that he never authorized the prisoner to sign his name on a note of any kind. Having stated these facts he (Mr. Taschereau) moved that the case be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Mr. MOUSSEAU congratulated the Hon. Minister of Justice on the liberal spirit in which he approached this question. He desired to make a statement of the facts which had not yet been placed before the House. It was a fact very well known that the hon. member for Two Mountains and his brother-in-law had been in the habit for four or five years of endorsing one another's notes. About eighteen months previous to the conviction the hon. gentleman's brother-in-law authorized him to sign his name to notes for an amount not exceeding \$1,000. The former in civil suit denied a signature to a bill for \$500, and the hon. member for Two Mountains was of course arrested on the charge of forgery. He was tried and found guilty, and the news of the trial immediately spread over the whole country. One of the witnesses, who was present when the hon. gentleman's brother-in-law authorized him to use his name, then came forward. A new trial took place, and the hon. gentleman was triumphantly acquitted; the judge had not the slightest hesitation in declaring that he was entirely innocent of the charge brought against him. An application was at once made for a new trial. The application was granted, but the next term the same judge was not on the Bench. This gentleman raised objections to the

Mr. TASCHEREAU.

new trial, and at the same time took it upon himself to make up a case and submit it to the Court of Queen's Bench. The Court of Appeals had confirmed the opinion of Mr. Justice Aylwin. The weight of authorities in favor of new trials was very great indeed. In most parts of the United States, in connection with felonies, these were granted. There was considerable analogy between this and the French system, which gave recourse against judgments in certain cases. They possessed in this regard the *requete civile*, under which decisions delivered in the Civil Courts could be set aside, either on the ground that they had been based on false evidence or given in the absence of authoritative documents which had been concealed, or missing, or discovered after judgment; this practice was founded on the great principles of justice and equity. In this relation new trials should always be treated from a very liberal point of view. The prosecutor, at the time of the trial in question, although a Conservative, and though the accused had rendered great service to his party, had treated him most severely; no hesitation was shown, and the non-member had been speedily found guilty. This proved that the parties concerned in the case were high-minded men, who were not inclined to prevent justice being done. On the occasion of the second trial the same judge presided, the same Crown Counsel appeared, and the same advocates conducted the defence. He must make especial allusion to Judge Mondelet, who stood very high in the esteem of his fellow citizens; though some did not always approve of that gentleman's doctrines, his high sense of duty and his great impartiality were well and generally appreciated at the first trial. The Judge had charged very severely against the prisoner; but when the missing witness, a brother-in-law of Desforges, who was interested in obtaining a conviction in order to save himself the necessity of paying \$800, appeared and gave his testimony, His Honour instructed the jury to return a verdict of not guilty, being very strongly impressed with the innocence of the hon. member. The remarks of Judge Mondelet touching the case, when brought before

the Court of Appeals, were to be found in the Lower Canada Jurist, Vol. 10, and page 221; the judgment was delivered on the 9th of June, 1866. This was an extract:—

“MONDELET J.—At the March Term, 1866, of the Court of Queen's Bench, at which I presided, Daoust was tried on an indictment for forgery of an endorsement of a promissory note. From the evidence adduced at the trial, there seemed no doubt, and I charged the jury—as I never shrink from doing where my conviction is strong—to return a verdict of guilty, and the jury did so. The most important evidence was that of Desforges, who stated that he had never authorized the prisoner to sign his name. The prisoner was subsequently put upon his trial for forging the same name on another note, and this time the jury found a verdict in his favour, on evidence tending to show that the prisoner had been authorized by Desforges to sign his name. The prisoner stood between two fires—between a verdict of guilty and a verdict of not guilty. Towards the end of the term, Mr. Ouimet, the prisoner's counsel, moved for a new trial on the first indictment, in order that the witness Legault, who testified that Desforges had authorized the prisoner to sign his name, might be heard. Mr. Johnson, who then represented the Attorney General, said that under the circumstances he did not think proper to oppose the granting of a new trial. I, having presided at both trials, and being *au fait* with the circumstances of both, having no possible doubt that Daoust either believed himself authorized, or was really authorized to sign the name, considered it not only justice, but an imperative duty to grant a new trial. I wish to be clearly understood on this point. First—because an imperative sense of duty urged me to it; and secondly—because I believed the Court had the power to do it. In the following September Term, Mr. Justice Aylwin, who was then presiding, reserved the case for the consideration of the full Bench. It will be understood that my conviction must be very strong, when I still adhere to it; though I find four Judges, for whose abilities I entertain such profound respect, differing from me in opinion.”

He (Mr. Mousseau) had received a letter from a gentleman in Montreal who was present when the judgment was rendered, mentioning the following circumstance which did not appear on the record. When the judge decided that no new trial should be granted, Mr. Ouimet rose and said “What is my poor prisoner to do? You give no new trial and his innocence is perfectly proved.” Judge Drummond said “You need not trouble yourself, no Government in the world will do anything against your client.” The following Term the Crown prosecutor moved that sentence be rendered on the verdict.

Some astonishment had been expressed by hon. members opposite that

the hon. member had resigned in 1866. The reason was he found himself in a very awkward position, and on the advice of Sir George Cartier he resigned in order to test public opinion and ascertain whether he had the confidence of his constituents. He resigned and was opposed by a wealthy manufacturer who had an establishment at St. Scholastique, employing hundreds of men. He was rich, backed by strong friends, and spent money freely. Mr. Daoust was poor and his election expenses were only \$20, yet, after a very hot contest he was returned to Parliament. No popular verdict could set aside a legal decision, but taken in connection with the opinions of the Bench, it was a proof that in his own county, and among those who had known him from his childhood, there was perfect confidence in his innocence. He telegraphed to Montreal the previous day for a copy of the Judge's order, and he would beg leave to read the following report of the case which was published in the Montreal *Herald, Gazette* and *Minerve*:—

“*Court of Queen's Bench—September Term—*
“*Presiding—MR. JUSTICE MONDELET.*

“WEDNESDAY, 17th October, 1866.

“In the matter of J. B. Daoust, Esq., M.P. P., Mr. Ramsay, on part of the Crown moved for sentence.

“The motion was opposed by Mr. Ouimet. His Honour said that Mr. Justice Ailwyn had reserved the motion on the part of the Crown to proceed to a new trial in September of 1865, and that the Court of Appeals had decided that there could be no new trial in a felony, but this left intact so much of his judgment as set aside the verdict. Until that portion of his judgment was set aside there could be no sentence on the verdict; in other words there was no verdict. The Crown could therefore make nothing by the motion.

“Mr. Ramsay said that the whole of this matter had been begun and the new trial accorded before he had the honour to represent the Attorney General. He was desirous of asking His Honour whether he had been rightly informed that the Counsel representing the Crown had consented to the new trial. His object in asking was that it would manifestly be a breach of good faith on the part of the Crown to consent to a new trial, and afterwards to adopt the extreme proceeding of moving by writ of error to set aside a portion of the judgement to which the Crown Counsel had formerly consented.

“The Court said that Mr. Johnson for the Crown had consented at once.

“Mr. Ramsay then asked if the Court would consider him authorized in entering a *nolle prosequi* on the bill?

MR. MOUSSEAU.

“The Court declined to give any opinion.

“The Crown must take its own course.

“Mr. Ramsay only asked because he had nothing to do with the application for granting a new trial or the granting of it, and therefore he did not feel called upon to assume the responsibility of taking any step without the assent—not the consent, but the assent—of the Court.”

That state of things had been undisturbed since that time, and no proceeding had been attempted either in the Courts or in the House. The hon. gentleman had sat in the house several sessions since, and although there were many gentlemen in the House well qualified to judge, not only on questions of law, but on principles of parliamentary practice and upon constitutional points. No attempt was made by the old Parliamentarians to bring this matter up, and it seemed strange that these young members should now undertake to bring the question before the consideration of the House. The motion asked that these papers and the questions they involved should be submitted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and he was sorry he could not see the ultimate result of such reference. They were not dealing with a disgraced man or a fugitive from justice, but one who had been acquitted by one of the highest tribunals in the country. If the Committee were to report adversely to the hon. member for Two Mountains, the effect would be to upset the decision of the Court which had acquitted the hon. gentleman.

AFTER RECESS.

MR. MOUSSEAU resumed his speech. He said there was nothing before this House against the character and standing of Mr. Daoust. If there were any proceeding to be taken against him it must be taken before a legal tribunal. Suppose the matter should be referred to a Committee of this House, it would be casting a reflection on the character of the hon. gentleman. But it was said that unless this House took steps to remove the difficulty, the hon. member was liable to have proceedings taken against him at any time in the Courts of law. If there were any ground for such action being taken, however, no

decision of this House could interfere with the proceedings before the legal tribunals of Quebec. He (Mr. Mousseau) hoped that this matter would not be referred to the Committee, but that the Minister of Justice would move that the orders of the day be taken up. The hon. member for Two Mountains had been pronounced perfectly innocent by the Courts of Law and by his constituents: to refer his case to a Committee of this House would be to cast a doubt on those judgments.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) said the character of a member of this House was in question, and it was their duty to ascertain whether with the facts before them Mr. Daoust should continue to hold his seat. There were English precedents for the course to be pursued, in the cases of Smith O'Brien in 1849 and O'Donovan Rossa in 1870. From the papers before the House, it was apparent that the hon. member for Two Mountains had been indicted for forgery and found guilty, but there was no evidence to show that anything further had been done.

The hon. member for Bagot had stated that this was not a subject for the consideration of the Committee. He would agree with the hon. gentleman, if the House were satisfied, that the hon. member for Two Mountains had not been adjudged guilty of felony; but when there was doubt on this point he thought it advisable that the matter should be referred to a Committee. In 1870, in the case of O'Donovan Rossa, Mr. Gladstone, who led the House of Commons at the time, moved that this member elect was incapable of sitting in the House, inasmuch as he had been adjudged guilty of felony. It was proposed by a member of the Opposition that it should be referred to a Committee, and Mr. Gladstone stated that if he entertained any doubt in this connection he would have no objection to this step.

Mr. BABY—Had O'Donovan Rossa not been convicted and sentenced? Was he not under sentence?

Mr. MACDOUGALL replied that if the hon. gentleman would have patience he would make himself clear. He thought that circumstances existed in

connection with this case which made an enquiry into the facts by a Committee desirable, in order to ascertain the proper course to be pursued, and to report forthwith to the House. He only desired that justice should be done in the premises. He had heard it stated that the hon. member for Two Mountains had sat for a number of years in Parliament after his conviction, but he submitted that this would be no condonation of any offence which might have been committed. This would be no bar from a legal point of view to such proceedings as had been taken in the cases of O'Donovan Rossa and Smith O'Brien.

Reference had been made to Sir John Jarvis, who afterwards was an eminent Judge on the English Bench, in the discussion which took place on the motion with respect to the election of O'Donovan Rossa, as having expressed an opinion in this election; and in the case of Smith O'Brien, Earl Russell, who led the House of Commons at the time, used the word "convicted," and at the instance of the Attorney General of the day, he amended his motion by inserting the words—"adjudged guilty of felony." Sir John Jarvis in the course of his arguments, to which reference was made by Mr. Gladstone as well as by the Solicitor General of the Day, suggested that "adjudged guilty of felony" should be substituted for "convicted," and these words were incorporated in the motion by the Leader of the House of Commons.

The question was whether the case was one which would justify the very strong proceedings adopted in these cases. He had some doubt on the subject, and he thought the case should be referred to the Committee in order that the case might be enquired into. He desired that the gentleman against whom this charge was preferred should have fair play, and he was quite sure the Committee to whom the case was referred would do the hon. gentleman justice and inform the House as to the proper course to pursue.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) thought it was unfortunate that the friends of the hon. member for Two Mountains should evince so much solicitude on his behalf as to prompt them to put him before the House and the country in

so unenviable a light. The hon. gentleman had been acquitted of the charge by the highest Court of Criminal Jurisdiction in the Province of Quebec, but this was not sufficient for hon. gentlemen opposite. He was perfectly satisfied the hon. member for Two Mountains could not be expelled unless he had been guilty of conduct which rendered him unfit to be a member of this House. No one had an idea that he was guilty of such conduct, and the Committee could do nothing to settle the difficulty. The matter should end in the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he would be sorry that the decision arrived at by the House should be anything but unanimous. The suggestions made were alternatives, either to refer the matter to the Committee or to pass on to the Orders of the Day. He thought it would be most unfortunate to pursue the latter course. The case came before Parliament the second time. In 1866 Sir George E. Cartier, then Attorney General for Lower Canada, laid upon the table these papers. It indicated that, in the opinion of the Government and Parliament of that day, in the then existing state of things, the House should consider the matter in some way or other. It so happened that any action which might have been taken by the House was averted by the resignation of the hon. member for Two Mountains. Subsequently the proceedings referred to by the hon. member for Bagot, and which were not on record, were taken. Whether they were correct or not, it was only by virtue of them the House was called upon to determine if they had taken place before Mr. Daoust's resignation, whether he would have pursued that course. It was desirable the case should be investigated, not only in the interest of the hon. member for Two Mountains, but of Parliament. It would be better to postpone any decision for a few days, until this Committee had time to thoroughly investigate the matter.

If the House should, as he hoped it would, adopt unanimously this view, it would demonstrate that no step taken in the case was, in the slightest degree indicative of an adverse opinion regarding the situation of the hon.

Mr. WRIGHT.

member for Two Mountains. He thought that they should take no action which would have the effect of prejudging the case any way whatever. With such intentions he had communicated with hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House in order that they might agree on this mode of disposing of the matter. The motion was changed, requesting the Committee to examine into the legal aspects of the case—and very singular they were—so that they might know exactly how they stood in this connection. It did not propose to delegate to it either the duty of hearing witnesses, or expressing an opinion on the facts disclosed in these papers; and due regard would be paid to the position of the hon. member, inasmuch as he believed that the various statements with reference to the new trial were amongst the papers; also, that the Committee should be instructed, as was frequently the case with Committees of the Imperial House of Commons, to search for parliamentary precedents applicable to the case, being requested to report whether any existed, and if so, what further proceedings were required. He trusted that the report would be speedily made, and that they would then be able to dispose of the matter in a more satisfactory manner than at that moment, after the discussion of the afternoon, whether by dropping it or passing to the Orders of the Day, or taking other action without a vote on the motion.

Mr. PALMER—Do you propose to allow the Committee to obtain the subsequent proceedings?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—They are asked to report on the legal questions, and of course they will get the subsequent proceedings. It would be grossly unjust if they did not, preventing the completion of the entire record.

Mr. MASSON assented to the position taken by the Minister of Justice; at the same time he confessed he would have certainly preferred the adoption of another and more decided course, there being nothing before the House to justify adjudication regarding the position occupied by one of its members. After reflection, however, he thought

it better that they should look into precedents with an eye to the future.

Mr. SPEAKER observed with reference to the mole of report, that he found at least two cases in point—and there were probably some others—where statements made in explanation by hon. members whose conduct was impugned, were fully entered on the Journals of the House. One dated as far back as 1837, when the Hon. Mr. Bolton, member for the County of Norfolk, laid a formal charge against Mr. Watts, then a member of the House; and the statement of the latter in his defence was set forth at full length. The second took place in 1865, when the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald brought under the notice of the House the fact that one hon. member had, in an angry moment, struck a blow with his fist on the nose of another hon. member. The former made a long statement, explaining that the provocation consisted in his being, in fact, told that he lied; and such as it was, it was recorded at full length on the Journals. He found that this was not the practice in England, where neither the statement itself nor even its substance was given in any instance. He left it to the House to decide whether it would adhere to our own or follow the English practice.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN was of opinion that the statement should be entered on the Minutes, as the other papers were to be published.

Mr. SPEAKER—The resolution commences—"it appearing from the statement of Mr. Daoust"—and I think that under the circumstances it ought to be recorded.

Mr. LAURIER—It was understood that the hon. member should have the privilege of bringing down a statement.

Mr. MASSON—The statement of the facts will be inserted. /

The motion was carried.

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Blake, the Bill entitled an Act to provide for more effectual enquiry into the existence of corrupt practices at elections of members of the House of Commons, was read the third time and passed.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Mills in the Chair, to consider the Bill intituled, An Act to make more effectual provision for the administration of the law relating to corrupt practices at elections of members of the House of Commons.

The first three clauses of the Bill were adopted without amendment.

On the fourth clause,

Mr. SCATCHERD asked, in the trial of contested elections, if it was intended to pursue the enquiry on both sides, or on one side only? Hitherto the Courts had only investigated into the charge of corrupt practices against the sitting member, and no notice was taken of corrupt practices on the part of the petitioner. He thought there ought to be a full enquiry into the corrupt practices on both sides of the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he thought this difficulty had been provided for by the law of 1874.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER was of opinion that the case had been provided for in the Bill which had just been read the third time.

Mr. DYMOND considered that as the evidence in these cases would have to be obtained from persons more or less implicated in the corrupt practices being enquired into, that it would be necessary to extend the indemnity in order to indemnify any person from the penalties imposed by the Act who had fairly and honestly answered the questions that might be put to him.

Mr. BOWELL thought the first clause covered, the points referred to by the hon. member for Middlesex, and the hon. member for North York.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said that the point made by the hon. member for North York was one of great importance, and one to which he had given consideration. In England provisions for indemnifying witnesses at the trials of controverted elections were made.

Those provisions were gradually expanded as experience appeared to demonstrate the necessity of making them wider for the discovery of the whole truth about the matter. At length they were settled in the form in which they now appeared on the

Statute Book. The Government had embodied the substance of that indemnifying clause in the Bill which had just been read the third time. Under that clause a witness who was willing to tell the whole truth was indemnified against any proceedings that might be based on his evidence, the terrors of the law being reserved for those who did not disclose the truth, and about whom there might be any reasonable ground to suspect they should be put on trial.

Mr. SCATCERD said this was an important point. For instance a member's seat was contested and the Judge is called upon to decide whether the seat was gained by bribery. The defeated candidate is no party to the suit, and the sitting member is unseated for corrupt practices, having to pay all the costs. Now he (Mr. Scatcherd) contended the defeated candidate should always be a party to such petitions, and if bribery on his part should be proved, the costs should be divided.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said a provision to that effect was contained in the second sub-section of the eighth section of the Controverted Election Act of 1874, by which the sitting member was enabled to file a cross petition against the defeated candidate who petitions.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said in one county (Dorchester) the defeated candidate was disqualified under this very provision.

The clause and the remaining sections of the Bill were passed. The Committee rose, reported progress and asked leave to sit again.

The House went into Committee to consider the following resolution:—

“That it is expedient to provide that the travelling expenses of the Judge and all expenses incurred by the Sheriff or other officer in consequence of any sitting for the trial, and for providing a Court room and any accessories under the Bill (No. 13) intituled: ‘An Act to make more effectual provision for the administration of the Law relating to corrupt practices at elections of members of the House of Commons,’ shall be defrayed out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purpose.”

The Committee rose and reported the resolution, which was referred to

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

the Committee of the Whole on the Bill No. 13.

SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

Regarding item 6, providing for a sum not to exceed \$30,140 to defray salaries in the Department of the Secretary of State,

Mr. BOWELL remarked, that this showed an increase similar to what he had noticed on the previous evening.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that this was caused by the promotion of certain second-class to first-class clerks. A gentleman who had been hitherto charged with the superintendence of the stationery, and who had effected a saving in the Department, had been promoted, as he understood, in accordance with an arrangement of long standing. This was the only increase with the exception of the ordinary advances of \$50 a year.

The item was passed.

Item 7, providing \$39,681 to defray salaries in the Department of the Minister of the Interior, and item No. 8, providing for the payment of \$20,720 in the Department of the Receiver General, were passed without discussion.

On item No. 9, providing for \$18,250 for the payment of salaries in the Department of Finance.

Mr. BOWELL remarked that the amount showed an increase.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that he believed this was due merely to the statutory increases.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER hoped that the appropriation would be sufficient to secure the correct publication in the *Official Gazette* of the receipts and expenditure. He had felt that it was disgraceful to the Financial Department of the Government that statements should be published which, at the expiration of several months, should be found to be totally fallacious. We had a great deal of discussion as to the derangement of our trade within the past few months, and the hon. gentleman knew that every merchant formed his opinion from the statement of revenue and expenditure, which was one of the objects

of the publication of the *Gazette*. The hon. gentleman had never condescended to explain to the House why the returns for March last had never been published; and he thought that the Committee should be informed why they were suppressed—why they never could be obtained, and to what was due the great inaccuracies found in them. He trusted that the recurrence of these would be prevented. If this had happened only for the first time it would not be so open for censure, but this was far from being the case.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT stated that the most important error in the returns occurred last September, a few days before he sailed for England. On coming back in December his attention had been called to it, and he had immediately caused a statement for the six months to be published in the *Official Gazette*. On enquiry in the Department he found that a clerical error had been made by one of the inferior clerks after they had left the Auditor's hands. This clerk was reprimanded, and no doubt the hon. gentleman did not wish a further punishment to be inflicted, though the mistake was unquestionably not creditable.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He has, however, inflicted a great deal of punishment on other people.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT continued, that with regard to the future he would take care that more accurate returns would be prepared. He had issued the most stringent orders, requiring that the returns now published should correspond much more nearly than they had hitherto done, with what were known as the days' statements, which came more closely than the others under the supervision of the Ministers; he thought that these precautions would be sufficient to effect the purpose. With respect to the March statement, the Auditor General had explained to him, when his attention was called to the matter, that there were some extraordinary errors in the various reports made to him, and this had been the cause of the delay.

The item was passed.

With regard to item No. 10, providing for \$27,500 in connection with the Department of Customs,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER invited the Minister of Customs to explain why the Civil Service Act had been violated—, as he had understood was the case in the Customs' Department—by the appointment of officers over the heads of competent officials—who had served for considerable terms—with increases of salary. Not only so, but very large bonuses had been added to these salaries out of all proportion with those given to officers of long periods of service.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE replied that the officer to whom he supposed allusion had been made, had been a very efficient accountant for many years, and was quite as efficient as any of those who were employed in the Department. His qualifications in fact entitled him to a position higher than the one he occupied. Some nineteen-twentieths of the employés had received the usual \$50 advance per annum; and \$100 each had been given to three junior French clerks, who only got \$450 a year each; and this was very small for men, who had been in the service for four or five years.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER answered that he had not referred to the gentleman to whom the hon. gentleman made allusion.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—The officer referred to has been in the service for four or five years; he has been a very efficient accountant for many years, and he is really entitled to the position.

On item No. 11, providing for \$24,982 for the Department of Inland Revenue.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if the Inland Revenue Department was utilized in the carrying out of the provisions of the Weights and Measures Bill?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that circumstances might arise which would offer serious obstacles to the employment of Inland Revenue Officers, but still wherever they could use these officers they did so.

The item was then passed.

On item No. 12, for \$218,934, for the Department of Public Works.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he saw there was an increase in the number of officers in the Department.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE in response said there was now a vacancy in the Department which they did not propose to fill up, as they thought they could do without that officer.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated that there was also an increase in the number of first-class clerks, and he wished to know if that measure was in accordance with the theoretical organization of the Department?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not know what the hon. gentleman meant by theoretical organization.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that some years ago a Committee had prepared a paper for the regulation of the appointments in the Department. This was what he referred to as the theoretical organization.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had not seen the paper, and he presumed he had acted independently of it. He had endeavoured to make the Department as efficient as possible with as few men as possible, and in the conduct of that department he would endeavour to promote men who were entitled to it on account of their real value, and not give preference to certain men simply because they had been a certain number of years in office.

The item was carried.

On item No. 13, \$84,990 for the Post Office Department,

Mr. BOWELL said that though this was a decrease from last year that it was an increase over 1873-4 of \$18,000. He desired to know what was the reason of that.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that the reason of that was that a considerable number of extra hands who had been paid out of the contingencies of that Department were made permanent officers. It was more properly a transfer from the contingencies to the regular expenditure of the Department.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—How many extra clerks are there in the Department?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think there are not more than seven or

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eight extra clerks, but there may be more. The number, however, varies according to the amount of work that has to be done in the dead-letter office.

Mr. BOWELL—Can the hon. gentleman inform us whether the system of advertising the letters, formerly practiced, was more expensive than the present system?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I will obtain that information for the hon. gentleman. I am very sorry that the Postmaster General is too unwell to be present and answer these enquiries.

The item was passed.

Item, \$23,240 for Department of Agriculture passed.

On item, \$23,815, Mr. Cartwright explained that the increase of \$1,605 was in consequence of the engagement of an additional clerk and some minor expenses.

The item passed.

On the item, Departmental Contingencies, \$175,000,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said this item should be reduced to what it was in 1873. It was an item that would bear to be pruned down.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said if the Public Accounts of 1872-3 were examined it would be found that that item in the estimates had always to be supplemented by another vote.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said telegraphing alone was \$59,000 last year, while the last year of the late Administration the account for telegraphing was only \$26,000.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the increase was in consequence of the number of public works being carried on at a great distance from the capital, and also the addition of Prince Edward Island to the Confederation. Some of the telegraphic expenses might, no doubt, be curtailed. There had also been a great deal of telegraphing across the Atlantic.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said that last financial year, 1874-5, there was a large increase in telegraphic expenses in consequence of the change in the tariff.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said this was the account where "mucilage" and

such like things came in; subscriptions for papers, books, &c.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he would give the hon. gentleman something if he could devise any possible means to keep the newspapers out of the offices. As for the books, he had stopped them by the simple expediency of excluding the book pedlars out of the buildings. As for the telegraphic expenses, a large number of cypher messages had been sent between Ottawa and Washington and British Columbia last year.

The item passed.

The item, \$20,000, for the stationery office, passed.

On item, \$35,000, for re-adjustment of salaries (including promotions),

Mr. MASSON asked if the Premier was understood to say that he would regulate the promotions of his office himself? The hon. gentleman would have to remember, powerful as he was, there was a Civil Service Act by which promotions were regulated.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman always kept within the law; but if he wished for a comparison of the way promotions were arranged by his predecessors, and by himself, he was willing to do it.

Mr. MASSON said the hon. gentleman was not justified in using the *tu quoque* style of argument.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had kept within the Act.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said when this vote was first introduced it was his impression it was only going to be a temporary arrangement. He thought it was time this bonus system should be done away with.

The item passed.

Items under the heading of "Charges of Management," \$63,100, passed.

Item, \$10,000, ("Miscellaneous"), under the heading of "Administration of Justice," was passed.

On item, \$10,000, "Miscellaneous North-West Territories," a new vote,

In reply to the Hon. Mr. Tupper,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said, owing to the increase of settlement in the Territories, there had been violence, and offenders had to be brought to justice. There were also expenses connected

with the McIvor murder, and the Government thought it better to provide this amount to meet such contingencies.

On the items under the head of "Administration of Justice," \$54,400,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK suggested that care should be exercised not to appoint too many officers to the Supreme Court.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he had proposed as few appointments as possible, and only on the application of the Judges. He would appoint no officers until he was satisfied they were required. The amount of \$10,000 for contingences was merely conjectural.

The items were passed.

The item, \$15,000, for police was passed without discussion.

On the item under the head "Penitentiaries," \$306,175.69,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the increase of \$5,151.87 for Kingston Penitentiary was due to the fact that a large number of convicts had been sent there from St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE in reply to a question, said plans were being prepared for the providing of additional accommodation for convicts in Nova Scotia. No site had yet been purchased nor had the Government exactly fixed upon any place. They were in communication with parties as to the value of land, &c., and he hoped to be able to give further information on the subject before the close of the Session.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if it was true the Government had superannuated the Warden of St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary and appointed to the position a gentleman who had recently been of service to the party to which the hon. gentlemen opposite belonged?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was quite true the late Warden had been superannuated upon his (Mr. Blake's) recommendation, after a careful investigation of the affairs of the Penitentiary, and on the application of the gentleman himself. It was also true that another person had been appointed to the office, but he was not aware whether it was in consequence of the claim to which the hon. gentleman referred.

Dr. Duchesneau had the highest testimonials as to his capacity, and the energy and fidelity with which he had discharged his duties justified the choice.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) hoped the labour of the convicts would be utilized in such a manner as not to interfere with out side industries. He knew two or three establishments that were interfered with considerably by the prison labour of the United States, and particularly of Michigan.

Mr. MASSON asked if any investigation had been made into the charges against the late Warden of St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE replied that there was no charge against him. He had applied for superannuation, and after an investigation into the management of the Penitentiary it was thought best to grant it.

Mr. MASSON said he was glad to hear this because it had been asserted that the late Warden had been discharged after an investigation into the management of the Penitentiary. He was glad to hear that there was no foundation for such assertions.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he had no desire to say an unkind word of the late Warden. He had merely remarked there was no accusation against him, but the result of the inspection was not satisfactory.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said if the Government found that anyone occupying such a position neglected his duties he should be dismissed without superannuation. None but deserving officers should be superannuated.

The Warden of the Halifax Penitentiary had been superannuated, and the statement of the Minister of Justice led him to suppose that it was the intention of the Government to get rid of this official in order that another might be put in his place. It so happened that a defeated candidate had been given a very valuable post at the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, and also very conveniently for the Local Government of Nova Scotia that it had to provide for one of the local members, succeeding a gentleman who the Inspectors reported was one of the most

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efficient and able officers in the public service. Not only so, but the salary had been largely increased simultaneously in favour of the new officer, a friend of the Administration. This was an abuse of the power of the Government and of the Superannuation Fund System, and one of the things which shook the confidence of the people in the belief that this fund was provided for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the public service, the only ground upon which a change could ever take place.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE stated that he was not very familiar with the circumstances connected with the case of the Warden of the Halifax Penitentiary, because the arrangement in question had been effected, he believed, before he entered the Administration. If he was rightly informed, however, this officer had not been for a long time in the public service, entering it somewhere about the age of sixty-eight, on the appointment of the hon. gentleman opposite, while his age was now about seventy-two.

As to the Wardenship of the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary and the Deputy-Wardenship, he might say that one of these officers had been superannuated, and the services of the other gentleman dispensed with. The ex-Warden's state of health had rendered his continuance in that position impossible; he had applied for superannuation nine months ago, and to his ill health he (Mr. Blake) in part attributed the disorganization of that institution. This gentleman was no friend of his; and according to the strict rule his hon. friend had advocated, it would have probably been advisable, under the circumstances of the case, to dispense with any remuneration at all in this particular.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does the hon. gentleman speak of Dr. Tassé?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—No! I alluded to Jean Baptiste Daoust, at present the member for Two Mountains, who received a gratuity of one month's pay for each year of services. This was likely a sort of justice I would not administer to a political friend, but I did it for a political opponent.

Mr. MASSON—I am glad to hear the real explanation at last. The state of things in question proves to have been due to the ill health of Dr. Tassé.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I said principally, Sir. The state of disorganization which had existed before was aggravated by that gentleman's illness; but I desired to look as leniently as possible on his conduct. I did not wish to speak of these matters, but they have been dragged out of me by the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—My statement with regard to the change in the Halifax Penitentiary is that when the Government asked the inspectors, the responsible officers, on whom they were bound to depend for a report, with the view of getting a place for one of their friends; they had to report that he was one of the most able and efficient officers of the Public Service.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I know of no such thing.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I undertake from my place in this House to state—and I do it advisedly—that this was the answer which the Minister of Justice got from the Inspector of Penitentiaries; and I say that we have received no answer in this relation.

Mr. MILLS—Was that officer sixty-eight years old when appointed?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I only know that he was as rigorous, able and efficient an officer as could be found in the service of this country. I do not know or care for his age; this report of the Inspectors was very damaging with regard to the intentions of the Government.

Mr. MILLS—It was very damaging to them.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No doubt of that; I have no doubt that it led to their dismissal, for the Government required a report in accordance with their wishes. This, moreover, relates to an abuse of the Superannuation Act.

That is one particular charge; but I declare further that the Government which created an undue drain on the revenue by dispensing with the services of a valuable and efficient officer,

deliberately came to Parliament and had the salary increased, and why? To bestow it upon a new man, one of their friends; and there is no answer given to this accusation.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that the circumstances of this case were somewhat peculiar. The Superannuation Act provided that persons 65 years of age should *ipso facto* be superannuated. This gentleman, who was then above that age, was some five or six months after the passage of the Order in Council appointed to this office.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He was in the public service when he was appointed.

Mr. BLAKE—In what Department?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He filled an office on the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said they all knew that there were exceptional cases in which officers had rendered service to their country after the age of 65, but they were of comparatively little use after that. He did not know anything about this gentleman, but he must then be over 70 years of age, and could not in the course of nature be expected to be fit for the dangerous duties imposed upon the Warden of a Penitentiary.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he desired that the Government would bring down a statement of the officers appointed under the Weights and Measures Act, together with the ages of the officers.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Said he was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman state that he had no doubt that the two inspectors were dismissed on account of the report they made. The hon. gentleman knew very well that these men were removed from office because the offices were abolished and a saving to the public secured. The gentleman who was retained had distinguished himself as an active opponent of the Government, but was in every respect a capable and worthy man.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE pointed out that the hon. gentleman's Government introduced the principle of arranging these salaries, and that a salary of \$1,400, the amount paid to other Wardens of Penitentiaries, was not too large for that responsible and

somewhat dangerous office. One of the necessary qualifications of the occupant of such a position, in addition to the wisdom which age gave, was the vigour which age too frequently took away.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that perhaps hon. gentlemen would remember that in the Session of 1874 he announced the intention of the Government to dispense with two of these inspectors, at the same time declining to do it at that particular time because they wished to make sure that they were doing right. They took time to consider the matter, and had only done that which they had contemplated from their accession to office, and by means of which a considerable saving would be effected.

The motion was adopted.

On item No. 37, for \$17,640 for the Manitoba Penitentiary,

Mr. SCHULTZ desired to enquire when it was likely that the Manitoba Penitentiary would be in a condition for occupation.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—In July or August next.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that he was glad to learn that this was the case, because the present arrangement was a very expensive one to the Government. A building had been rented at a large rental. Most of the prison labour had been devoted to its improvement, and while its value had been doubled in consequence, still the owner continued to exact the large rental, and the sooner this expense was cut off the better.

This item, together with items No. 38 and No. 39, was passed.

On item No. 40, \$60,850 for salaries and contingent expenses.

Mr. SPEAKER stated that the whole expenditure of the House of Commons was rather calculated to create an erroneous impression. There had been a slight increase of expenditure in this Department of public service, but it was one for which the officers of the House were in no way responsible. It would be within the recollection of the House that the Commissioners of Internal Economy were instructed to make a revision

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of the salaries with a view to their re-adjustment. This had been done, and many of the salaries had been increased in a manner proportionate to the services rendered, and the length of the services of the employé. The death of the chief clerk of the Private Bills office had created a vacancy which had not been filled up, and an annual saving of \$850 had been made. The expenses of Committees, extra sessional clerks, &c., had been reduced from \$14,400 to \$13,000, and he had recommended the Leader of the House to endeavor to keep down the expenditure of the Committees as far as possible, and he thought it would be kept down within the estimates. The publishing of the Debates in French swelled the amount of that appropriation. It had been put down at \$15,000 this year. The House, however, had nothing to do with this expenditure, which was managed by the Committee on the Debates. There would have been a considerable reduction in the expenditure on behalf of this part of the public service had it not been for the increased expenditure necessary in the publishing of the Debates.

The following items were passed without debate:—

Expenses of Committees, extra Sessional Clerks, \$13,000.

Contingencies, \$20,140.

Publishing Debates, \$15,000.

Salaries and Contingencies—per Sergeant-at-Arms estimate—\$35,450.

On item of \$12,000, grant to Parliamentary Library, including provision for law books,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the grant last year was insufficient to procure what was considered necessary for the purchase of law books. He had directed the Librarian to consult with parties at Osgoode Hall and Montreal, with regard to the text books that were to be obtained, and after getting their opinion they found that the sum required was more than was anticipated.

Mr. BERTRAM called attention to the disgraceful manner in which many of the books in the library had been mutilated, and suggested that some measure should be adopted to prevent it in future.

Mr. SPEAKER said this had been a serious complaint for some year past, but it had been impossible so far to prevent it. The Librarian was an exceedingly careful officer, but there were 300 gentlemen who were privileged to go to the library and take whatever books they pleased out of it. Besides this, the Speakers of both Houses were allowed to grant privileges to a large number of persons of this city on recommendation of members of Parliament, to have access to the library. It was impossible when so many persons were allowed to have the books, to prevent vandalism. Some of the valuable and rare books were not allowed out at all, and many were kept under lock and key. If any hon. gentleman could suggest any means of preventing the books from being defaced he would be very glad to adopt it.

Mr. YOUNG said the matter had been before the Library Committee. One reason of the abuse was that the number of assistants was too small to take care of the library, and in consequence of the Statute, they could not increase them. The new library was expected to be completed next year, and there would be a railing in front of the shelves, so that the public could not have access to any of them without asking an assistant.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the library was practically a free circulating library to the people of this city, and the Committee had devoted themselves to seeing how far this system could be curtailed. He looked into the library himself the other day, and he found on the register the name of one private person down for twenty volumes. It could hardly be expected that the whole Dominion should have to contribute to keep up a free library for the people of this city.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE thought it was only reasonable that the library should be at the disposal of the members of Parliament and the public, but it was intended that that privilege should not be abused or that it should be turned into a free-circulating library.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he would be very sorry to see the people refused

the use of the library within proper limits.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said valuable books were taken out of the library and scattered about the city, and it was not the intention of the country in subscribing \$10,000 a year for this library to provide a circulating library for Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought it would be unwise to deprive the members of the Civil Service of the use of the library, as every means should be afforded them to improve their minds by reading instead of spending their leisure hours in a less profitable manner. One means to prevent the books from being abused would be to make it the duty of one person to note the condition in which each book left the library and returned; and when people found there was such a check it would make them more careful not to mutilate the volumes.

Mr. MASSON said the Premier had made the statement that one private person had 20 volumes out of the library at one time. This showed there was some lack of administration in the Department, as members of Parliament could have only three volumes out at one time. The people of Ottawa should not be allowed greater privileges than the members of this House.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON stated that as long as the general public, including school boys, were allowed to have access to the books, they could not prevent their defacement. He believed that there were too many novels in the library; the perusal of these works demoralized the young people, rendering them unfitted for the study of scientific and historical works.

Mr. YOUNG announced that there would be another meeting of the Joint Committee, when he would bring the subject before it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE remarked that they could not well have a more efficient Librarian, but it was very difficult to arrange and keep proper supervision over such a place, with an ordinary staff.

On the item, \$70,000, for printing, printing paper and binding.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that the increase of \$20,000 over the vote of last year was in consequence of the representations made by the officials that they found it impossible to get through their work properly without incurring additional expense.

Mr. YOUNG was sorry to see this item increasing so fast. Many years ago the printing service of old Canada got to be a great abuse, \$150,000 being expended in one year. The Printing Committee reduced it to \$27,000, and until lately the estimates were not unreasonably so. A great deal of useless matter was printed which might be dispensed with.

After some further discussion the item was passed.

The remaining items under the head "Legislation" were also passed, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

The House adjourned at Thirty minutes past Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 17, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

THE INSOLVENCY ACT.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill to amend the Insolvency Act of 1875. He said he had adopted several suggestions which had been made to him, but in all cases where an amendment was not obviously necessary, it was thought best to give the existing provisions of the Act further trial. In the Bill before the House provision was made for the publication of notices, not only in the *Official Gazette*, but also in local papers. This was done to give the smaller creditors who did not take the *Official Gazette* proper notice. It would not increase the cost of advertising, because instead of publishing it twice in the *Official Gazette*, one notice would be given in it and the other in the local paper where the insolvent estate was. Another amendment provided for the examination of certain witnesses under oath. Then, with reference to securities, it was proposed that all given under the 28th

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and 29th sections of the Act of last Session shall be deposited with the Judge in the case, to be kept as a record of the Court. It was also proposed that creditors might have inspection of security and apply, on notice to the Judge, for an order that new or additional security be furnished. The provision with respect to costs would be a sufficient safeguard against unnecessary applications. His attention had been called to the insufficiency of remuneration in the winding up of small estates. He proposed to give 7½ instead of 5 per cent. on estates of \$1,000. With regard to judgments, he could not accede to the request to make an exception in the case of Nova Scotia, but had decided to put all the Provinces on the same footing. His amendment was as follows:—"By the recovery of any judgment or recording of it, or by any other proceeding on the judgment," so that neither in Nova Scotia or anywhere else could any efficiency be given to a judgment unless these proceedings, which give it efficiency under the Statute have been taken.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness)—Will that have a retroactive effect?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it would affect judgments only as to future insolvencies. Another provision was for the collection of insolvency statistics, which made it the duty of the official assignees to furnish certain statistics to the Government for publication annually.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) requested attention to three or four matters which, in the practical operation of the Bill, had not been found to work in the manner in which he thought they had been intended to apply. Clauses in the present Act with reference to the sale of insolvent estates, absolutely conflict with each other. One provision stated that an advertisement being given in the *Gazette*, the sale of the estate might take place *en bloc*, with the assent of the majority of the creditors, but at the same time two other clauses existed, one having reference to real estate and the other to other estate, which—while apparently the first clause gave absolute power in this respect—ordered

that advertisements should be made for two months before it could be sold. Different opinions had been held by different local Judges and lawyers as to the powers thus conferred, and there was really ground for the greatest possible doubt being entertained in this relation. The matter was of sufficient importance, in his opinion, to merit consideration in this Bill. There was another point of great importance—with regard to the position held by banks concerning insolvency claims. This occasioned great difficulty and should be put on a clear and more definite footing. Attention should also be given to minor details in this connection; but the other matters he had mentioned were really of great magnitude.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Does the hon. gentleman wish banks to have exceptional rights?

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—Not in the least; but the way in which their claims should be treated should be clearly defined in the Act.

Mr. PALMER remarked that a great contest had taken place in the Courts of Nova Scotia, which had been only a short time settled, as to whether the right of lien could be enforced in any other way than by execution. The Courts decided that this existed without any reference to the execution at all, and that it could be otherwise enforced; the result was that recorded judgments had been used as securities. He was rather surprised to learn that the Minister of Justice proposed to sweep this right away without reference to future insolvencies. In the Act of 1867, whatever lien and claims were previously granted by law, were preserved. He could not see why this Act should not permit the same liberty.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—That is not the form of the Act now on the Statute Book.

Mr. PALMER—It is so provided in the Act of 1869.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE replied that he had endeavoured to deal in this measure with suggestions submitted to him. The hon. member for Cardwell had not, however, explained how he would solve the difficulties he had mentioned.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON proposed to add intersections; he thought these defects could be cured without much difficulty.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I will endeavour to adopt the hon. gentleman's suggestions, if the remedy is quite apparent.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—I will send them to you.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE considered that we should have a uniform system in this connection throughout the country. However, a provision could be inserted preserving the rights of parties who held liens, who could realize if they so chose. He was quite willing, so far as it was possible, to protect vested interests.

Mr. MACDONNELL questioned the power of the Dominion to deal with the control of property in the Provinces. It was true the Act of Confederation gave power to the Dominion Parliament to legislate in matters of insolvency and bankruptcy, but he did not think that would enable the Legislature to interfere with the rights and titles of property in the several Provinces.

The Bill was read the first time.

DISTRESSED SETTLERS IN MANITOBA.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT submitted the following message from His Excellency:—

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons the accompanying estimate of the sum required to be appropriated to the relief of distressed settlers in the Province of Manitoba, and recommends the same to the House of Commons.

Estimate of the sum to be appropriated for the relief of distressed settlers in Manitoba, \$25,000.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the House had already been informed that the Government felt themselves compelled to assume the responsibility of having a special warrant made out for \$60,000 for the relief of the settlers in Manitoba, and the providing of seed corn for the coming spring. It was the impression of the Local Government at the time and of the Hon. Lieutenant-Governor that this sum would suffice. Recent investigations, however, had

proved that this was not the case, and he proposed to read a letter from the Lieut.-Governor on this subject. They deemed it proper, Parliament being in Session, that instead of acting on their own responsibility they should bring down a message in the usual way and ask the House to sanction the additional vote proposed. When they went into Committee of Supply they would ask the House to assent to this vote.

The Lieut.-Governor's letter was as follows :

" OTTAWA, 16th March, 1876.

" The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, First
" Minister of Canada.

" SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that before leaving Manitoba I ascertained that the distress existing among the people of the Province, owing to the destruction of the crops by the grasshoppers was very severe

" At my request the Central Relief Committee deputed two of their members, the Hon. James McKay, and J. W. Nixon, Esq., to visit the western section of the Province and make a personal investigation into the circumstances of the settlers there, who are largely composed of recent immigrants from the Province of Ontario. I understand that the report of these gentlemen fully confirms the representations I had received from the people themselves as to their distressing circumstances. When the original application for the loan of \$60,000 to the sufferers was made to you by my Council, it was so made after enquiries instituted by them by letter and by personal investigation; and had not the early closing of the Red River intercepted the arrival of the supplies of provisions and seed-grain, which it would have procured, and thereby necessitated a large outlay for winter transport, that amount would probably have proved sufficient to alleviate the distress. Under present circumstances, however, with the knowledge I possess of the extent of the desolation, from which so many of our people in all sections of the Province are suffering so painfully, I am under the necessity of appealing to the Privy Council and requesting that an additional sum of \$25,000 may be granted, to be applied to the purchase of seed-grain and provisions, as has already been asked for through me by the Central Relief Committee. I regard the prompt granting of the request as a matter of the gravest urgency, and would respectfully press it upon you.

" I have the honour to be,

" Your obedient servant,

" ALEXANDER MORRIS,
" Lieut.-Gov. of Manitoba."

Since the Lieutenant-Governor had left there he (Mr. Mackenzie) had received a telegram on the subject from the permanent relief committee, and an urgent

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

telegram from Archbishop Taché, confirming still more strongly, if possible, the absolute necessity of something further being done to prevent very great suffering. It would appear that a very considerable number of the population declined in the first place to make known their real position, hoping they might be able to sustain themselves through the winter. That hope, however, proved delusive. The circumstances connected with many of that class had just become known, and it became the duty of the Government, in their estimation, to ask for an additional sum, and they took this method of doing it. He asked that the House would give unanimous consent to the course the Government proposed to take.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER assured the Government that their action in this regard would receive the cordial support of the whole House. They were all deeply interested in the question, and most anxious to throw a large population into that Province. Nothing would be more fatal to that effort than the allowing of that unexpected calamity to go by unrelieved.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved that His Excellency's message, together with the accompanying estimates, be referred to the Committee of Supply. The motion was carried.

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

On motion of Hon. Mr. BLAKE, the House then went into Committee on the Bill to make more effectual provision for the administration of the law relating to corrupt practices at Elections of Members of the House of Commons—Mr. Forbes in the chair.

On clause No. 6,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said that, with regard to the fixing of the minimum time of service, he did not think any injustice would result from the clause as it stood.

The clause was passed with verbal amendments.

In regard to clause No. 10,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE stated that it had been suggested as a matter of convenience to give a name to the Court in view of the affidavits and other

papers being filed in it. He proposed in compliance with the suggestion to insert the words after "Court of Record," "In the name of the Court for the summary trial of corrupt practices at elections."

The remaining clauses of the Bill were adopted without discussion.

The Committee rose and reported the amendments, which were concurred in.

The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

THE MANITOBA SUBSIDY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the second reading of the Bill to provide for the payment of a grant to the Province of Manitoba. He said that in moving this motion he did not require to say much concerning the Bill, as the papers brought down by message gave a full explanation of the position of the Province, financially, at the present time. The proposal that was made was, in brief, to add to the amount of money which they received annually the sum of \$26,746.96, in order that it might reach the sum of \$90,000. The Province had abolished the Upper House, and thereby effected very considerable saving. At the present time they were actually without funds for the purpose of printing the Sessional work just collected. He hoped the House would not object to the proposal of the Government.

Mr. RYAN said the amount proposed to be added to the Manitoba subsidy, although an inconsiderable item in the finances of the Dominion, would be a considerable one in those of the Province. He was quite sure when the news reached Manitoba it would create general and profound satisfaction. He wanted at the same time to say that while they thought the Government had made a move in the right direction they were of opinion the Government had not gone quite as far as the circumstances would justify. It was thought that in place of an increase to \$90,000, it should have been increased to \$100,000. Manitoba was the child of this Dominion, and this relationship imposed duties on both parties.

While the Province was bound to exercise a reasonable degree of economy in the administration of its finances,

it was clear that the Dominion was bound, since Manitoba had no other resources, to allow subsidy adequate to pay for the working of the machinery of the Provincial Government. They had no other resources worth mentioning than the Dominion subsidy. In other Provinces the public lands were held by the Local Government, but in Manitoba they were the property of the Dominion. Direct taxation was at present impracticable, because the class of settlers in new countries was generally poor, and for the first few years after their settlement had heavy expenses to meet. They were also subjected to heavy expense by the extravagant rates which the Kitson line charged for freight. An attempt had been made to break up this monopoly, but it failed. During the past two years the Province had been devastated by locusts, and although there was good reason to believe it would be many years before they would again be visited by this plague, the settlers would not be in a position to bear direct taxation.

When Manitoba applied for an increase of subsidy, they at the same time submitted a statement showing the expenditure of the Province to be about \$106,700. Since that time the Legislative Council had been abolished, but it would still be necessary to increase the Dominion subsidy to \$100,000 to enable Manitoba to pay its way. He would move that it be increased to that amount if he thought the Government would give it their support. Since the Federal Parliament had assumed the responsibility of calling the Province into existence, they should give them the means to meet its necessary expenditures. If the Minister of Justice or any member of the Government could suggest a source of revenue from which to collect money or any way by which the expenses of Government could be reduced, such advice would receive the serious consideration of the people of Manitoba; and if it could not convince them, it would at least strengthen the hands of those in the Province who were fighting for economy and good government.

When Manitoba became a part of this Confederation, 1,400,000 acres of land were reserved for the children of

half-breeds, in order to extinguish the Indian title; but although six years had passed since, no part of the reservation had been broken up, and many half-breeds had sold their rights to these lands for the merest trifles. This delay in breaking up the reserves was also a grievance to the settlers, who had been obliged to settle at great distances from the capital. It was also a source of expense to the Province, because of the increased cost of constructing roads and bridges to reach such distant points. There was also delay in issuing patents for lands. Although three years had passed since the Commission on this question was appointed, not more than 5 per cent. of the patents had been issued.

The hon. gentleman knew the evil effect of land disputes in creating bitterness and heart burnings; and these were rankling in the bosoms of the people in every part of the Province, embittering social intercourse, paralysing local industry, and to a certain extent preventing the investment of foreign capital. These matters had been subjected to such delay that if he felt he did not direct attention to them he would be wanting in his duty.

Mr. MASSON did not oppose the second reading, but rose to show that the action of the late Government in granting a subsidy of \$65,000, which was denounced at the time as reckless, was fully indicated and justified by the recommendations of the Administration which could better appreciate the responsibilities of office. In Quebec, especially those who there had taken a great interest in the addition to the Confederation of the Western Provinces had been severely condemned as having been too liberal in their conditions.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that he had no recollection of ever having objected to the financial arrangements of the late Government with the Province of Manitoba; and he was all but certain that he never did so object. The affirmation made was something like the statement that the hon. gentleman had been offered a seat in the Cabinet.

Mr. MASSON replied that he had alluded to the hon. gentleman's friends in Lower Canada as having voted

against the terms then in question. As to the other matter, he thought that it would have been in far better taste if the hon. gentleman had said what he now did when the hon. member who first brought it up was present in the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not say it, because I did not know that he said anything of the kind.

Mr. MASSON—At least six days have passed since it was said and the hon. member should not have waited until this moment when the hon. member for Bagot was not in his seat, to make the statement he has done.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. member will understand that I know my own business. There is not a word of truth in the allegation; no such offer was ever made directly or indirectly.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER stated that he did not have a perfect recollection of the First Minister having objected to the late Government's proposals concerning Manitoba; but he was quite sure that the hon. member did object, simply because he always objected to everything the late Administration did. A very grave difficulty, however, existed; the proposal of the Administration had his most cordial sanction, as the allowance of \$65,000 was clearly too small for a Province so situated, and a grant of \$100,000, he believed, would be approved; but he begged to call attention to a motion which had been moved on the previous similar occasion, and to which the late Government had been so weak as to assent. Mr. Oliver had moved in amendment to the resolution, seconded by Mr. McGill, that the words "But the House is of opinion that no further grant or permission beyond those made by the Union Act, and the Act respecting Nova Scotia, should be made to any of the Provinces out of the revenues of Canada for the support of the Government or Legislature of any of the Provinces" be added to the end thereof. This would teach them all that it was not always well for an Opposition to push advantages to the greatest possible extent, and he supposed that they would in this

Mr. RYAN.

instance be obliged to go back on the principles recorded in this amendment in the Journals for the 31st of March, 1870, page 126.

Mr. SCHULTZ said after the full discussion of the subject by his hon. colleague from Marquette, it was scarcely necessary for him to say more than express his pleasure at the additional grant proposed to be made by this Act to Manitoba. He joined the hon. member for Marquette in thanking the Ministry, and would even go a little further, and thank them for the reception which they had accorded the delegates from the Province. These gentlemen had reported that not only was their reception courteous but every evidence given of a disposition to deal fairly with any claim the Province could show for better terms. While he (Mr. Schultz) felt that for these things thanks were due, yet he felt that the amount granted would still be found insufficient for the purposes of the Province, and without going into any of the ground already travelled over by speakers who had preceded him, he would endeavour to show this briefly. In the Minute of Council which embodies the arguments used by the Manitoba delegates, and the report of the Sub-Committee in the whole matter, he found the following paragraph:—

“The Sub-Committee are of opinion that having regard to the whole circumstances of the case, it would be proper, provided the Local Government and Legislature should make such changes in their system as would (without diminishing the total aggregate amount to be devoted to the great objects of education, agriculture, public works, charity, and administration of Justice,) bring down the total expenditure to a sum not exceeding (independent of the amount of local revenues) \$90,000; it would be proper to charge as an advance on the debt account the balance due the Dominion, and to invite Parliament to make an additional annual grant to the Province of \$26,745.96, being the amount necessary in order to raise its revenue derivable from the Dominion to \$90,000; such grant to commence from the 1st day of July, 1875, and to continue until 1881, when the Province will become entitled to the increased population allowance, based upon the census to be taken in that year.”

The Legislature of Manitoba, doubtless having in view these facts, granted for the expenditure of the Government for the current year, the following sums:—

Civil Government.....	\$19,200 00
Total Legislation	12,200 00
Administration of Justice.....	10,000 00
Immigration and Agriculture....	2,000 00
Charities and Hospitals.....	2,000 00
Public Buildings.....	5,000 00
Provincial Gaol	3,500 00
Road Service.....	8,000 00
Education.....	7,000 00
Miscellaneous.....	15,300 00
Special.....	800 00

Making a total of \$95,000, which was proposed to be covered by the \$90,000, which the subsidy would be under the new arrangement, and an amount of \$5,000 expected to accrue from licenses and the tax on wild lands. Now, it would be seen that for those expenditures, which the Minute of Council has considered of such importance as to be specially mentioned, the amounts were almost ridiculously small. Immigration, for instance, was only \$2,000; Charities and Hospitals the same, while the whole granted the Public Works Department was the absurd amount of \$5,000. These amounts were quite insufficient, and he regretted that the Government had not seen fit to grant the amount the delegates asked for. He (Mr. Schultz) also agreed with the hon. Member for Marquette about the matter of half-breed Lands, and he felt that the thriving Canadian settlements of Springfield, Summerside, Rockwood, Greenwood, and Elanwood, were all being badly treated in the matter of roads communicating with other parts of the Province. With only five thousand dollars to expend on Public Works, it was useless to expect the Province to do much, but he would endeavour to show on another occasion that it was the duty of the Dominion Government to build these roads.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said that had the Government consisted of a Lieutenant Governor and Council, the amount voted to the Province would have been amply sufficient; but it must be very clear to all, and especially to those who knew the great expense of living in Manitoba, that \$90,000 would be very inadequate for the expenses of a Government such as they had, with so many officials. The increase given would create general satisfaction in Manitoba; but he thought they might have made it \$100,000. He was glad to be able to

state that they had succeeded in making very satisfactory arrangements with two transportation companies, by which means the rates would be greatly reduced beyond those of former years. With regard to the half-breed lands there had been a good deal of dissatisfaction, but he had no doubt that the matter was now being attended to by the Government.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he understood his hon. friend from Terrebonne to state that objection was made in the House by the hon. gentleman sitting on those benches to the financial part of the terms granted originally to the Province of Manitoba. He had to say in reply that he never heard any such objection made, and he never made such an objection himself. He had in the country, but not in the House, discussed the Constitution granted to Manitoba, but not the financial terms. They objected to the cumbrous system of government given to a Province with so sparse a population, and to the conferring upon them of a government so unsuited to them in every way. What the Government was called upon to do now was to ask Parliament to provide, at the expense of Canada, the defects in the system which the late Government originated. The present Administration had procured a simplification of the Manitoba Constitution and a reduction in the expenditure. They could not ask the people to go back to the point at which they started originally, and therefore it had been necessary to supplement their income at the expense of Canada. The reference which had been made to the objections raised to the increased terms to Nova Scotia was not applicable to this case. There was nothing inconsistent between their positions then and that which they took now. The terms given to Manitoba were given by the people of Canada represented in Parliament, and consequently they had the right to change that arrangement if they chose. Then, as to the resolution which the hon. gentleman said ought to teach them moderation, he (Mr. Blake) hoped it would teach moderation in a quarter where it was more required. That resolution was passed at a time when this particular contract and the Province of Manitoba

was not in existence. And yet in face of that fact the hon. member contended that the circumstances were the same in both cases.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER explained he meant to say that when the whole of the Provinces, as represented in this Parliament, made a compact with Manitoba for its admission on certain financial terms, and they were ratified by the Imperial Parliament, they stood on the same footing. Prince Edward Island came into this Confederation on the understanding that certain arrangements were made with Manitoba, and the same principle applied to the latter Province as to the original four.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the Provinces did not make this agreement; the Dominion of Canada made it. It was a compact of the whole of Canada. It might have been carried by a majority of members of Parliament from two Provinces against three or four adverse to it, but still it would have been the act of this Parliament. Although he would go as far for State rights now as he did in the Nova Scotia controversy, he could not destroy the efficiency of the Confederation principle by admitting that anything Parliament might lawfully do it could not lawfully undo without the Provinces themselves are a party to the bargain. In the case of Nova Scotia the objections were to the altering of the fundamental part of the compact of Union, without the assent of the Provinces, and to the mode in which the alteration had been negotiated. Instead of negotiating with the Local Government the late Administration preferred to deal with the gentlemen who happened to sit in this Parliament as the representatives of the Province. In the case of Manitoba, the present Government dealt exclusively with the Government and Legislature of that Province. He denied there was anything inconsistent in the course now pursued with the action taken in the case of Nova Scotia.

Mr. PALMER said if he understood the hon. gentleman right, he contended that the Provinces which came in under the 146th Section of the British North America Act stood in a different position constitutionally to the older Pro-

Mr. SMITH.

vinces. To that he (Mr. Palmer) must express his entire dissent. The British North America Act was not only an agreement between the four original Provinces, but an agreement as to the terms on which the others might come into the Confederation. He held that it was utterly impossible to bring in other Provinces unless under this Act.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The North-West Territories were admitted into the Dominion; we carved Manitoba out of them.

Mr. PALMER said the only ground on which the grant to Manitoba could be justified was that the money belonged to the people and could be expended as they thought fit. Therefore he did not object to it, but he did object to the right claimed by the Minister of Justice to deal differently with the new Provinces brought into the Dominion from the old ones.

Hon. Mr. POPE contended that this Parliament had a perfect right to give an increased subsidy to Nova Scotia or any other Province of the Dominion if it should be deemed expedient to do so, and he thought it unwise to attempt to bind this Parliament in such a way that they could not pursue a certain course if the exigencies should arise which would render it desirable. There was no doubt when the resolution in the case of Nova Scotia was entered on the Journals it applied not only to the Provinces that were then in the Confederation, but to all that might subsequently be admitted.

There might be difficulties encountered in new sections of the country; but the same difficulties were experienced in connection with municipal matters. The best remedy for this state of things was to throw the responsibility on the people. He for his part had every confidence in the people of Manitoba, endowed by the free Government condemned by hon. gentlemen opposite. He would give them no mixed Government for it was best for the people to legislate for themselves. He would vote for this Bill with pleasure, as he had done in connection with the grant of better terms to Nova Scotia. He believed that it was in the interest of the Dominion that every Province

should have sufficient means to carry on the Government without being oppressed. With regard to the record on the Journal, he felt more sorry for the Minister of Justice than for any other member, because that hon. gentleman was so nervous and so greatly interested in being consistent.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I would ask at this stage, if in accordance with the usual practice on this day, the House will adjourn at six o'clock?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—We desired to take up the Estimates this evening, but we are quite willing to have it understood that only those items on which no prolonged discussion will likely occur shall be considered.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—In this case I must say that I should feel it to be my duty to be in my place.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON entirely agreed with the Minister of Justice with regard to the measure before the House, as there was the greatest possible difference between it and the instance to which reference had been made.

Mr. BOWELL called the attention of the Premier and of the House, with regard to the broad declaration made that no objection had been taken by him to the terms granted Manitoba, to the record in the Debates, in which Mr. Mackenzie, now the Premier, was reported to have said:—

“With regard, however, to the excessive expenditure which was to be imposed on the Dominion by the arrangement of the Bill (the Manitoba Bill) it involved the amount of the debt, \$416,500.”

“Sir GEORGE E. CARTIER—\$21,000 a year.”

“Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes; there would then be \$12,000 to make up at 50 cents per head; and in addition the Government proposed to pay nearly \$30,000 for the Local Government. He could scarcely conceive that the amount was necessary.”

He thought that this was sufficient evidence on that point.

He also found in the famous Aurora speech, not a direct objection to the Manitoba Bill, but sentiments entertained by the Minister of Justice,

which were hardly consistent with his present position.

The Hon. Mr. Blake then said—"We are engaged in a very difficult task—the task of welding together several Provinces, which have been accustomed to regard themselves as isolated from each other, and which are full of petty jealousies, their Provincial questions, and their local questions. How are we to accomplish our work? How are we to effect a real Union between these Provinces? Can we do it by giving a sop now to one, now to another, after the manner of the late Government, by giving British Columbia extravagant terms, which have been referred to, and by giving Nova Scotia \$150 a head for the export duty, which cannot be made out as worth more than \$65,000 a year? Do you hope to create and preserve harmony and good feeling, with such a false, and sordid, and mercenary basis, as this? Not so! That day I hope is gone for ever."

Apropos of another matter, he found it on record that the hon. member for Terrebonne might possibly if he desired have had the position of the President of the Council. The Premier's name had not been mentioned nor had the House been informed how the offer had been made.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—No offer was made.

The Bill was read the second time, and the House rose for recess.

— AFTER RECESS. —

PRIVATE AND LOCAL BILLS.

The following Bills were read the third time and passed:—

Respecting the capital of the Great Western Railway Company, and for the capitalization of certain charges and liabilities.

To authorize the shareholders of the Permanent Building and Savings Society to change the name of the said society.

To authorize the shareholders of the Provincial Permanent Building and Savings Society to change the name of the said society.

To amend the Act incorporating The Canada Shipping Company.

Mr. BOWELL.

The following Bills were read the second time:—

To incorporate the British Canadian Investment Company (limited).

To extend the Act of last Session, intituled: "An Act relating to the Upper Ottawa Improvement Company."

To incorporate the Atlantic and Pacific Mutual Fire and Marine Insurance Company.

To enable Ozro Morrill to obtain a patent for certain inventions and improvements in sewing machine shuttles.

To amend the Act thirty-five Victoria, Chapter one hundred and eight, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company (Limited)."

Respecting the Canada Southern Bridge Company.

To incorporate the National Trust and Investment Company of Canada, (Limited).

To incorporate the Chartered Bank of London and North America.

To amend the Act incorporating the Ottawa Gas Company, to confirm a resolution of their shareholders placing preferential and ordinary stock on the same footing, and to confirm, amend and extend their corporate powers.

To authorize the shareholders of the Security Permanent Building and Savings Society of St. Catharines to change the name of the said society.

To amend the charter of the St. Lawrence Bank, and to change the name of the said bank.

W. O'DONOHUE.

Mr. COSTIGAN—In order that no hon. member would be taken by surprise, gave notice that on the next occasion when the motion was made for the House to go into Committee of Supply, he would move in amendment:—That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that whereas this House did on the 13th of February last vote an Address to Her Majesty, praying that a full amnesty be granted to all persons connected with the North-West troubles, for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only Louis Riel, Am-

Brose Lepine and W. D. O'Donohue; and that a like amnesty was granted to Louis Biel and Ambrose Lepine conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominions, thereby excluding W. D. O'Donohue from the benefits of such amnesty; and whereas the said W. O'Donohue has since written the following letter—(here he read the letter submitted to Parliament last Session)—in the opinion of this House the Government should at once institute a thorough enquiry into the statements contained in said letter, in order that justice may be done in the premises.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE suggested that the motion should be placed on the notice paper.

After a brief discussion the suggestion was adopted.

SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

On the item, \$25,000 for the relief of the distressed settlers in Manitoba,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that the reason why this sum was asked for without being placed in the estimates in the usual way, was in consequence of representation made to the Government that the case was urgent and would not admit of even a week's delay. The roads would soon break up, and it was important that the grain should be forwarded at once for the use of the settlers this spring.

Mr. SCHULTZ—Is this a gratuity or a loan?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It is a loan.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the money was advanced to the settlers and mortgages were taken on their lands for its repayment.

Mr. SCHULTZ objected to mortgages being taken for such small amounts as four or five bushels of wheat given to each settler. It would be much better to take payment by note.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the people of Manitoba had shown such an independent spirit that they declined to accept a gift from the Government. They wanted relief, but they were willing to

repay anything that might be advanced to them, and they could not, therefore, object to giving a mortgage.

Mr. SCHULTZ said he was aware of the independent spirit of the people, and he did not ask that repayment should not be exacted. What he did contend was that a note would be more convenient than a mortgage for such a small advance as four or five bushels of wheat.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said no one was more ready than he was to give hearty support to the proposition of the Government for the relief of the settlers in Manitoba. He entirely agreed with the hon. member for Lisgar in the objection to this Government becoming the mortgagee of the people individually. There had been some experience of the mode in which that was worked out in the township of Proton, Ontario. A person named Nixon was dispatched to Proton on the eve of an election to bring the power of the Crown Lands Department to bear on the settlers to influence their votes. It was not desirable that such a scandal should be repeated on a large scale; and in a wider field. This same Nixon was now the agent of the Dominion Government in the North-West. The first step was taken, and the next would be the mortgaging of the settlers' lands. He objected to that. It was bad enough to have to pay the cost of transportation, and \$6 a day to an official out of this advance, without putting the additional expenses of a mortgage on each settler. It would be better a thousand times to let the people suffer than to deprive them of their freedom, as he had reason to believe they would be if this course were taken. He hoped the Government would reconsider the matter and abandon the idea of taking a mortgage from the settler to whom an advance was made.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE replied that the question was not whether there were hungry men; the proposition was not to relieve all who were suffering from want of bread. Settlers in that Province—persons who were invited to settle on Dominion lands—had been met by a sudden calamity which had deprived them of the fruit of their

labours. The grasshopper had consumed their harvest, and they were without means; so much for the limitation of the grant.

Then the hon. gentleman said that the farms ought not to be mortgaged; but he did not understand the hon. member to say that these sums ought to be made free gifts. Was that his view?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman acknowledged that this ought not to be done. Then these settlers were to remain debtors of the Government, with the power to exact, or remit, or postpone the payment, or order the immediate payment of the debts incurred. The Administration was to be able to oppress or exercise leniency, and the only difference between them was that the land ought not to be mortgaged; and was not the argument as to influence being brought to bear on voters, as potent with regard to the one as to the other position? It was perfectly clear that the moment the hon. gentleman conceded the admission he did, this was fatal to his case, and his inferences became totally illusory. If they were debtors to the Government, this should be put in the clearest possible way.

The hon. gentleman had referred to transactions which had occasioned considerable comment, but with his usual unfortunate inaccuracy, was mistaken about names; but as the Finance Minister had remarked on one occasion, there was twenty per cent. of accuracy in the statement. A person called—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Mr. Lewis.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—It now appeared that the hon. gentleman knew that it was Mr. Lewis who was concerned in the matter, but he had preferred an aptness of illustration to accuracy of statement, in order to make a point. The hon. gentleman had no right to say that Mr. Nixon was an emissary of the Government. He gave to this statement the flattest possible contradiction. He was First Minister of the Government at the time, and it had then been clearly shown that Mr. Nixon was not an emissary of theirs. Although the conduct of Mr. Lewis

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

was reprehensible, he observed that he (Lewis) had issued a pamphlet in which he disproved the charges against himself; but as it appeared to him (Mr. Blake) the evidence proved that his conduct had been reprehensible in the extreme; yet he always stated that he did not have the slightest authority for what he had said to the parties in question regarding the intentions of the Government.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Hon. gentleman could "hear! hear," but it was entirely too late even for the persistence of the calumniators of the faction, to which the hon. gentlemen belonged, to go this length.

Mr. BOWELL—What about the interview with Mr. MacKellar in his shirt-tail?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The whole of this story has been spread before the country. The evidence I believe was taken on oath; and on the whole, no honest, no fair-minded, and no candid man careful of his reputation, could come to conclusions based on it, adverse to the Government of which I was head at the time.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER could only say that he had not felt it necessary to explain the circumstances connected with this matter, and he suggested to the Minister of Justice that the difficulty mentioned could be obviated by leaving the payment by the settlers open, as the object was merely to afford relief through the Government; it would not be accepted as a gratuity, and the understanding should be that these persons should pay it back when they felt able to do so; but no mortgages were to be taken. The hon. gentleman said that this aid was to be extended exclusively to men, who where the owners of the lands—

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Settlers.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The owners of the lands; if they be not owners they cannot give mortgages.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Settlers.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The hon. gentleman need not draw fine-spun legal subtleties here. They were the owners or had a right to the lands, or mortga-

ges would be useless. If they could not pay the Government would be the loser, and it would be a thousand times better for the Government to make a free gift of it out and out than to have any such relations with individual settlers as was proposed. He had never said that there was a duty of \$1 a ton levied on ships. He had never said that the hon. gentleman had proposed to levy a duty of \$1 a ton, and that it had been prevented by the fact that the tariff was not found acceptable by the House. His (Hon. Mr. Tupper's) statement was not 20 per cent. astray, while the hon. gentleman's statement was 80 per cent. astray. It had been asked why he was not accurate in the statement of the facts he had made. It was because he wanted to spare the Hon. Minister of Justice. He did not want to tell the House a truth to which the hon. gentleman could not listen without a blush. He did not care to state then that Mr. Lewis went on that dishonourable and corrupt mission with money furnished by the partner of the Hon. Minister of Justice. This transaction and others of a like kind had undermined the confidence of the people of Ontario in the hon. gentleman, and it was transactions of this character that had swept away his supporters from seven of the finest Reform constituencies and returned his opponents instead. It was such transactions as these that had swept away the overmastering majority of the Government in Ontario and left them in the position they now occupied. He hoped the hon. gentleman was now satisfied.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was due to a public servant who was unable to speak for himself there, that what the honourable gentleman said should not remain uncontradicted. He was convinced that there was no evidence—he spoke subject to correction—that there was no evidence in the investigation in question on which Mr. Nixon was proved to have said or done anything which ought not to have been said or done. He did not recollect any evidence which in the slightest degree affected Mr. Nixon in reference to the allegations which Lewis made. That statement was due to Mr. Nixon, who was in a distant part of the country dis-

charging able and efficient duties which he was called upon to discharge. The matter had been thoroughly investigated, and he had only to state that the allegations constituted an infamous scandal.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) held that many of the individuals to whom money was lent by the municipalities would never pay back the money they owed unless they were compelled to do so by the Government. It was necessary some way should be devised to collect the amounts, and he considered that they were in duty bound to assist in getting back this money. If the Government undertook to do what had been suggested by the hon. member for Cumberland, the people would soon know it. They would be held responsible for the collection of this money, and if they used it for the purchase of support the country had intelligence enough to find it out.

Mr. DYMOND said Mr. Nixon's connection with the Proton affair was not only never proved, but it was absolutely disproved. That Mr. Nixon had ever committed any offence against electoral purity had never been substantiated. The charge was first brought against him in a disreputable newspaper which terminated a dishonourable career some years ago.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said that notwithstanding the disreputable character of that journal, the support of one of the gentlemen connected with it was acceptable to the Government.

Mr. DYMOND said that Mr. Robertson had been engaged by a newspaper as advertisement agent in London, but he failed to see how that circumstance made him a supporter of the Government. The charges were first made in the newspaper referred to, and it was a cruel, dastardly and infamous slander.

The story with regard to Mr. McKellar was no more just than that relating to Mr. Nixon, so far as anything corrupt or discreditable to him as a Minister was concerned. No man in Ontario held a higher reputation for veracity, and it was in consequence of the high estimation in which he was held throughout the country that the

Opposition and their press hurled such slanders against him.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said if Mr. John Ross Robertson was the disreputable character which the hon. member for North York had represented him to be, it was anything but creditable for the *Globe* to employ him on its staff, and it was rather singular that the men who claimed to be leaders of the Party of Purity should reward the writer of the articles they complained of by an appointment to an emigration agency in Ireland. The proposition of the Government was fraught with corruption and danger to the last degree to the liberties of the people. Let the principle once be established that the Government can take the money of the people out of the Treasury and use it for the purpose of lending it to individuals, taking mortgages on their property as security, and the rights of the people are seriously tampered with.

Mr. YOUNG said the principal object was to know that this money would be repaid at some time or another, not so much for the amount of money involved, as to prevent the establishment of the principle that any distressed portion of the community might look for aid from the public exchequer. If the objection urged against this proposition could be held valid, it would apply with equal force to the suggestion of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. BOWELL said so far as he was concerned he gave the Minister of Justice the greatest possible credit for the Bills he had introduced this Session in order to stamp out the corrupt practices which had been exposed in some of the Ontario election trials. His course was in marked contrast to that of the gentleman he had taken from the bench to act as leader of his party in the Ontario Legislature, and who had introduced Bills to whitewash every man who had been found guilty of corruption and disqualified under the law.

The only question really was as to the best possible way in which the relief could be given without placing those who were the recipients—if he might use the term—of this favour in a position in which any Government could exercise any control over them

Mr. DYMOND.

in the future. He believed that the suggestion of the hon. member for Cumberland was the most proper; the money should be loaned to the Provincial Parliament, which should be held responsible, and this would be a much better plan than the taking of mortgages. When Quebec was in great part burned down, a considerable sum of money had been voted in aid of the sufferers, and it was known that this had been used as a lever by the supporters of candidates during subsequent elections.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD did not think that they would in any way mend the matter by empowering the Local Government to collect the money, as the arguments concerning political influence would have the same bearing and greater force in this connection. The latter, moreover, did not desire to assume this responsibility. Very few of these settlers had received their patents for these lands, and the Dominion Administration was in the best position to arrange the matter. He did not think that there was any ground for apprehending danger as to the use of the power held over the settlers in order to secure political ends.

Mr. PLUMB stated that the Minister of the Interior's statement had strengthened the argument that this matter should be placed under the control of the Local Government, which could deal with it better than any agent of the Dominion Cabinet so far distant from the scene of operations. He thought that they were all endeavouring to find the best means of acting, and he trusted that the plan he mentioned would commend itself to the good sense of the House. He doubted whether it was desirable to hamper the settlers' lands with liens; but if it was necessary, there would be no difficulty in doing so, as the Government, in most cases, held the titles to the lands. The money should be distributed fairly, and put into such hands as would best serve their purposes.

The item was passed.

Item 52, \$3,000, to meet expenses connected with the care of archives being taken up,

Hon. Mr. POPE alluded to the collections of interesting documents in this country and Europe upon which the history of Canada would, in a measure, be based. Mr. Brymner, a gentleman who, previous to his appointment, had been employed in the office of the *Herald* (Montreal), had been sent to London, and Mr. Verrard to Paris; they had searched the archives preserved in those two cities, and had made important discoveries.

At this point, as the Hon. Mr. Pope had not brought with him papers to which he desired to refer, the item was left over for consideration at another time.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER then called attention to the fact that the item which had been previously entered in order to provide for salaries and contingent expenses of the established office, Halifax—amount, \$4,100—had been omitted. The Union Act provided that the collection of statistics should appertain to the general Government. At the time of its passage there existed in Nova Scotia a law to which the people of that Province attached very great importance, requiring the preparation of statistics. They had been willing to charge themselves with the expenditure necessary for this purpose and continue the system which was the best of the kind in the Dominion; and they had not supposed that the time would arrive when this Government would remove the appropriation for this purpose. Vital statistics were very important, and to procure them in proper form was one of the first duties of an Administration. He did not know of any country to which such a system would be of greater advantage than to Canada. It was one of the means by which the outside would become acquainted with matters of extreme importance in connection with the system of immigration—such as health and climate, &c. He regretted the proposal of the Government on several grounds, and he would observe that Nova Scotia would have great reason to complain on account of it. It was due to their own reputations that the Government should bring forward reforms, and he suggested that this system would be one of the most

valuable improvements which could be inaugurated. Besides it would save their reputations by leaving one reform behind them on the Statute Books.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT was very glad to hear that the hon. gentleman had some good intentions. The Government had considered this matter and found great difficulties in the way of carrying out any system of statistics worthy of the name, and it was not desirable to have any partial system. With respect to the question immediately before them, the item had been omitted by a clerical error; the system was intended to be continued this year, but they would announce their intention to abolish it next. He could give little hope of the adoption of a general system of statistics; the question of expense was too serious. He would feel it his duty as to the matter in hand to bring down a supplemental estimate.

Hon. Mr. POPE referred to the great importance of a proper system of statistics, remarking that among its many advantages would be that of enabling his hon. friend to ascertain the exact basis on which to raise his revenue. The system was really of necessity to the country, and would probably not cost more than \$150,000. It would show the world we had a most healthy country and would in that way attract emigrants.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said his hon. friend's estimate of the cost was well within the mark; \$150,000 would not at all meet the expenses of the system. From a legal point of view, however, it would be practically impossible to carry it out, and if the hon. gentleman came to consider the matter he would recognize that fact.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER was glad that the system immediately under review was not to be abolished this year, as it would leave another year for its consideration, and he hoped the question after this discussion would be reconsidered. It was not exactly fair, in view of the fact that the Province of Nova Scotia provided for the service before Confederation, that it should now be abolished.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Committee must remember that the ser-

vice is not really performed for the money voted in Nova Scotia. To make the statistics practically useful required more than three times the amount asked, and it was of little real value unless a larger sum was spent. In Ontario the municipal law enabled the compilation of an exact system of statistics regarding real and personal property, and vital statistics will be added this year. The system, however, had been acknowledged practically useless up to this moment, but by the adoption of an energetic administrative measure it would soon be made more effective. In Lower Canada it was admitted that the record of births and deaths was much more accurate than anywhere else, and it was a system which cost very little to the Dominion. Statistics of real and personal property were necessary to let the people in Europe know what the average wealth of our people is. In addition, statistics of trade were valuable. Our Navigation Returns were prepared in such a way as not to be so available as carefully condensed tables of districts. The railway system of Canada was now very extensive, and when any new project came up, some of the Directors go to England and endeavour to obtain money on the issue of bonds, but they had absolutely no means of laying before the public the real position of every part of the road and its relation to other roads. Every company of any size got up a map, sometimes showing its own line in a favourable light, and the other roads in a crooked manner. An authoritative volume giving full particulars regarding the railways of the Dominion was of extreme necessity, and they had taken pains to prepare such a book, which would be placed in the hands of members in a few days; and the engineers were preparing a map, showing with perfect accuracy every railway in the Dominion. Personal statistics were rather beyond their power, a fact which was recognized by the hon. member for Cumberland and his colleagues in not pushing their Bill to its legitimate conclusion—a place on the Statute Book.

Mr. PLUMB stated that a complete system of statistics would be of great

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service to the Government, the public and the country.

Mr. BROUSE called attention to the necessity of the establishment of a Bureau of Sanitary Statistics. It was one of the most important questions that could engage the attention of the House; and any money expenditure in that direction he was certain would be acquiesced in by the country. He showed that in Maine the death rate had been greatly reduced by improved sanitary measures, and a corresponding reduction would take place in Canada if similar measures were adopted.

Hon. Mr. POPE thought a more efficient system than that before the House was required.

Item No. 53, for \$6,500, to meet expenses in connection with the organization of the Patent Record, and item No. 54, for \$5,000, to meet expenses in connection with the preparation of Criminal Statistics was adopted without discussion.

On the item of \$100,000 to meet the probable expenditure required in connection with the Philadelphia Exhibition,

Mr. BOWELL asked if there was any probability that the \$100,000 passed last session would be sufficient, or whether it was intended to bring down any new sum in the supplementary estimates.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was surmised that it would be sufficient, together with the sums the Provinces would vote in addition.

Mr. YOUNG said that although it was desirable to keep the expenditure in this matter as low as possible, yet it was also desirable Canada should make a good display there. The fruit growers desired \$2,000 in addition to the sum already awarded them in order to enable them to make the exhibition creditable to Canada. He would prefer to see the amount increased rather than the Canadians should not make a first-class display.

Mr. DOMVILLE was opposed to further expenditure in this direction, believing that the depressed condition of the country would not warrant a larger appropriation than \$100,000.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) thought \$100,000 would cover the whole cost.

Mr. PLUMB hoped that if the fruit growers wanted assistance that they would receive it out of the \$100,000, and that if that sum was not sufficient that a further sum would be granted.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER considered the credit of the country was committed, and he hoped nothing would be spared that was absolutely necessary to make that exhibition thoroughly creditable to the country.

The Fruit Growers' Association here as well as in Nova Scotia having exhausted their means, and their application for aid in this regard having been refused for want of funds, he thought that, as probably these associations had no funds on which to draw, the Finance Minister should be asked to put into the supplementary estimates an additional sum—say \$20,000—which if necessary could be used for their purposes.

The item was passed.

Item 58, providing for the expenditure of \$5,628.50 for new militia pensions, passed without discussion.

Item 59, appropriating \$50,000 to meet the probable amount required for pensions paid to veterans of the War of 1812, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. VAIL explained that though this sum had been expended last year, thirty or forty veterans still remained to be paid. It was believed that this appropriation would be sufficient during the present year, as a number of pensioners had died; the diminution on this account would probably amount to twenty.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) enquired whether there was any provision for the payment of the pension to the widows or orphans of those who died before the money reached them.

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied that it was quite impossible to meet these claims.

Mr. BROUSE would have liked to see the vote doubled and \$50 in lieu of \$20 paid to each of these veterans, many of whom were extremely poor.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER could not see why the claims of the widows and orphans of applicants should not be honoured; it was a mere question of

distribution, and these cases would be very few—not twenty cases at the outside.

Mr. MACDONALD (Cornwall) regretted that the vote was not increased. The sum appeared to be very small.

Mr. MASSON took the opportunity to ask whether it was intended to give a gratuity to the widow of a Judge who had recently died?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE had no objection to answer the question at once. A memorial in this relation had been presented; a two month's allowance, as was done under the circumstances in the cases of all public servants deceased, had been granted, but the Government did not intend to give a pension.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) suggested that as an inducement to citizens to serve in the Militia, grants of wild lands, which did not appear at present to be of great demand, should be held out to them, to be given after a certain period of service had expired. Unless some such thing was done, under our present system he believed that the volunteers would very largely disappear.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—We cannot hold out any encouragement in that direction.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought that the object of Parliament had not been attained with regard to the pensions given to the veterans of 1812. No hon. member had supposed that \$20 would only be received by each of them, but rather \$50. He hoped that the Government would reconsider the matter.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman must remember that a very large number who received \$20 are very well off, some moving in the first circles of society, they having pressed their claims. There must be a limit to these public allowances, and if possible, we should discriminate, but that is extremely difficult and cannot be entertained.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER was of opinion that the establishment of the longevity of Canadians proven by the number of these veterans who had made good their claims was worth all the money expended in that connection; it was very important for the country, which has—

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—So few doctors.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Reasons for inducing immigration.

Mr. WOOD agreed with the hon. First Minister that the large majority of those men are wealthy.

Mr. BROUSE suggested that a certain number of medals should be struck off and the pensioners allowed to take them instead of money if they so desired. Some of the wealthy men would prefer the medals so that they could hand them down to their children.

Mr. GIBSON thought \$40 instead of \$20 might be given, as the men were passing away rapidly.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said there was just one way of making a discrimination. Those of the veterans who are well off could refuse their pensions, and the money could be distributed among those who are poor.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury) had no doubt many of them would accept a medal as a reconnaissance, but in his section of the county, where the men were not so rich, most of them would take the money.

The item was passed.

Item 60, consideration to pensioners in lieu of land, \$8,000 was carried.

On item, \$7,000, for care and maintenance of properties transferred from the Ordnance and the Imperial Government, including rents, under the heading of Militia,

Mr. DOMVILLE enquired what steps had been taken with regard to the Government lands at Fredericton.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said nothing had been done except to put a portion of the lands not required for military purposes into the hand of the Minister of Interior to be disposed of.

Mr. DOMVILLE said there were some squatters on the land.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said there were none except those who were under lease.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac), asked whether it was proposed to dispose of the Ordnance lands in the vicinity of Ottawa. He was informed that Cartier Square was being surveyed

and laid out into lots for sale, and that the rest of the Ordnance lands in the vicinity of the city were being surveyed also for sale.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The land in question has not been surveyed; the Government will act in that as in other matters in the public interest.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he considered the hon. gentleman's reply was an insult to the House. Parliament represented the people, and the Government were not despotic controllers of the Dominion. It was nothing new for the Premier to give such answers, but it was an abuse of power. He would like, for instance, to ask if he were not afraid to subject himself to similar insult, by what authority the Government had undertaken to deal with Major's Hill in this city, in the way they had done, without consulting Parliament. He was not discussing the policy or impolicy of the course of the Government, but the position was that the Government had no right to deal with the public property irrespective of authority obtained from Parliament. He did not think a greater wrong could be inflicted on the people of Ottawa than to divide Cartier Square into lots and dispose of them. It was on the faith of that being reserved as a public square that parties invested their money in adjoining lots, and expended large sums of money in constructing buildings, so that it would be a great wrong to make any disposal of the property that would prevent it from remaining a public square. Such a place was necessary for the health of the community, a breathing space for those who were compelled by circumstances to live in the city.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he supposed he should feel sorry for having incurred the hon. gentleman's displeasure, but the hon. gentleman was getting so into the habit of using this extravagant language, that nobody cared how often he used it. The hon. gentleman had no right to assume such a tone. He held that with respect to that property, and all other property, the Government had acted in the public interest. He had given the only answer that should be given, and it

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was his answer now. The law gave them power to say how public property should be disposed of. The Government did not hold Cartier Square for the benefit of the city. If the city had a right in that square, then the Government had no right to dispose of it; if the city had no rights in the property, the Government had a right to dispose of it. If the hon. gentleman knew the city had rights in it, and was correct, then the Government could not violate the law of the land; but if the hon. gentleman was wrong, and the people had no rights, it was the duty of the Government to dispose of the property as they thought proper in the public interests. The people of Ottawa had no more right to the property of the Government in this city than in any other part of the Dominion, and he did not think it was the duty of the Government to give a public park to the city, simply because a few parties had to reside there. With regard to Major's Hill, the Government had a right to dispose of it as they had done. They had given it on a conditional lease to the city of Ottawa—on condition of making certain improvements which necessitated the expenditure of \$15,000, and the Government retained the right to resume the property any time they liked. He did not think it was in the public interest that Major's Hill should be sold or divided into town lots. It was close to the Public Buildings, and he considered that it was necessary for their safety that it should not be built up.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said a large number of people were interested in this property, and he thought he was entitled to an answer.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was utterly impossible for him to give any other answer than that he had already given. They had no plan with regard to the sale of the property to make public.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER held that the Government had no right to dispose of public property without the consent of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not think the hon. member for Cumberland was serious in his statement that the Government had not the

power they claimed in this relation. These acts were Executive acts, with which the Administration was entrusted by Parliament, to which they were responsible. The charge was very grave; and he proposed that the hon. gentleman would at some proper time formulate it, and give the House occasion to ascertain whether he could sustain it by argument and not by mere assertion.

The late Administration had, in an instance which related to the city of London, acted in a manner similar to the present Government, showing that their views in this regard were the same; he had no doubt that other such instances existed.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER replied that with reference to Major's Hill, the Government had abused its power, having absolutely disposed of an extensive area of public property which would have brought a great sum of money, if sold in the ordinary way, for the whole people of this country to whom it belonged. Five miles of railway had been given away; and had the hon. gentleman who sat along side the Minister of Justice power to do this?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I do not know anything about it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then the hon. gentleman had shut his eyes at it, for the Minister of Public Works by his own hand, without the consent of Parliament, had made a contract giving away five miles of railway, and had passed an Order in Council, without any reference to Parliament and without having a single line stating that his action was subject to the approval of Parliament. What was more, the Administration had no power to touch one dollar of the people's money without authority to give it away. The Government had also bound itself to relay five miles of railway.

An Hon. Gentleman—With steel rails.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Not until they were laid were they so—having been stolen. I suppose that then they were "steal" rails.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman's illustrations are like all his

illustrations, and his points are like all his points.

The item was passed.

Item 73, providing for the expenditure of \$10,000 for ordnance and equipment of field batteries of artillery, being taken up,

Mr. MASSON enquired whether arms would be given to a battery formed in Gaspé, which had been lacking in this respect for a couple of years. The artillery force of this country should be properly and generously supplied in this and all relations.

Hon. Mr. VAIL admitted that this was an important branch of the service, but it was impossible to spend any money in this regard, outside of the two central points of Quebec and Kingston.

Mr. MASSON—Will the battery at Gaspé then be disbanded?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Attention will be given to the matter another year.

The item was passed.

Item No. 74, providing \$110,000 for the maintenance and equipment of "A" and "B" Batteries, Garrison Artillery and School of Gunnery, Kingston and Quebec, was passed.

On item No. 75, providing \$10,000 for Military Schools in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,

Mr. MASSON asked why there were not Military Schools in the other Provinces?

Hon. Mr. VAIL said that Ontario and Quebec had Schools of Gunnery, and it was thought the Lower Provinces were entitled to Infantry Schools.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked whether the Government was aware that persons had come from the United States, passed through these schools, received their training and money, and returned to that country.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—I have never previously heard of such a thing.

The item was passed.

On item No. 77, providing for \$30,000 for the pay and maintenance of Dominion force in Manitoba,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that in view of the condition of affairs

in Manitoba it was intended to reduce the force to 50 men.

Mr. MASSON approved of the policy of the Government, not because he thought such a force was necessary, but in consequence of the wretched system which was followed. He had paid a visit to Manitoba, and he affirmed there were men who though they had been two years in this force did not know how to load their rifles. He had drawn the attention of the Premier to the matter last Session and he asserted that the disgraceful facts were within his own knowledge. These men had been employed in cutting wood and drawing water—in fact in doing everything which a soldier should not do.

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied that when this was brought under his notice, he had immediately taken action to remedy the state of affairs that existed, and he thought the hon. gentleman would at least give him this much credit.

Mr. SCHULTZ could not but feel that this reduction of the force under the circumstances, was ill advised.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the principle object in giving these men a grant of land was with a view to induce them to settle in the country. If persons who in enlisted the second time were permitted a second grant the object of the Government would be frustrated entirely. The Government had only followed the policy of their predecessors in this matter in refusing the second grant to parties who had enlisted before. The parties by remaining in the country were able to secure this land without performing any service whatever, and it was not very likely that such an offer could be made an inducement for service. He was not aware of any precedent, such as mentioned, having been established; the system in vogue was improper in the public interest, and was not calculated to aid in the settlement of the country.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT denied that any men had enlisted under false pretences.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said this was the usual answer of the Government when they had no excuse for their conduct

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—they gave a bold and unqualified denial, or else they turned to their predecessors for a precedent.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It is not true as to the men who were re-enlisted.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No ! The hon. gentleman knows that unless it was stated in the advertisement asking for these men, and stipulated that only those who had no qualifications, and only those who had everything to learn.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—I would ask the hon. gentlemen when these men re-enlisted—what Government was in power?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I care not what Government was in power. I am now speaking of the terms under which they were enlisted and of the decision taken by the Administration which denied them.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—That was only a decision on the claims made after their time was up.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I care not what Government made the pledge; if these men were enlisted on the stipulation that those who served two years should receive 160 acres of land and no distinction was drawn between those who had previously served and those asked, but who had never so served, I say that the faith of the Government was pledged to treat all alike.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said these men who claimed an additional grant were men who enlisted under the old Government. He was not in a position to state that this Government re-enlisted any men; but if they did, and these men served out their two years, they would be entitled to the grant of 160 acres of land.

The hon. gentleman could not condemn the Government for acting on an Order in Council passed by the late Government, in refusing to make a second grant to those men who had re-enlisted.

Mr. HIGINBOTHAM said he had applied to both Governments to obtain grants for persons who had enlisted the second time, and had been refused.

Mr. BOWELL said if a man enlisted for a specified time for certain pay and

a certain grant of land when that time expired, he should receive that grant without the Government stopping to enquire whether he had enlisted before, served his time and received a previous grant.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the expectation in sending men up to Manitoba from the different Provinces was that they should remain there and settle on their land and not re-enlist, and in this way send up men from the different Provinces.

Mr. BOWELL said that was not the object of the late Government in specifying that a quota should be enlisted from each Province. At the time the force was established there was great excitement, and if a call for volunteers was made there would have been ten times the number required volunteered from Ontario. Sir George Cartier, in order to give each Province a chance, decided that the force should be made up by a quota from the different Provinces.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the object of the late Government was to send in men to defend the country, and when they were in there and trained in the service, that they should be kept there; but the policy of the present Government was not to re-enlist them when their term expired and have trained soldiers, but to send up unexperienced men from the Provinces.

Hon. Mr. POPE asked if it was correct that a number of men were sent there last year and whether they were entitled to 160 acres?

Hon. Mr. VAIL thought the matter had been discussed enough and that every member understood it.

Hon. Mr. POPE said it appeared that the men who re-enlisted there were punished. It would be better to pay their expenses back again and not to pay the bounty. He could not understand why the men were to be reduced this year. A considerable force was required in that country. The Hon. Minister of the Interior might have to go there to make treaties with the Indians, and what would Prince Edward Island do if that hon. gentleman was massacred there because there was not a sufficient force

to protect him. It was injudicious and unwise at this time to take away from that section of the country what was really required not only for the safety of the people, but also of the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said the reasons of the Minister of Militia give on this question were a little incongruous—that the best men were not selected to discharge the important duties, but that selections were made from the Provinces. The lines drawn between the Provinces were a mistake; if we intended to become a homogenous people these differences should disappear.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the statement of the Hon. Minister of Militia now was that if a person who had served his time was willing to re-enlist on the spot, they would accept him, but give him nothing but his monthly pay. But if that same individual came down to Halifax, and the Minister of Militia was ready to take him, he would be returned at the public cost and receive another grant of 160 acres of land.

Mr. BUNSTER said he viewed with suspicion all the items connected with the expenditure of this Government, and asked for an explanation of the bonds which the Hon. Finance Minister recently created. He proceeded at some length to criticise the various items in the estimates.

The item was then passed.

At 2:45, Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved that the Committee rise and report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

This was negatived.—Yeas, 19; nays, 27.

The item passed.

On item \$293,657 for Mounted Police, Manitoba,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER objected to the Committee continuing to pass items at such an early hour in the morning. He therefore moved that the Committee rise and report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

This was negatived.—Yeas, 21; nays, 34.

A debate arose on this item.

Mr. BOWELL asked [what was the cause of the increase of \$107,651.50 in this vote?

Hon. Mr. POPE.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE submitted a detailed statement which showed that in consequence of establishing so many posts, additional officers had to be appointed. The cost of transporting forage for the horses was enormous, oats costing 12½ cents delivered at some of the posts.

Mr. SCHULTZ asked why the item should be charged to Manitoba?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was a clerical error, that it should have been "North-West Territories."

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved that the Committee rise and report progress, and ask leave to sit again, as this was a very important item that should be thoroughly debated.

After a long debate the item passed. The Committee rose, and the House adjourned at Twenty-five minutes past Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 20, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. BOWELL (For Mr. Kirkpatrick)—To incorporate the British Canadian Loan and Investment Co.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell)—To amend the Act to incorporate the London and Canada Bank, and the Acts amending the same.

Mr. BROOKS—Respecting loans by the British American Land Company.

THE LIBRARY.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) moved the adoption of the report of the Library Committee. He said the Library was intended as a Library of reference, and the works that were in it should be found there at all times. It was entirely open to the public, and instead of the officials in charge being the persons through whom books were given, visitors who had cards of admission, went to the shelves themselves and took away books without stating what they were, keeping them as long as they wished. The number taken

out in one day was 800 volumes, and many of them were brought back in a mutilated, damaged and wretched condition. Some of them were scribbled over and pencil-marked; others had the indication that they belonged to the library cut out of them; illustrated books had their illustrations absolutely removed, and some had disappeared altogether. A more active and efficient supervision was required in the new hall. Instead of the public having access to the books as before, they should be under the control of regular officials. There were other alterations necessary. The library should be divided into three departments, each being under the superintendence of a competent person. Greater care should also be exercised in selecting books, and a Sub-Committee had been appointed, consisting of three members of each House, to assist the Librarian in making selections from time to time. He moved the adoption of the report.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that the points at present submitted seemed to be these:—It was recommended that a larger sum should be voted than was placed in the regular estimates, in order to fill certain blanks in the particular branches of History and French literature, as well as to purchase some further legal books, which he presumed were really provided for in the estimates already.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—I suppose they are. We were not quite clear on that point.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE had understood that this was case. He had observed an item of \$1,000 inserted for the purpose of procuring a particular class of text books, to be kept in a place separate altogether from the library, for the exclusive use of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—That is to be called the Library of the Judges.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There were three other points—one related to the letting out of books, and to this, he thought, the Library Committee would attend. Then there was the kind of books to be purchased in the future; he had had some-

thing to do with the organization of the legislative library at Toronto, and they had decided to exclude all classes of books not directly or indirectly necessary for the purposes of legislation. Works on history were of course necessary in this relation, as well as every sort of book bearing on constitutional law. They included, however, many which did not directly, perhaps, deal with this department of law; but still they were selected in that way, and the rules adopted excluded all light literature. Hon. members during previous years had advocated making the Parliamentary Library similar to the Library of the British Museum, but he thought that this idea might fairly be set aside, as in the first place inadvisable, and secondly, almost impracticable. The number of volumes was at present something like 73,000 or 74,000.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—Eighty thousand or rather more.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE was not quite sure of the capacity of the new Library, but he presumed that the shelving would not accommodate more than three times that number, so that if a general collection were persisted in, a period to it would arrive before many years. The works obtained must consequently be select, and they should be as complete as possible. The report would not, as he read it, force any particular arrangement on the Government, but was intended to simply indicate the views of the House.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON—That is all.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE had discussed the matter to some extent with the Librarian a few months ago, when the latter brought to his attention the existing necessity for having some special assistants to aid him. Of this he was aware, but he had deemed it inexpedient to propose any change until they began to make arrangements for the removal of the books, which would be done probably in July next at the latest. At no distant day he hoped that they would secure assistance of a very high character, as the Librarian and his assistants should be men of great literary attainments. They all knew how very efficient the

present Librarian was, and this standard they should in future maintain. The Government was desirous of learning in connection with these matters the views of the House, as by these their action must necessarily be governed.

Mr. McDOUGALL (Renfrew) thought that at very slight cost great assistance in this respect might be got from persons engaged in special departments of work throughout the Dominion. No doubt the present Librarian gave a great deal of attention to the selection of books, but he could not possibly know of all the new works which come out from time to time. It was perfectly manifest that aid of the kind he had mentioned would be of very great advantage.

The report was adopted.

LIFE INSURANCE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend and consolidate certain Acts respecting Life Insurance.

He explained that this was based on the Act passed last Session, concerning fire and marine insurance companies, when provision was made for their inspection by an officer lately appointed for the purpose, and for a certain deposit being made, which in the case of some of them amounted to \$50,000. The main objects which the Government desired to obtain were of course to provide for the safety of policy holders, as far as was possible, making the companies subject to the inspection of their present official and requiring a certain deposit to be lodged with the Administration. The Act was in the main designed to extend to life insurance companies the provisions on the Statute Book with regard to fire insurance companies. The matters to which most attention would probably be directed were:—the rate of interest on which the valuation of the liabilities should be based—this was proposed to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which was the maximum laid down in the majority of American cities, being moreover considerable in excess of English policies. Schedules would be adopted in the same way as in the case of the fire insurance com-

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panies, and these would be varied as the Government might require, from time to time, on the authority of the Minister of Finance; this clause being exactly identical to a similar clause with reference to fire insurance companies. The expenses would be paid in much the same manner by a proportionate levy on the companies. He would not weary the House at present with any considerable number of details having regard to the possible contingency of the insolvency of companies, and mode in which the assets should be distributed; these being chiefly of a legal nature, which would be better discussed in Committee of the Whole, or in the Committee on Banking and Commerce. Their policy was intended to protect policy-holders, and consideration was given as far as possible to existing interests.

The Bill he hoped would be distributed in the course of a day or two, and he would not move the second reading until hon. gentlemen had had a full opportunity of examining it minutely.

Mr. YOUNG (Waterloo) considered the Bill a move in the right direction on the part of the Government. In letters which he had received from companies affected by the Bill, especially Canadian companies, the principle was very favourably spoken of. He was glad to find that the Government would be ready to receive suggestions in regard to the measure. The clause which made the rate at which the assets of the companies should be counted as against their future liabilities, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was a very important one, and he was pleased to see the Government take this position. He did not think it safe to the persons insuring in the different companies to place the rate higher than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It was true the rate of interest was pretty high in the country at the present time; but undoubtedly the accumulation of capital which would take place in the future would considerably reduce the rate of interest. He trusted, with regard to this point, the Government would maintain the position they had taken.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) said he did not agree with the hon. gentleman on that point, believing that

a great deal more consideration ought to be given to the subject than he thought his hon. friend had given it. There were two parties to be considered in an insurance contract. In England, in the recent Act it was found necessary to introduce on this subject, the rate was placed at 4 per cent., only one per cent. below the legal rate of interest. The legal rate of interest in Canada was 6 per cent., 7 and 8 per cent. being to a greater extent the rule. And he thought it would be perfectly fair if this rate were established at 5 per cent. He was not speaking of the regulations that might be made for the future, he was only speaking of what might be done in reference to companies already existing. It was all very well to place a rule of this kind on the Statute book in reference to companies that did not exist, but when they had to deal with companies already in existence they should take into consideration the contracts that had been entered into by both parties. Insurance companies in making their calculations on the rate of premiums took the rate of interest into consideration equally with the rate of mortality. Now, if the Government suddenly altered the rate of interest from 5 per cent., as it was at present, to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., without enabling the company to increase the price of their premium they would make a one-sided agreement. They would give to the parties who entered into the contract a benefit they did not contract for, and the other parties a liability they never agreed to enter into. There ought to be a certain time given to enable existing companies to gradually bring themselves within the scope of this Act, so that there would be no such pressure on them as they would experience if the loan were changed suddenly. He considered that ten years would be a fair time. To suddenly change this system as was proposed would not be perfectly fair, and the accuracy of the proposition must commend itself to the fairness, the common sense and common reason of every member of the House.

Mr. WORKMAN entirely agreed with the remarks that had fallen from the hon. member for Cardwell. He conceived that the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

was too small, as seven and eight per cent. was the rate of interest that could be obtained on safe investments. That morning he had been offered a good mortgage at eight per cent. with a large margin. He thought $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in a market like that of Canada was too low, and he hoped the five per cent. rate would be embodied in the Bill.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said his experience with regard to the highest class of investments did not agree with that of his hon. friend. He would say to his hon. friend from Cardwell that this was a point of importance. He understood his hon. friend as not objecting to the general principle laid down, but as asking for an exception for the existing companies for a certain period of time. And if he would draw up an amendment in the sense he proposed and submit it to him (Mr. Cartwright) it would be given due consideration.

Mr. PALMER considered this question was of great importance to the public, and was glad that a measure had been introduced on the subject. He desired to see the suggestion of the present Finance Minister carried into effect, namely, putting the inspection and regulation of insurance into the hands of the Government, being satisfied that it was in the interest of the public that this should be done.

Mr. YOUNG said the rate for valuation in the United States was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in Massachusetts it was 4 per cent. The hon. member for Montreal West remarked that mortgages paid eight per cent., but such a rate would not do for a life insurance company with policies running for so many years. The best basis was the rate obtained for our own securities. He (Mr. Young) thought $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was as high a rate as we ought properly to adopt. At the same time he quite agreed with what the hon. member for Cardwell said—it might be inconvenient for some companies to adopt that rate at once.

The Bill was read the second time.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked at what time and in what way the Government

intended to bring matters connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway before the House?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had laid papers before the House giving very full information, indeed, on the subject, and the debate could take place on the vote for the Pacific Railway.

After some further discussion the matter was dropped.

PRIVATE AND LOCAL BILLS.

Bill incorporating the Canadian Fire and Marine Insurance Company was agreed to in Committee of the Whole (Mr. Blain in the chair), read the third time and passed.

Bill to confirm the amalgamation of the City Bank and the Royal Canadian Bank, and to incorporate the Consolidated Bank of Canada, was read the second time.

QUESTIONS BY MEMBERS—A. BRANCHARD.

Mr. ROBILLARD—Whether Athanase Branchard, Esquire, advocate, of Montreal, has ever paid into the hands of the Receiver General a sum of \$619.68, which the said A. Branchard received from the Sheriff of Beauharnois, on the 4th January, 1868, being the amount for which Her Majesty was collocated in a case numbered 269, in the Superior Court, Beauharnois, in which the Right Honorable Edward Ellice was Prosecutor, and W. A. Noel, Duguay *et al.* defendants, under a power of attorney to him, dated 1st July, 1867; what steps have been taken to compel the said Branchard to reimburse the said sum; and if the said sum has not yet been reimbursed, what is the reason of the delay?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—There is no record in the office of the Receiver General of any such sum having been paid, or in my department of proceedings having been taken with reference to it. The hon. member has not stated out of what claim this matter arose, and therefore it is not possible to make further enquiry; but if time and other information is given, further searches will be made.

THE SEIGNORIAL CLAIMS.

Mr. CARON—Whether the Government have wholly paid off the indem-

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nity to the Seigniors of the Province of Quebec; and in case the whole has not been paid, whether the balance is to be paid so soon as the claims of the Seigniors have been approved; finally, whether the Government intend paying tutors unconditionally?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE replied that claims in the aggregate amounting to \$2,618,755 had been paid, or settled to date; the balance of the original capital remaining in the hands of the Government was something under half a million. Of this a very considerable part, owing to entails, could not be paid for years to come; a good number of claimants had not as yet made application, and the rule in all cases was that as soon as the title was proven, payment was made as rapidly as possible. Hitherto no additional payments had been made to tutors, but it was under the consideration of the Department whether this was possible.

COUNTRY POSTMASTERS' SALARIES.

Mr. HORTON enquired whether the Government have based the commission to country postmasters on the basis of their receipts for 1874-5, and if not, why not?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON stated in reply that the salaries for 1875 had been so fixed in all cases but one, where full accounts had been rendered; where these had been partial, the returns for 1874 had been used.

BANK STATEMENTS.

Mr. YOUNG asked whether the Government have considered and intend to propose any more stringent measures for the inspection of the monthly statements of our Chartered Banks published in the *Official Gazette*?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I may say that we have not yet considered any such measures; but the making of a false statement is a misdemeanor, or at any rate a crime in itself.

THE VETERANS OF 1812-15.

Mr. BROUSE—Among the applicants for pensions for services in the war of 1812 and 1815, how many already were in possession of a pension either by the British or Canadian Gov-

ernments; also on what basis has a pension been denied our veterans who were in receipt of one for injuries received during the Canadian rebellion of 1837 and 1838?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—Eighteen persons already in the receipt of pensions asked to be allowed to participate in the \$50,000 grant; four received them from the British and fourteen from the Canadian Government. We have followed the practice of the Imperial Government, which I understand is not to grant a second pension to any person.

THE ORDERS OF THE HOUSE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—If the right hon. member for Kingston is here on Wednesday, we should consider the adoption of the report sent in by the Select Committee regarding the rules of the House.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He is on the way now.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I give notice that it will be taken up on Wednesday when the motions are called.

THE NORTH-WEST COUNCIL.

Mr. SCHULTZ moved, seconded by Mr. Wright, that an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General praying for copies of all acts passed by the North-West Council, and copies of all correspondence between the Government of Canada and the Lieut-Governor of the North-West Territories relative to any matters engaging the attention of the said Council. Mr. Schultz, said that he would have moved this Address without any reference to the Council whose functions were about to be supplanted by the new order of things, were it not that his attention was directed to the matter by an editorial in the *Toronto Globe* of the 25th February, a portion of which he would take the liberty of reading:—

"Heretofore the North-West Territory east and west of Manitoba has been governed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and a species of half advisory, half legislative, Council of gentlemen chosen from among the residents in Winnipeg and its vicinity. They are themselves not slow to admit that their constitution is a farce, and it requires no effort of imagination in those even who have

never been in the North-West to understand the impossibility of merchants and others in Winnipeg acting as a Legislature for the settlements on the Saskatchewan, and nearly a thousand miles away in the neighbourhood of the Rocky Mountains

"At one of the last sittings of this Winnipeg Council, of which the former editor of the *Nouveau Monde* is a prominent member, it was proposed to incorporate the clergy of the missionary dioceses of the North-West with land-holding powers. The object of this was so apparent to those in Winnipeg, who have seen the effect of the system there, that it was strenuously opposed by some of the English members, but in spite of their efforts it was carried, and would have come to Ottawa with such force as this nondescript Council have been able to give to their legislation had not Lieutenant-Governor Morris refused to assent to the Bill."

Here was the utterance of a leading organ as to the value of this Council now about to cease to exist. There was a reference to certain Bills which were brought before the Council to incorporate religious bodies in the North-West, and where it was assumed that the Council had passed these; and they were only prevented from becoming law by the action of the Lieutenant-Governor who exercised his power to stop them. This statement he (Mr. Schultz) must characterize as utterly without foundation. It was true that such Bills were before the Council, but when the promoter of them found that the sense of the Council was against them, he withdrew, and it did not need the power of the Lieutenant-Governor to prevent any ill-considered and rash action of the Council itself. Of course it must always be a matter of opinion as to whether the services of this Council were valuable or not, but we have a more authoritative utterance than the last, which hon. gentlemen will find in the last report of the Minister of the Interior, who says:—
"It is due to that Council to record the fact that their legislation and valuable practical suggestions submitted to Your Excellency from time to time through their official head, Lieut.-Governor Morris, aided the Government not a little in the good work of laying the foundations of law and order in the North-West, in securing the good will of the Indian tribes, and in establishing the prestige of the Dominion Government throughout the vast territory."

Here is the estimate which the Hon. Minister specially charged with the care of North-West matters place upon the services of this Council. He (Mr. Schultz) being a member of this Council did not care to say much of its merits or otherwise, and would leave it for time to determine whether a body of men, many of whom if they did not now live in the North-West yet had the practical experience of years in connection with it, were not as to be of service as any Council to be appointed under the new system, and he trusted that the new Council would give that consideration to the suggestions and recommendations of the old which he felt their importance demanded. Among the papers which he hoped to have brought down by this motion, would be found valuable suggestions as to the preservation of the buffalo. He (Mr. Schultz) would urge the importance of this matter on the Government. So long as the buffalo were numerous there was little danger of difficulty with the Plain tribes of Indians with whom we were now being brought into contact. When these were extinct we must expect to deal with a race of paupers rendered dangerous by want of food. The Rev. Father Lascombe, a high authority of all such matters, believes in common with many others that if the present rate of destruction goes on the race of buffalo will be extinct in ten years. It is true that since the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad and the establishment of military and other settlements in the Missouri, Father Lascombe estimates the number killed yearly during the winter at 80,000, and about the same number in summer. Their present feeding ground comprises a length of, say six hundred miles by about one hundred and fifty, and is bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, on the east by the Qu'Appelle Lakes, on the south by the Missouri and the north by the north branch of the Saskatchewan, and this limit is ever decreasing by the destruction caused by the hunters of the Saskatchewan on the north, those from the Missouri on the south and the Red River hunters on the east to an extent and rapidity so alarming that it is estimated by the Rev. Father and

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others that in ten years they will be extinct. Such a result is not at all improbable, since it is only a few years since the buffalo ranged east of the Red River, and since the last of the wood buffalo, an animal of the same species, but larger size, which ranged between the Saskatchewan and the Slave Lakes, was killed and the whole of the race is extinct. The use of the revolving pistol and the repeating rifle instead of the ordinary loading gun has helped to bring this about, aided by the destruction caused by wolves, sickness, accidents of various sorts and the wasteful destruction of the buffalo pound. Unfortunately, too, it is the robe of the female buffalo which is the most valuable, and when killed for it she is always with calf. It is her flesh which makes the best meat, and being more easily hunted down than the bulls, it has caused a destruction which has resulted in many of the bands met with last summer being composed of a proportion of six or seven males to one female. The district where buffalo are found has narrowed with startling rapidity during the last ten years, buffalo having about that time been seen by him (Mr. Schultz) east of Red River. These facts point strongly to the necessity of preventive measures, and the facts spoken of are so well known to the Indians and half-breeds that they are anxious the Government should take action in the matter if it were not for the fact that it would be impossible to prevent the killing of cows. At the same time there would be no objection to the killing of buffalo bulls at any season of the year, but since this is impossible a stringent law is demanded which will practically leave these animals undisturbed from the 1st November to 1st May, and an enactment to prevent the killing of calves at any season. If such a law were passed it is believed that in five years the buffalo would have so increased that these restrictions might be removed. He (Mr. Schultz) hoped that this matter would receive the consideration at the hands of the Government which its importance demanded, and that the papers bearing on this matter would be printed for the general information they would afford.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the matter to which the hon member had particularly alluded—the preservation of the buffalo in the Western prairies—had occupied a large share of the attention of the Government for a considerable time.

SANITARY STATISTICS.

Mr. BROUSE moved for the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the expediency of asking legislation, with a view to constitute a bureau of sanitary statistics in connection with one of the public departments. He said he had brought this matter up two years ago, when some doubt was expressed as to whether it was within the jurisdiction of this Parliament or of the Local Legislatures. The interest manifested in sanitary science was increased day by day, and he desired to ask that a bureau of sanitary science should be connected with one of the departments of Ottawa, where information on such matters could be received, tabulated and sent throughout the Dominion educating people to protect their lives. In Massachusetts, every year at the opening of the Legislature a Committee is appointed on the question of sanitary science. The death rate, in consequence of the action of the Legislature, had been reduced fifteen per cent. during the last few years. In Michigan, ten years ago, similar legislation was had with equally good results, the reduction in the death rate during the decade being about sixteen per cent. In Minnesota, Colorado and other States, steps were being taken in the same direction. During the last Session of the Georgia Legislature a Board of Health was established for the State. The population of Georgia is about the same as that of Michigan—a little over a million inhabitants. The gentleman appointed to take charge of health matters in Georgia wrote for information to Dr. Baker, who occupied a similar position in Michigan. The latter in his report just published in the newspapers says:—"If the death rate in Georgia in the last census of the year 1870 had been that of Michigan at the same time, the number of deaths would have been 11,130 instead of 13,606 as reported,

"an addition of 2,476 deaths." It was estimated and ascertained that for every single individual case of death there are about twenty cases of severe sickness, and, therefore, the 2,476 deaths represent 49,520 cases of severe sickness. It is estimated the expense of each case of sickness is about \$40 for the physician, medicine, time and nursing. That would give some \$1,980,800, which added to the cost of burial gives \$2,030,320 in a single year as the loss to the State of Georgia for want of proper sanitary legislation. The report goes on to say that "the State should inaugurate a measure that would result in the saving of millions of dollars in money, and preventing deaths and sickness involving an incalculable amount of human suffering." The desire to legislate on this subject in the United States is increasing. At an important meeting recently held in Philadelphia, attended by statesmen and men of education, it was unanimously resolved to ask Congress to establish, not a bureau, but a department of health at Washington. In France the result of sanitary legislation was as follows:—In 1842 the death rate was one in 36; after the board of health had taken action, and the people had been educated in hygiene, in 1862 the death rate had fallen to one in 39, and in the decade from 1862 to 1872, to one in 47, a decrease in thirty years of nearly 33 per cent. Supposing France had a population of 36,000,000 the deaths in 1842 would have been 1,000,000, but in 1872 only 766,000, showing a saving of 234,000 lives in a single year.

Austria and Russia have taken action in this direction, and while Prussia has no truly Provincial Boards of Health, she is establishing a central bureau for the Empire. The object of the motion now before the House was not to discourage local boards but to encourage them. England has legislated in this direction by passing no less than forty health measures in the last thirty or forty years. Dr. Latham, in his admirable treatise, mentions the results of sanitary arrangements in twelve towns, to five of which he would refer:—In Cardiff, the death rate before legislation was

32 $\frac{2}{10}$ per 1,000; after legislation, 22 per 1,000; saving of life, 32 per cent.; decrease in typhoid fever, 40 per cent.; decrease in consumption, 17 per cent. In Croydon, death rate before legislation, 23 per 1,000; after legislation, 18 per 1,000; saving of life, 22 per cent.; decrease of typhoid fever, 63 per cent.; decrease of consumption, 17 per cent. In Merthyr, before legislation, death rate per thousand, 33; after legislation, 26; saving of life, 18 per cent.; decrease of typhoid fever, 60 per cent.; decrease of consumption, 11 per cent. In Newport the death rate before legislation was 31 per 1000 and was reduced to 21 after legislation, showing a saving of life of 32 per cent.; the saving on typhoid fever was 36 per cent. and on consumption 32 per cent. In Salisbury the death rate previous to sanitary legislation was 27 per 1000; after legislation it was reduced to 21, a saving of human life of 20 per cent., of 75 per cent. on typhoid fever, and 49 per cent. in the death rate from consumption. Doctor Buchanan reported that the result of sanitary legislation in England, in 25 cities and towns under his care, was the reduction of the death rate in some to 20 per cent. and others to 33 per cent., being a reduction of one-half. He begged to instance some other cities:—Liverpool, before sanitary legislation, was 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ per thousand per year, and after sanitary legislation it was reduced to 26 per thousand per year, or a saving of life of nearly 33 per cent. In the city of London the death rate was 40 per cent. before legislation and 20 per cent. since. Since the sanitary legislation had been put into effect in England there had been a reduction of the mortality from consumption of 49 to 10 per cent. Professor Grey, who was appointed one of a commission to investigate this question, when said he returned after making the enquiry wrote:—“I am fully impressed that throughout England and Wales, that of the 36,000 deaths from consumption which take place yearly, 5,000 could be prevented.” This disease prevailed to a considerable extent in the Dominion of Canada and it was of importance that nothing that would tend to decrease the number of deaths from that cause should be forgotten.

Mr. BROUSE.

England had also taken a lively interest in the sanitary condition of her colonies. In Calcutta the deaths had been reduced 50 per cent. by sanitary legislation. England throughout her Eastern Dominions required the most stringent observance of sanitary rules by her army of 70,000 regulars and 130 000 native-soldiers.

He would next turn to the Dominion, and take first the City of Montreal. The statistics were not perfect, but it was shown that the death rate in Montreal was 38, and he was prepared to think that it exceeded 40 per cent. Montreal was most favourably situated, but notwithstanding this fact its death rate was 20 per cent greater than that of the crowded City of London. The city of Toronto was located in a healthy and beautiful position, yet its death rate was over 38 per 1,000. It was in the power of the House to change that enormous death rate, and it was, perhaps, most important legislation which it was now possible that hon. body could pass. There were three considerations involved in the question before the House. They had life, health and money. With regard to the first, Dr. Liman said in his valuable life report, “that one-third of the deaths in England could be prevented.” There was a population of 4,000,000 in Canada, and taking the death rate as 30 in 1,000 there would be 120,000 deaths, one-third of which, 40,000, would be preventable deaths. He was willing to take 15,000 as the number of preventable deaths, and he was satisfied that that estimate could not be questioned. They were very anxious to attract emigration to our Canadian shores and spent a good deal for that purpose; but they had a preventable death rate greater than the entire emigration remaining in Canada. When so much money was spent in attracting strangers to Canada, should they not be as anxious to protect the lives of those near and dear to them, and be equally ready to enter upon a similar expenditure for that purpose? With regard to the second point, health, it had been shown that for every death there were 20 cases of severe sickness. That gave, with 15,000 deaths, 300,000 severe cases of sickness which might have been avoid-

ed if sanitary measures had been properly understood and carried into effect in the Dominion. Each death, according to English statistics, implied an average of 20 days of sickness, which, taking the number of preventable deaths in the Dominion as 15,000, gave 11,000,000 days of preventable sickness. The returns published in Europe showed about 8 days' sickness yearly to each individual, one-third of which were preventable. That would be 6 days to each person, but taking as the lowest estimate, 3 days, that would give 12,000,000 days of sickness that could be prevented. The two methods came within a fraction of each other. Now, there was also a money consideration in this matter. It had been shown that the average cost of each case of sickness was \$40, and they had 15,000 preventable deaths in this country. Twenty seven cases of sickness to each death gave 300,000 severe cases of sickness, which at \$10 each would give the sum of \$12,000,000 expended yearly, which might be prevented if proper sanitary precautions were taken. Again, it was allowed that funerals cost generally \$20 each. That would give another preventable expenditure of \$6,000,000. It had been estimated that each individual life was worth \$50 per year, making the value of each adult life to be \$1,000. The total loss to the Dominion by these preventable death was \$750,000. There was also a large amount of suffering which could have been prevented; and crime being the result of poverty, which was bread bysickness, it was necessary to take these circumstances into consideration in order to come at a proper estimate of the value of health. He knew that it was a difficult matter to approach the Government on these questions. The loss of an individual was simply regarded as such, and he appealed to the House and Government to take this matter into serious consideration, and to legislate for the general good of the country. He knew that some would say that it should be left to the physician; but this he denied. It was not his duty to prevent, but to heal diseases, sacrificing at times his health and life for the benefit of his fellow-creatures; but it was the duty of the

statesman and philanthropist to initiate sanitary measures in this relation. It could not be said that our climate was not favourable to longevity, for the Blue Book just placed in his hands had convinced him, as he thought it would every hon. member, that no country in the world occupied a better position in this respect. The returns showed that 3,000 veterans over 78 years of age were now living, though at the time of the war of 1812, the population of Ontario only numbered 82,000; and this circumstance could not be paralleled.

He did not wish to prevent Local Governments from taking action as well; but with this he did not think that a bureau of sanitary science would interfere. They simply asked for some central point, where they might receive all information relating to diseases peculiar to our climate and soil, and everything in this regard concerning the children on the streets, the artisans in their workshops, the thieves in their prisons, the insane in their asylums, &c. The Government should legislate if possible to protect the health of the people, and preserve human life.

He did not propose that the Committee should have power to send for persons, or to incur any great expense. He believed that a bureau could be established with scarcely any additional expense in connection with the Department of Agriculture, or some other Department. He moved that a Select Committee be appointed to consider the expediency of asking legislation with a view to constitute a bureau of sanitary statistics in connection with one of the public departments; the Committee to be composed of the Hon. Messrs. Holton and Robitaille, and Messrs. Scatcherd, Blain, Dymond, Flynn, Young, Burpee (Sunbury) Kerr, Landerkin, Forbes, Christie, Fiset and the mover.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE had listened, as he was sure every hon. member had done, with the greatest interest to the speech of his hon. friend. At the same time he was bound to say at once that the object the hon. gentleman desired to accomplish, and which would be so greatly in the interests of the country, affected local far more than federal legislation. The hon. gentleman had himself, in his elaborate

argument, pointed this out when he referred to American legislation on the part of the States of the American Union in this relation. Our powers were similarly limited.

It would not be denied that the chief cause of bad health in our towns and cities was the want of proper drainage and of pure water. His hon. friend had cited Montreal as one of the very worst examples of an unhealthy city, in the Dominion at least, and if his statement was correct—and this he had no reason to doubt—its mortality was more than, or at least double that of the City of London. It was also known that the drainage of Montreal was exceedingly defective, and that the water used there was not as good as it ought to be. The water of the Ottawa River was probably as pure as that supplied to most cities; but a very large portion of Montreal was besides supplied from wells. They knew that in Ottawa, until the water was brought into it from the river, typhoid fever was exceedingly prevalent, and he had been informed by physicians that since this event this form of disease had almost disappeared. He had no doubt that if Montreal was properly drained the health of its people would be immensely improved. He was under the impression that the mortality of London (England) had decreased from 28 to 29 per 1,000 to about from 19 to 20 per 1,000 since the perfection of its drainage and sewerage system. This House had no power to make regulations for the drainage of cities and towns, as this rested exclusively within the province of the Local Legislatures.

On the clearing away of the heavy timber—which had covered it for ages—from a large portion of the flat lands in Ontario, a great deal of ague, and what were termed lake diseases, had been produced, and the Local Legislatures had appropriated a large sum of money to be loaned to the occupants of such properties, the drainage of which had caused the disappearance of these diseases, while making the lands more productive. Many towns in Canada had been built in places unsuitable for obtaining a supply of good water, and buildings were frequently

erected without reference to the great necessities of ensuring health and cleanliness; the result was that certain diseases prevailed to a great extent in such localities.

It was tolerably well admitted—though a small class might deny it—that vaccination would prevent the spread of small-pox; but this Parliament could not deal with this matter or anything of the kind; and so with other sanitary measures. It was in their power and their duty to establish a quarantine at our sea ports, to prevent the introduction of infectious diseases from vessels coming from foreign ports, but so far as he was aware, to this their power was limited. Mr. Speaker had previously called attention to the prevalence of a most painful disease, leprosy—not common fortunately in this country—in the Province of New Brunswick, but still they could take no action in this regard, though they might in such cases vote a sum of money in aid of the local authorities.

Fruitful causes of disease were—the want of proper ventilation and light in our dwellings; and in many of our towns, the hastily and ill-constructed houses might be called breathing places for consumption and lung affections and the excessive use of stimulating liquors—the vilest of all being perhaps common whiskey made from the very worst corn, adulterated often afterwards with more unwholesome ingredients by the retailer. An officer should be appointed to declare buildings unfit for habitation when necessary; and as to liquors, it was held by some that we had power to prohibit their sale and manufacture altogether. There was no question, that the importation should be forbidden, but as to manufacture and sale, it was different. all these.

His hon. friend could scarcely hope to accomplish anything by this motion farther than to elicit discussion and lay his own views before the public, and in this he had succeeded. The form of the motion was also objectionable, proposing the establishment of a department—a proposition which should originate with the Government; but he would not take advantage of a technicality in this regard. These

matters had not, however, escaped the attention of the Government, as they had some relation to the question of vital statistics; the extreme value to the country of such a system was undoubtedly making us acquainted with the localities where certain diseases prevailed above all others. This question was one of the most important that could engage the very anxious attention of any Government, and they intended, he might add, to promote the object which the hon. gentleman had in view, by every means within their power. He hoped that his hon. friend would not press his notion.

The hour being six o'clock, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. WORKMAN resumed the debate. He said the mortality in Montreal was not so great as it appeared to be, in proportion to the population. The limits of that city are the same now as they were 90 years ago, when the population was only some 9,000. The present population is 150,000, and there are between 35,000 and 40,000 outside the limits in the suburbs, where there are very few hospitals or charitable institutions. The consequence is the sick and destitute are brought into the city where they are cared for. There is in Montreal among its many excellent charitable institutions, an asylum under the management of the Grey Nuns, for unfortunate children born out of wedlock, and also some born really in wedlock. He would not venture to state the number of such children brought there, but it was very large, and they not only came from the suburbs, but from neighbouring towns and even from Ottawa City. They arrived, many of them, in a dying state, diseased and suffering from the effects of exposure. Though every care was taken of them by the good Sisters, the rate of mortality was 19 to 20 per week, and this helped to swell the mortality of Montreal, and to give the public the idea that the city was unhealthy.

He maintained that the water supply of Montreal was as pure as any in the world, and he had visited many portions

of Europe and America. It was obtained from the St. Lawrence, about seven miles above the city, where the current ran at about the rate of six miles per hour. During ten months, it consisted of Ottawa, and during two months—February and March, when the Ottawa River was extremely low—of St. Lawrence water; and he had never heard that the health of the city at all varied during the year in this respect. The supply was most abundant and general; and the diseases prevailing there could not be laid to its deficiency or its unhealthiness. Wells were entirely unknown in the city or the suburbs, as far as he knew; small-pox was, it was true, epidemic in certain parts, particularly in St. Louis and St. James' Wards, owing to a most unreasonable and unjust prejudice against vaccination. But he hoped that this would be soon overcome by aid of the common sense of the people. The mortality was most largely confined to children under three or certainly under four years of age; and during July and August, this was really appalling, chiefly through diarrhoea, and dysentery; but the adult population was as healthy as in any town on this continent. He might mention for instance that his own mother lived to the age of 102 and 22 days. The death rate was not so great as appeared. The matter in question was one of most vital importance; and he trusted that regarding it the Government would take action. In Great Britain, France, Belgium, Austria, and Hungary such a bureau existed, and the vital statistics collected were studied with the greatest interest and care. The health of the German people was also promoted by their Government by every means within its power. In Munich, Bavaria, an apparatus was provided for enabling persons, who after interment might regain consciousness, to give an alarm; and, therefore, he thought that they should do something at least for the living. He trusted that at a future Session this subject would receive from the Government the consideration it deserved.

Mr. CHRISTIE approved heartily of his hon. friend's motion, as the question was one of very great importance; for the good which can by this means

be effected could be scarcely estimated. In a short time, he hoped that the sanitary condition of our country would be completely revolutionized. Many diseases were preventable; and small-pox, it was well known, could be virtually extinguished with proper sanitary regulations. In parts of Great Britain and the United States, the death-rate was only from 12 to 13 per thousand; in other places it was 30, and in Montreal 40.

Mr. WORKMAN—It is 39 in Montreal.

Mr. CHRISTIE had seen in the *Canada Medical Gazette* that it was from 40 to 50 per thousand. This question was important from a monetary point of view, as sickness caused loss of time, unusual expenditure, &c., and he believed that important as the system of immigration was, a greater number of lives were sacrificed in Canada through preventable diseases annually than there were immigrants brought into the Dominion during that period.

Mr. BLAIN said in case of an epidemic it would be well that this Parliament should have power to meet the exigency. He therefore felt it his duty to support the hon. gentleman's motion.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he felt it was a matter of regret that the subject of the public health had not been under the purview of the federal power. The hon. member for Grenville had shown by a very moderate calculation something like \$15,000,000 a year might be saved to the wealth of the country. Suppose the saving were placed at half that, a small portion of it would pay for the attention to be devoted to this question, and the advantage would be great in rendering it more attractive as a country to reside in. From the lowest point of view—the financial—the question assumed a gigantic character. It was not exaggerated in any degree by the hon. member for Grenville. There was but one opinion on that point, and the only question was how far this Parliament had power to deal with the matter. He hoped the Committee would be granted, and that steps would be taken—and the Dominion Government had

Mr. CHRISTIE.

power to do so—to collect a mass of sanitary statistics which would be of incalculable benefit to the public. Perhaps the hon. Leader of the Government would consent to having the motion so amended as to bring it within the rules of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the motion could be so amended and would be approved of.

Mr. LANDERKIN said this was a question which had occupied the attention of most civilized nations with the most satisfactory results. At present the sanitary arrangements of this country were very defective. He recollected that an epidemic of small-pox broke out in the place where he resided, and the municipal council were unable to appoint a board of health until a proclamation was issued. The epidemic made headway and many lives were lost before the board of health was organized. Municipal Councils should have more power to deal with such matters. The Local Governments had boards of agriculture and there was a Dominion Department of Agriculture. He did not see, therefore, why this parliament could not establish a bureau of sanitary science. He trusted the Government would consent to the formation of this Committee.

Mr. DYMOND said it seemed to him the difficulty had been created in the mind of the Premier rather by the speech travelling beyond the record than by the motion itself. Although sanitary reform was undoubtedly a matter of local concern, to collect statistics for the whole Dominion was a work which the federal power alone was competent to deal with. The duty of this Committee would be to indicate the class of information required and the form, perhaps, in which the statistics might be most usefully computed.

Mr. KERR rose to express his thanks on behalf of his constituents for the admirable speech of the hon. member for Grenville. He hoped this Committee would be granted. There must be something radically wrong in this country when the sanitary condition compared so unfavourably with that of the crowded countries of the Old World.

The motion was amended so as to conform with the rules of the House, and adopted.

STEAM FIRE-ENGINES.

Mr. STEPHENSON moved for an order of the House for a return of all the steam fire-engines imported into the Dominion of Canada from foreign countries; the class of such engines; the country or countries from which they were imported; the price at which each such engine was entered for duty; by whom so entered; and the amount of duties so paid upon each engine respectively.

He explained that manufacturers of steam engines in Canada considered that they were exposed to unfair competition from foreigners, through the importation of engines for trial, which were sold, though the duty was never paid. The Hon. Premier had assured him that no duty had been refunded in any case, but he was sure that what he said was correct. Our manufacturers in consequence felt justly aggrieved, they themselves being obliged to pay on articles they used $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties. He trusted that no objection would be raised to the bringing down of the returns.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that there was no objection. They could, however, not be prepared probably for some time, as he did not think that steam were separated from other fire-engines in the ordinary returns. In the absence of the Minister of Customs he could not speak with certainty, but was strongly under the impression that no engines had been allowed to enter free; as to being entered in bond he could not say but this might be the case in exceptional instances.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought that a mistaken impression prevailed throughout the country, as constant application had been made to the late Government for the importation of these engines free of duty.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They were free at one time.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It probably arose from that. He thought, however, that the law was in every instance observed. Engines might have been allowed to enter in bond for experi-

ments, but he was satisfied that they had not been permitted to be retained without the payment of duty.

The motion was carried.

THE CHARLEVOIX ELECTION.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved :—

“ That the Honourable Hecter Louis Langevin, the member representing the electoral district of Charlevoix in this House, having stated from his place in this House that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence that the Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon, the member representing in this House the electoral district of Quebec Centre, and the President of the Privy Council of Canada, was instrumental in hiring, or causing to be hired, a number of men who are employed in summer as members of the River Police at Quebec, and in sending them or causing them to be sent to the electoral district of Charlevoix during the recent election of a member to represent that district in the House of Commons; and that the said men were headed or accompanied by one Edmond Trudelle, an officer or employé of the Customs Department at Quebec, and that the whole or a large portion of said body of men were conveyed to said district in vehicles, the cost of such hire being charged to the said Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon, who has promised to pay, or directed or caused the same to be paid, the said men so headed or accompanied being sent to said electoral district to interfere illegally in said election to disturb said election, and thus to deprive the electors or a portion of the electors of said district of their freedom as such electors; and the said Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon having denied these charges; it is ordered that the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections do enquire into all the circumstances connected with the above charges, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before them, and the proceedings of said Committee on this subject.”

He explained that on the 20th or 21st of last February, he had made a motion to the effect that copies of instructions given to an officer of the Customs Department at Quebec should be laid before Parliament; and a statement with regard to the conduct of that person, and the men sent under his charge to the county he had the honour to represent. While doing so, the President of the Council thought proper to deny its correctness; he thereupon repeated it, and the denial was repeated; and also a third time. Accordingly, he asked for a Committee in order that he might prove his charge to the satisfaction of the House. He had

not put the notice on the paper for a few days, in the hope that the President of the Council might, after reflection, withdraw what he had said in the heat of the debate; the notice had been on the paper for over three weeks, and though he was told that he might take the matter up out of its order, as a question of privilege, he had not done so for this reason: he had no feeling against the President of the Council, and when he brought the subject before the House, he had not intended to move for a Committee. He wished to afford the President of the Council an opportunity for withdrawing his denial; but in his absence, he felt obliged to make his motion. It would give him great pleasure had the President of the Council acted as he had desired—or if he would do so now—as he did not wish to persecute the hon. gentlemen. He hoped that the motion would be granted, as he would then be ready with the evidence required to establish his accusation.

Mr. FRECHETTE said that having been present at the electoral contest in question he was familiar with the facts referred to in the motion. He was ready to admit that there was a number of men belonging to the Water Police Corps of Quebec present at this election. The question was, had they not a right to be there as private individuals, as well as a great many other persons belonging to different parts of the Province of Quebec?

The question sought to be discussed by this motion was, had these men done anything to restrain the freedom of the electors? The hon. gentleman from Charlevoix said that men were sent down there with the connivance of a Minister of the Crown. This had been denied; but every one knew that if he had done so, he would not have been acting as a Minister of the Crown, but as a private member of a political party taking advantage of legitimate means to protect their interest. Was the hon. member for Charlevoix ready to deny that two years ago the late hon. member for Charlevoix was badly wounded, and left for dead in a pool of blood by a gang of Conservative ruffians? Was the hon. gentleman ready to deny that scenes of violence of a most serious character

took place in his own presence at the last election? Was he ready to deny that Mr. Tremblay had a very narrow escape on the 1st of January from the partizans of the hon. member? He considered that the Liberal Committee perfectly justified in taking means to keep peace and protect the life of their candidate. He contended it was not only their right but their duty. Mr. Fréchette then spoke of the scenes of violence which took place at the last local election in his own county, and to the depredations of what he called the Langevin gang in Quebec city. He was proceeding to read extracts from the evidence given before a Committee appointed to enquire into the mode of electioneering adopted by the hon. member for Charlevoix in running for Quebec Centre, when

Mr. MASSON rose to a point of order, holding that the hon. gentleman was out of order in reference to matters connected with other elections.

Mr. SPEAKER sustained the point of order.

Mr. FRECHETTE said he did not think the hon. member for Charlevoix, with his antecedent, had better introduce such charges into the House. He begged to move in amendment to the motion that all the words between "charge and enquire" be struck out, and that the following words be substituted:—"A select Committee be appointed to."

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said there was a marked change in the tone of the hon. member for Charlevoix, who was now willing to drop the matter on certain conditions. He (Mr. Cauchon) held the same position now as he did the other day. He stood by his denial. The hon. member for Charlevoix was the last in this country who should level such charges against members of this House. He had travelled from county to county with this corruption fund, and was at last rejected by public opinion, even in his own county, and had to conceal himself for a long time, not daring to meet the people taking his constitutional walk only by night, because he was afraid to face the public gaze. Yet the hon. member had the audacity to challenge public opinion and attempt to place him (Mr.

Cauchon) in a position in which he (Mr. Langevin) had been so many times himself, though he had been, from considerations of mercy, allowed to escape. The men that went to Charlevoix were not there as policemen. They were perfectly independent. They might have been postmen; but what did they do? They did not interfere with the election. The old member for the county asked for protection when he knew his life was endangered, and when he (Mr. Cauchon) knew his own life was in danger from rowdies who went from meeting to meeting to prevent people from speaking. He had done nothing of which he was ashamed, nothing but befriend his supporter. He had warned his friends not to violate the law or interfere with the freedom of election. It might have been possible that a Custom House Officer was in Charlevoix at the time of the election, but some of the officers of the same department took part in the triumph of the hon. member for Charlevoix, which was actually organized by a Custom House Officer. No attempt was made to punish those officials nor to interfere with the postmasters in Charlevoix, who had not only voted for the Opposition candidate but also worked for him. If the men who went to Charlevoix did nothing to interfere with the freedom of election, there was neither harm, guilt nor crime, and the hon. member would discover by and by he was mistaken in his assertion.

Mr. CARON regretted that personalities had been brought into this discussion. The hon. member for Charlevoix, in moving for the Committee, had done so in such a way that not even the President of the Council himself could have taken offence. The accusation against the latter gentleman was, that he had organized a force of men who, during the season of navigation, were police, but during the winter season had no legal right to act as such. The President of the Council had selected the hon. member for Lévis to defend his case. He would not say that the hon. member for Lévis was a bad lawyer, because he knew him professionally, and as such knew how much he was deserving of respect; but he had a very bad case, and had spoken upon this

occasion of everything but that case. The President of the Council complained that his life was endangered; but the only risk he ran in Charlevoix was when he fell into a cellar. The hon. gentleman had referred to his twenty-five years of political glories and brilliant victories, but never mentioned how often he had been brought to the bar of public opinion. No doubt the accusations would be considered untrue, but still the hon. member was accused of having made use of his position as one of the members of a former Government to receive from the hands of contractors and others moneys which he should never have touched. No doubt it was a slander when he was accused, while he was Minister of Public Works, of having received from the hands of his own contractors these amounts, which as a public man he should not have received.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said although such charges were false and therefore did not hurt him, he wished it to be understood that he had not attacked the private character of the hon. member for Charlevoix.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Did not the hon. gentleman say the hon. member for Charlevoix had committed such public crimes as to prevent him taking his constitutional walks by day?

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I say public opinion was so strong against him that he had to do so, but I defy anyone to say I attacked his private character. This assault on me is unprovoked altogether.

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. member for Lévis was very properly called to order for referring to matters concerning the Local Legislature; the hon. member for Quebec is equally out of order.

Mr. CARON said he was merely speaking of public and political matters; he could remember the cry of indignation which rang from one end of the Province to the other, when the Hon. Leader of the Local House, Mr. Joly, from his seat in Parliament accused the Hon. President of the Council, the member for Montmorency, of receiving illegally and unconstitu-

tionally money from Government as one of the proprietors of the Beauport Asylum.

Mr. SPEAKER Called the hon. gentleman to order.

Mr. CARON—Said the hon. member for Charlevoix had been accused of organizing a band of bullies to carry the election, but the hon. member for Levis, in making the charge should have mentioned something about the kidnapping of L. E. François.

The hon. gentleman knew that he could be probably elected; but this person suddenly found himself carried away by a number of friends and admirers of the Hon. President of the Council, who no doubt was absolutely ignorant of it. This was possibly one of the slanders to which public men were sometimes exposed; still it simplified motives considerably, and the hon. member was elected unanimously; but after all this was a very simple matter. It could be easily dealt with, and he hoped that it would be treated in such a manner that such a question would never again be brought before the House. The reputation and character of our public men belonged to the country, and it mattered very little, when history was written, whether they belonged to that, or the other, side of the House, for in taking away, or assailing their reputation, deep and lasting injury was inflicted on the country. He trusted that a Committee would be granted, for in this event if the charge was false, the President of the Council could adduce the requisite proof. The hon. gentleman had made charges of the most serious character against some of the most honourable and respected of our public men from time to time, in the columns of his paper, and it seemed to him that he should also be able to receive counter-attacks without showing so much excitement and temper as he had exhibited on the occasion when this accusation was preferred.

No one could doubt that the Water Police, against all the rules of the force, had been organized and sent to Charlevoix in January, and he had heard it then rumoured in Quebec that the President of the Council was a party

to the transaction; other charges, which might possibly be termed slanders, were made in the Province of Quebec against the hon. gentleman, and no doubt in this instance he would be able to show that the charge was unfounded.

Mr. PELLETIER was surprised to hear the hon. member for Quebec complain of the use of personalities in the discussion, as the hon. member had himself indulged freely in that direction. He would not, however, follow him in this respect. Having taken an active part in the Charlevoix election, he was acquainted with the facts, and he hoped they would be laid before the House through a Committee, for the hon. member for Charlevoix would then learn more than he desired. If he were allowed to allude to past elections, he could prove many circumstances which would be very disagreeable to the hon. member. Policemen had been sent to Charlevoix County, but the charge that they were dispatched there in order to interfere illegally in the election was totally unfounded and false. It was impossible otherwise to obtain proper protection in the county. In 1874, Mr. Tremblay had been nearly murdered there, and what justice had been obtained? Two men had been arrested, but their trials had always been deferred, and this proved to be a mere farce. He was at St. Paul's Bay with the hon. member who threatened him, and he was obliged to cross the river in order to address the people. The hon. member had come to the meeting with a company he did not care to mention particularly, and refused to enter the house unless they were also admitted; cartridges had afterwards been found concealed on the premises; all this would be proven before the Committee. Not only so, but in every parish of the county, the friends of the hon. member had been warned to be very careful to vote before 11 a. m., indicating that no one would be permitted to approach the polls after that hour. This was the reason why protection was demanded; he would tell the names of the persons who asked for it, before the Committee.

The hon. gentleman continued, amid great interruption, to say that the hon.

member for Lévis had been properly called to order for referring to a particular election for Quebec Centre. An hon. member had spoken of that election having been carried by acclamation, but he (Mr. Pelletier) could give such an explanation of that matter as would make the hon. gentleman who had been returned blush for shame. He (Mr. Pelletier) could have been elected upon that occasion, as he had been before in Quebec East, but for his desire to see the public peace preserved and the lives of the citizens protected from danger. At that election gangs of bullies and ruffians were organized—by whom was very well known.

Mr. CARON desired to call the attention of the Speaker to the fact that the hon. gentleman was out of order.

Mr. PELLETIER admitted that he was a little out of order. He thought that the hon. gentleman would regret having brought this matter before the House. The hon. gentleman was the last man who should speak of the organization of gangs of bullies. The Pacific scandal—

Hon. Gentlemen—Order! order!

Mr. PETTETIER—The hon. gentleman had admitted that he had been corrupted in this connection; and also that he had corrupted electors.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I must call your attention, Sir, to the fact that the hon. gentleman has charged an hon. member with the use of money for corrupt purposes.

Mr. SPEAKER—I hope that the hon. gentleman will confine himself to the subject before the House.

Mr. PELLETIER—During the election at Charlevoix the hon. gentleman admitted that he had received \$32,000, and spent it during the elections.

Mr. SPEAKER—At Charlevoix?

Mr. PELLETIER—During the Charlevoix election.

Mr. DOMVILLE—He made a "Big Push."

Mr. BLANCHET said that as the matter was going before a Committee, he did not think it would be judicious, wise or fair for any member to give a

decision on the question before the Committee had reported upon it. He wished, however, to refer to one or two statements made by the hon. member for Lévis; believing that the hon. member should be the last man to speak of violence and difficulties at elections. The hon. gentleman, referring to the local election at Lévis, had made a statement with regard to the Provincial Police.

Mr. FRECHETTE called the hon. gentleman to order.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled the point of order to be well taken.

Mr. LAFLAMME considered it more appropriate to have this matter referred to a Special Committee of nine than the regular Committee on Privileges and Elections, because the accusation was not so much in regard to a breach of the privileges of election as a direct charge of corruption against an hon. Minister. He was a total stranger to the facts which had been brought before the House, although he had read most of the charges which had been alleged. They were, in his opinion, a fit subject for enquiry, affecting as they did the official conduct of a Minister of the Crown. This Committee, he was of opinion, ought to go further and enquire into the general interference of past Governments with public officials. He thought if such an investigation were made, it would give rise to such legislation as would prevent the recurrence of such things in the future, and regretted that the Committee to be appointed could not enter into the investigation of past events.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER had no hesitation in saying that every member of the House had a common interest in seeing the Hon. President of the Council exonerated from the charge that had been brought against him, and it was not his intention to say a single word that would in the slightest degree appear to prejudice that question. He was of opinion that the hon. gentleman had been badly advised as to the line he should take on this occasion. It would be very difficult to imagine a graver offence being committed by any gentleman holding the high position of President of the Council. He was great-

ly astonished to find the hon. gentleman meet the proposal of his hon. friend, the member for Charlevoix, in the way he did, when the offer was made to withdraw the motion if the Hon. President of the Council would. The statement of the hon. mover of the resolution was correct. He thought the hon. gentleman was badly advised in regard to the course he took. With regard to the remarks made in regard to the defeat of the hon. member for Charlevoix on a former occasion, he could not allow them to pass by unbuked. Mr. Gladstone was rejected by the University of Oxford, and subsequently in South Lancashire, after which he had to take refuge in the constituency of Greenwich, which might be termed a Government pocket-borough. Because his hon. friend was compelled to retire for a time was, he to be told by the hon. President of the Council that he occupied a position of which he might not be justly proud? Then there was one gentleman having a most powerful influence on the Reform side that was rejected by the electors, who was now in Parliament in the Upper House by virtue of the power of the Crown. Such a reference as had been made to his hon. friend was ungenerous. He was a little surprised at the amendment which had been moved. It would have been better in the interests of the President of the Council if he had met this motion differently. Instead of resorting to the *tu quoque* style of argument and attempting to turn attention from the charge against him, he should have courted investigation, and he (Mr. Tupper) hoped the hon. member would succeed in clearing his character. The Committee on Privileges and Elections was constituted by the Government, and consisted of 24 of the ablest members on both sides of the House, 15 of whom were staunch supporters of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER said he had discovered that the proposition of the hon. member for Lévis was to appoint the Committee by ballot by the House.

After some discussion,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said it was an extraordinary proposition to take this matter away from the Committee on

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

Privileges and Elections, and to use the overwhelming majority of the Government to select a special Committee of nine when five would have been enough.

The hon. member for Jacques Cartier seemed to forget that the right hon. Leader of the Opposition in his place in Parliament had challenged an investigation into the manner in which the elections had been conducted by both parties, and as that was declined the only other course was to appeal to the Courts. The record of the election trials remained a monument to the comparative purity of the Liberal-Conservative party and the corruption resorted to by the hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. SCATCHERD could not see why this matter should be referred to a Committee at all, the hon. member for Charlevoix having failed to make out a case.

He contended that it had been the practice of the House in cases of this kind not to refer the charge to a Committee at all; on the contrary, it had been the usage under such circumstances to vote it down by a large majority. He would cite an instance of this, and he held that this ought now to be done. By referring to the Journals for 1871, page 216, this matter appeared to have come before the House.

"Hon. Mr. Mackenzie moved in amendment, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Dorion, that all the words after 'That,' to the end of the question be left out, and the words 'it appears from the statement made to this House by the Hon. Charles Tupper, C.B., President of the Council, that on the 31st day of March last, a Bill was depending in the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia for the disfranchisement of Dominion Officials at Nova Scotia elections, and that the vote of the Hon. James McNabb, a member of the said Council, was material to the decision on the Bill, and that the said Hon. Charles Tupper was desirous that the Bill should be defeated; and that on the same day he received a telegram from Halifax, as follows—'Hon. Mr. McNabb votes to-day for Disfranchising Bill. Can you guarantee Peter an office if his father is put right—A. Wickwire.' To which he replies as follows:—'Your telegram received. Anything Hill engages to do, I will carry out—Charles Tupper.' And that in pursuance of said telegrams, in order to secure the vote of the said Hon. James McNabb, an office in the Dominion service was offered to the said Peter McNabb, a son of the said James McNabb,"

Was this sent before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any Committee? No; it was voted to send it before no Committee at all, and still he had no recollection that the hon. member for Cumberland had then said that such reference was due to the President of the Council, in order that he might clear his character of all stain, though the hon. gentleman now so averred. They were warranted consequently in voting this proposition down, by the precedent of the Cabinet which had ruled the country for so many years to its disadvantage, and which was composed of great men of all political parties. He was not very certain whether the hon. member for Charlevoix had voted on this occasion. Yes he had, if the name on the division list was his; so this appeared to be the proper course to be followed.

Mr. MASSON—The hon. member forgot to mention a fact which was very important. The motion read had been a direct motion of want of confidence in the then Government.

Hon. Gentlemen—No! no! no!

Mr. MASSON—If he was wrong, hon. gentlemen could contradict him in a far different tone; citation proved nothing, for the motion was really a motion of want of confidence. In the present case it was different. The President of the Council was not attacked as a Minister, but as a member of the House, and as having most seriously violated its privileges.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked the indulgence of the House, in order to make an explanation, as an hon. member had revived a matter personal to himself.

Hon. Gentlemen—No! no!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—If hon. gentlemen objected, he would of course submit, but he did think that he should be allowed an explanation under the circumstances.

Mr. SCATCHERD contended that if this were permitted, they should be allowed to go into the Pacific scandal and the \$32,000.

Mr. SPEAKER—I do not think that it would be right for you to make an explanation unless it is the pleasure of the House.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I ask it as a favour, assailed as I have been by the hon. gentleman reviving a question of that kind. I claim the privilege, being one of a minority in the House—of a great minority. I throw myself on the generosity of the House.

Mr. BABY—I move the adjournment of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not think that the hon. member should look upon the mere reference to a precedent as an attack.

Mr. SPEAKER—I was about to say that the hon. member used a very legitimate argument, though it might not have been very pleasant.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE continued, stating that an allusion had been made to the election of Mr. Gladstone for Greenwich, but the hon. gentleman must surely recollect that this took place prior to the election in Lancashire. Greenwich had 20,000 electors. Mr. Gladstone had been nearly defeated there at the previous election, and it could in no sense be called a safe borough for either party. The appointment of a Select Committee was the most convenient mode of dealing with the charge; if there was no objection it might be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections; personally he had no choice. If it were to be treated as a political matter, the Government had a sufficient majority on the latter Committee, and consequently no improper motive could reasonably be imputed in this relation. The hon. gentleman said he rose to pour oil on troubled waters, but if this was his oil he would ask what could the hon. gentleman's acid be like.

Mr. SPEAKER remarked that as an adjournment had been moved, hon. members could introduce into the discussion all kinds of irrelevant matter. He would not interfere unless something was said which was personally offensive.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER regretted that he owed to his hon. friend behind him the right which the hon. gentleman opposite seem disposed to deny—an explanation concerning the resolution the hon. member for Middlesex had

read. The First Minister said the hon. gentleman had made no charge; the First Minister had drafted that resolution with such ingenuity that it merely required to be read in order to embody the gravest possible accusation.

As the hon. member for Middlesex had chosen to revive this matter for the purpose of embodying it in the *Hansard*, he considered that he ought to be entitled to give the sequel. The charge contained in that resolution was that he had sent a telegram of a certain purport to an hon. gentleman in Nova Scotia. The statement he had given at the time to the House, accompanied by the most abundant written proof, was that an old and respected friend, a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia—who had been one of his fastest and strongest political supporters—a member of the Government with him—who had assisted him by his vote in the Legislature in carrying the Union of the Provinces, and to whom he had been deeply indebted politically—had again and again urged him (Mr. Tupper) to appoint his son to some office. He (McNabb) had stated that in his declining years and broken fortunes, the assistance of his son would be very material to himself and to his family. The conduct of this young man had not been very exemplary; and he had told the old gentleman that if his son proved to have reformed, as was said to be the case, and become strictly temperate, and worthy of an official position, he would be glad to use any influence in his power to do that to which the public services of the father were entitled at his hands. He accordingly informed the Minister of Customs that if a suitable vacancy occurred for this young man, he (Mr. Tupper) would be very glad if he could receive such an appointment; at all events, a trial might be given.

This was the position in which matters stood when he received information from Nova Scotia, that an attempt was being made by the Local Government to obtain the vote of the father for a measure which he considered would be very improper and injurious, being arrived at and conceived in a spirit of hostility to Canada, an effort being made to make

the old gentleman vote contrary to his inclinations by means of his necessities. This was the mode in which the matter was presented to him, and what was his answer? He was asked if he would fulfil a promise made long previously, and did he reply that he would certainly do so? Nothing of the kind. It was well known that the local members for the County of Halifax were opposed to the Government in this House, and a gentleman belonging to the Liberal-Conservative party had been elected sometime previously. He was not quite certain but that this gentleman had been deprived of his seat; but at all events he had not long previously been elected. His colleague, Mr. Howe, and himself agreed, that when patronage was at their disposal in the county, this gentleman having obtained the confidence of the constituency on their behalf, should be entitled to name some one to the position. An hon. gentleman, a supporter of the Government in the Senate, Mr Northup, had some time previously applied to him to appoint some friend of his to an office, and that he (Mr. Tupper) said that they had come to an agreement that the patronage of the Government was to be dispensed by Mr. Hill. He also received a telegram from Dr. Wickwire asking for an appointment for young McNabb, and gave the same reply as he had to their supporter in the Senate. The whole question turned upon the point, was Mr. Hill a man of the character and standing which would entitle him to the control of the patronage in Halifax; and he had to state that Mr. Hill was a man of the highest character and standing, socially and politically, in the City of Halifax. There was an interesting sequel connected with this matter, and he was not sorry this question had been brought up. Where was the young man on whose authority this statement was made? He had died in a lunatic asylum! The Government of the day appointed him to a position, and some months afterwards he returned to his old habits, and had an attack of *delirium tremens*. He was sent to the lunatic asylum from jail, where he recovered his faculties. Previously to this he had received \$200 as hush

money from the Treasury Department, The Hon. Minister of Militia, then Provincial Secretary, visited McNabb in the insane asylum, and told him that he had better remain where he was, because if he went out he would be convicted and sent to prison, while if he remained where he was he would escape on the ground of insanity. They refused to let him out, and he died there. And where was Mr. Hill? Mr. Hill this day was the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, invited to that position by the late Government, and they had no reason to regret the confidence they placed in him when they said they would convey the patronage of Halifax to him.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said they had no reason to attempt to bribe Mr. McNabb through his son, Peter, because from the year 1867 to the time he retired from Parliament he continued to be a supporter of the Government. With regard to Peter McNabb, he stated that after the death of Mr. McNabb, whenever he met the widow she always pressed him to find a position for her son. At last they found a vacancy for the young man in the Crown Lands Department, and he behaved himself very well for a few months, after which he returned to his bad habits. With regard to the \$200 paid to young McNabb, that was money which he obtained by overdrawing his salary.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Did he not receive that money before he went into the Crown Lands Department as a clerk?

Hon. Mr. VAIL stated with emphasis that that was not so. It was not an uncommon thing for clerks to overdraw their salaries. Mr. McNabb was in the habit of drinking to excess, had *delirium tremens* and become so dangerous that he stabbed his landlord where he was boarding. He was put in jail for a time pending the trial. The doctors examined him, pronounced him insane and him sent to a lunatic asylum. He was reported from time to time as improving, but unfit to go out. Shortly before he died the Superintendent of the Asylum reported to the Government that Mr. McNabb was insane and should not be

let out. A Board of Directors was sent to examine him and corroborated that report. The conversation between him (Mr. Vail) and McNabb occurred once while he was at the Asylum. McNabb ran to him and said: "Why don't you let me out?" He (Mr. Vail) did not want to be seen talking to a crazy man, and to get rid of him, replied, "You must take your chance of a trial if you get out." Crazy as he was, McNabb knew enough to realize his position.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said they were accustomed in the Local elections of Nova Scotia to have Dominion officials interfere in them, acting under instructions from the hon. members for Charlevoix and Cumberland, who were then at the head of two departments at Ottawa. The officials of the Custom House Department openly canvassed and voted against the candidates of the then Opposition. It was to prevent this that the Local Legislature passed the Act to disfranchise officials of the Dominion Government from voting in local elections. It was to defeat this Bill that the bribe was offered to McNabb by the hon. member for Cumberland. But the old gentleman did not vote, and Peter did not get the office.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Oh, yes; he got an office.

Mr. JONES—Yes, but under circumstances entirely different. He would not detain the House any longer; he did not want the hon. gentleman to mislead the House, and wished to point out the great discrepancy between the position Mr. McNabb actually occupied and the position the hon. member wanted to assume that he occupied.

Mr. PALMER wanted to show the hon. member for Middlesex that the precedent he cited had no bearing on the question. The resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie was whether Dr. Tupper should be censured; and it was voted down as a slander on the hon. member for Cumberland, which was proved by the fact that he (Mr. Tupper) was returned by an overwhelming majority.

Hon. Mr. BKAKE said they must remember there were good and bad pre-

cedents. The precedent which the hon. member for Middlesex cited was certainly one which he did not wish them to follow, and one of which the country had no reason to be proud. He could not call the occasion of that vote otherwise than discreditable and disgraceful to the Parliament and Government.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Discreditable to those who proposed it.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—To those who opposed it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the hon. members for Halifax and Pictou were defeated, and he was sustained by the people of Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said this was rather a serious view to take, for the hon. gentleman upon a subsequent and greater question which engaged the attention of the people at the last election—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Will the hon. gentlemen allow me to say—

Hon. gentlemen—Order, Order.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—He is afraid to let me ask him.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Very much; the hon. gentleman is a formidable character. It was, the speaker continued, a dangerous argument for the member for Cumberland to use, that he was returned from Nova Scotia while others of this side were defeated; it would bring up the question of abuse of patronage in order to control the vote on a particular point. The fact was that the hon. member, when a Minister of the Crown, was informed, with reference to a measure pending in the Legislature, that one of the members was about to vote contrary to his views. In order to assure that man's vote he guaranteed his son an office, instead of repudiating the offer made in this direction as an insult to the Government of which he was a member, and his only excuse for this disgraceful and shameful act—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I call the hon. gentleman to order for denouncing an Act of Parliament as shameful.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was a dead Parliament. On that shameful night

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

on which a disgraceful vote was perpetrated by a bad Parliament the hon. gentleman excused himself on the ground that the man was a supporter of his, that the Minister of Militia was trying to buy him, and that he (Mr. Tupper) stepped into the bribe on his own account and rescued his follower. The hon. member justified himself in this way to the House and the House, to its disgrace, accepted the justification.

There had been nothing to enquire about; it was simply a resolution with regard to facts, admitted by the hon. gentleman; the motion was drawn from the hon. gentleman's own speech, and the House was asked to vote, that it was, as he always believed it was—and in which relation he had voted with pleasure—a flagrant violation of the laws of public morality, calculated to inflict deep disgrace upon the country and its institutions; but the House, unfortunately, refused to adopt this position. This was an evil precedent, but they had also a good one to which he would turn. The hon. member, in one portion of his speech, had performed the pleasing duty of casting oil on troubled waters, but he must be allowed to observe that the hon. gentleman did not prove himself to be entirely equal to the task, being rather calculated to disturb, than to promote tranquility.

The Government had a decisive majority on the Select Committee on Privileges and Elections, and, therefore, the insinuation that they were afraid to trust it for fear of not obtaining fair treatment, was unfounded.

When an investigation of this description was to be made it should be done according to some settled form and rule. In the next place, experience proved that a small Committee was preferable to a large Committee for such a purpose, as it might involve the examination of numerous witnesses, and twenty-four or twenty-five gentlemen could not well be spared, from day to day, from their other duties. The other precedent was one which was not to be forgotten. He referred to the motion made on the side of the house—on which the hon. gentleman then sat—on

the 2nd of April, 1873. It was intended to refer a matter not to the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, but to a Select Committee of seven; this motion affected Ministers of the Crown and had relation to elections in connection with the Pacific Scandal—so that it met the other points to which the hon. gentleman referred. This motion, made by the hon. member for Shefford was voted down, and shortly afterwards it was followed by the motion of the Leader of the Government, which was carried. The right hon. gentleman had the matter referred to a Select Committee; and this was a precedent which should be followed.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER explained that the hon. member for South Bruce had put words in his mouth which he had never uttered. He stated distinctly that McNabb had been one of his strong political supporters, a member of a Government with him, and as having assisted them in carrying the Union.

Hon. Mr. POPE charged the Government with being desirous of securing a Committee of nine in order to obtain six members against three representatives of the Opposition. He had no objection either to the appointment of five, with three Ministerialists to two members of the Opposition, or to a Committee of three similarly composed.

The motion to adjourn the debate was then withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said in responding to the argument that had been used against him, he would first allude to the remarks of the hon. member for Levis. He was not personally known to that hon. gentleman who had read to the House, from the report, the evidence of two gentlemen called before an Election Committee in Quebec. The hon. gentleman should have stated that he (Mr. Langevin) being elected unanimously to Quebec Centre, that was not a contested election. That Committee was appointed to enquire into the conduct of the returning officer at that election, and it reported sustaining the returning officer. If the hon. President of the Council had not persisted in his denial he would not have forced the resolution on the House. He had

asserted certain facts, the hon. gentleman had denied them, and therefore he (Mr. Langevin) considered he was bound to have this matter referred to a Committee. The hon. gentleman had stated that he had been compelled by public opinion to withdraw from one county to another, and to secrete himself for three years. He wished to state that he could have been elected in Dorchester County if he chose, and the hon. gentleman who at the present time represented that county was cognizant of the fact. He denied that he had organized any band of roughs in Charlevoix, contending that as a stranger that would have been an impossibility. He maintained that under the 86th clause of the Election Law it was impossible for those men to have visited Charlevoix as perfectly independent individuals. He referred the matter to the Standing Committee, because he thought it was preferable to asking for a Special Committee of five, seven, or nine. If he had selected the members he had no doubt it would not have been satisfactory to the House. He knew politically there was a majority in favour of the Government on the Committee of Privileges and Election, but he had such confidence in the gentlemen composing it that he would be perfectly satisfied to entrust the case to their decision.

Mr. LAFLAMME rose to a personal explanation. He said he had never used any language or had any intention of insulting the clergy. He considered it a great honour to be connected with high dignitaries, and he had never said a word to their disparagement.

The amendment was then adopted, and the motion as amended was carried. The members being called in, the Committee was struck, each member having the right to nominate one. The vote stood as follows: For Mr. Langlois, 20; Mr. Laurier, 21; Mr. Laflamme, 19; Mr. Aylmer, 19; Mr. Palmer, 19; Mr. Blanchet, 17; Mr. Baby, 19; Mr. Taschereau, 18; Mr. McDougall, (Elgin), 17.

The House adjourned at Four minutes to One o'clock, a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 21, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were read the third time and passed :—

To make provision for the winding up of insolvent incorporated Banks.

To provide for the payment of a grant to the Province of Manitoba.

THE DOMINION LANDS ACT.

The House went into Committee to consider certain resolutions providing for the amendment of the Dominion Lands Act.—Mr. Forbes in the Chair.

Mr. SCHULTZ asked if this was copied after the American Act.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said it was more liberal. The American Act required that 40 acres of the 160 should be planted with trees, while this measure required only 32 acres of the 160 should be set aside for that purpose.

Mr. SCHULTZ asked why it was that six years should be the limit for procuring patents. This, he believed, was more stringent than the American Act, although there was more land under forest in Manitoba than in any of the Prairie States of the neighbouring country.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the American Act required eight years of tree planting before a patent could be obtained; this measure required only six years, at the expiration of which, everything being satisfactory, a patent could issue.

Mr. SCHULTZ said he quite approved of the measure.

The resolutions were reported and concurred in.

A Bill based on them was introduced and read the first time.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, &c. ACT.

The Bill entitled An Act to extend the Acts therein mentioned respecting Weights and Measures, and the Inspection of Gas and Gas Meters to Prince Edward Island, having been read the second time, the House went into Committee of the Whole, and having passed it, rose and reported.

The Bill was read the third time and passed.

Mr. LAFLAMME.

THE RESERVE MILITIA.

The Bill entitled an Act to amend the Acts therein mentioned respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada, having been read the second time,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired as to its purport.

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied, that in order to save expense, it was proposed to postpone the enrolment of the reserve militia until 1880, to take place thereafter at periods of five years each. Of course, there was the proviso that this could be ordered at any time in case of war, or any such emergency.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on the bill, Mr. Bowell in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked whether it could not be so worded as not to deprive the Governor in Council of the power of securing such enrolment under any circumstances, when, in his judgment, it might seem necessary.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The law is imperative now.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I understand that, but could not the Bill be so changed so as not to leave enrolment subject to the mere contingency of war.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The proviso reads—in case of war or any other emergency.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We have no appropriation for it at present, and if the Government should think it advisable next year, we would ask the House to vote the requisite sum.

The Committee rose, and reported the Bill passed with an amendment.

The amendment being read the second time and concurred in, the Bill was read the third time and passed.

THE RAILWAY ACT.

The Bill entitled: an Act to amend the Railway Act of 1868 being read the second time,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that it simply provided for an omission in the Railway Act, which had never been apparent until very recently. It was impossible at present, where two

arbitrators were appointed by a company, and any individual whose land was to be expropriated, in case the latter died, to replace him. This Bill removed the existing difficulty.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on the Bill, Mr. Dymond in the Chair, and rising, reported that it was adopted.

The Bill was then read the third time and passed.

THE CRIMINAL LAWS.

The Bill entitled an Act to supply an omission in the Act 37 Victoria, chapter 42, extending certain Criminal Laws of Canada to British Columbia, being read a second time,

The House went into Committee of the whole, Mr. Archibald in the Chair, and passed it. The Committee having risen and reported, the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

THE LAWS RESPECTING INDIANS.

The Bill entitled An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws respecting Indians, being read the second time,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained that it provided for the consolidation of the several Acts of the Dominion with respect to Indians.

In the first clause the word "band" meant any tribe or body of Indians who had an interest in a reserve, of which the legal title was vested in the Crown; an "irregular band" signified any tribe which held no such interest. The term "Indian" meant any person holding land, the title of which the Government possessed, and with whom treaties existed. The term "Non-Treaty Indian" denoted any person of Indian blood who was reported to belong to an irregular band, or who follows the Indian mode of life, even though only a temporary resident of Canada. The word "reserve" was defined to mean any tract of land set apart for the benefit of a particular band of Indians. A special reserve meant any tract of land set apart for the use of Indians, the title of which was vested in a corporation or community legally established. It was also provided that any Indian who had resided five years in a foreign country, and not associated with his band, might

sever that connection. It also provided that that connection might be resumed with the consent of the Government. Another provision of the Bill was that an woman who married a white man should continue to receive the annuity and retain all her privileges. There was another provision in the clause enabling the band to give her a ten years purchase for her privilege, after which she would be for ever separated from them. Another clause put into force the theory they were carrying out last Session with regard to the half breed and full blooded Indians, as it was considered better it should be sanctioned by law. There was a provision which had been suggested by the hon. member for New Westminster. He desired that the penalty for selling liquors to Indians should be made more vigorous by the addition of hard labor to imprisonment, and this matter had been left to the discretion of the judge. It had been found that the decisions of magistrates in cases of selling liquor to Indians had been successfully appealed from, and this success it was thought was owing to the sympathy juries had with liquor sellers. The Government thought these appeal cases might safely be left to the judges, and therefore a clause making this provision had been inserted in the Bill. With regard to the enfranchisement of Indians, it had been deemed advisable to obtain the consent of the band, and unless this was done it was considered that there would be a great deal of trouble, and discontent would result.

When an Indian who had borne a good character for intelligence and sobriety would receive a location ticket for the portion of land designated, he would enter upon a probationary period for three years. If at the end of that time he was found to have continued sober and industrious he received a patent for his land and became enfranchised, still retaining his right to share the annuity moneys. If they wished to separate from the Indian band altogether, they could enter upon another term of probation of three years. If they still continued in the paths of sobriety, they could take their share of annuity money, and be struck off the Indian list.

The consent of the band must be obtained for the distribution of the capital funds. This Bill would give the Indians some motive to be industrious and sober, and educate their children.

Mr. SCHULTZ said it might be very well to consolidate the laws, but the new principles of this bill would be better left out altogether. It would be found impracticable to make this Bill operative in the North West. Any one having an intimate knowledge of the tribal relations of the Indians of the West would see this. The Act did not define with sufficient clearness what an Indian was. It declared that any one who accepted treaty money should be considered an Indian. Now, he considered this unfair. Many of the half-breeds who had accepted lands and moneys under former arrangements would never have done so if they had supposed for a moment it would have classed them among the Indians. There were other objectionable features of the Bill, to which he would refer in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. PATERSON considered this measure a step in the right direction. There were 90,000 or more Indians in Canada, 30,000 of whom were in Ontario, having \$9,000,000 vested in the hands of the Government. The matter was therefore one of importance. While this Act might not be applicable to the Indians of the North West or the tribes of other parts of Canada, there were bands in Ontario that should be given facilities to raise themselves in the social scale. In Brant there is a reservation comprising a whole township, in which there are fourteen schools, eleven of which are taught by Indians. There is also an institution for teaching the young men farming, and the young women housekeeping. For some 48 years missionaries have been preaching to those Indians, and if, after all these advantages they are not fit for enfranchisement, it is the strongest possible argument against the system that has hitherto prevailed, and in favour of enfranchising the tribe. The hon. member for Charlevoix, in 1860, passed a Bill providing that the Indians desiring to be enfranchised

might have a certain portion of the reservation set aside for them on their applying for it and on producing proofs they were fit to be granted the rights of freemen, but they could not hold such land in fee simple. Only one Indian was enfranchised under that Act, and when the Government had granted him his share of the principal money, and desired to allot him his portion of land they found they could not lay it off. He was in the position of being neither Indian nor a white man. He applied as a last resource to the Department to make him an Indian again, but they found although they had the power to make an Indian a white man, they had no power to make him an Indian again. Among the objections to the Bill before the House was one that the Indians were unable to manage their own lands. There was no proof of that; it was mere assertion. There were Indians in this Province who occupied professional positions and were as intelligent as any member in this House. What could be done with some could be done with all. In the reservation in Brant there are some 3,000 children, of whom 1,600 attend school regularly, and in ten years more it will be an exception to find an Indian child unable to read or write.

Did any one say that a person capable of receiving an education and being trained in the arts and practices of British civilization should be prevented from assuming this position? If so, it was a mistaken idea, and the time had come to test the matter. He did not believe that it was entirely possible to wipe out in this country all national distinctions; but every resident of Canada should make it his proudest boast that he was a Canadian. The endeavour to perpetuate the Indian in the Canadian nation was an anomaly. Where the Indian had not forgotten his national habits, and still lived by the chase and fishing, it would not be desirable to ask him at once to take upon himself the duties of a free man; but regarding the reserves of Ontario, consisting of 52,000 acres, it was different, and immediate steps should be taken to place these Indians in a better position. Hunting and fishing has

long since ceased, and they supported themselves by agriculture and various handicrafts, in which they should be encouraged to the greatest possible extent. This question must soon be dealt with; they were not dying out on these reserves, but increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum. Nothing would redound more to the credit of the Minister of the Interior than to show the possibility of raising the Indian to the place of manhood; he believed that this could be done. He trusted that the Government would act wisely and liberally in this relation. National distinctions should not be perpetuated in this country, and no legislative obstacles should be placed in the way of the union of whites and Indians. Under the Act of 1868, if a squaw married a white man she ceased to be an Indian within the meaning of the Act, and consequently lost her previous rights and privileges; this was, in other words, a penalty for doing so, and it was a restriction which should no longer exist. The children of the issue of such marriages should also be entitled to these rights and privileges. Under this Bill she did not forfeit under these circumstances her right to a share of the principal of the money, but this did not go far enough. She should be entitled to it as her dower, and the children of the first generation should also share in the principal funds of the tribe.

Under the present law an Indian absent five years from his reservation lost his interest in it. This was a mistake, being a restriction on his liberty. Indians should be encouraged to mingle with their white brethren and learn their occupations without pains and penalties being imposed for so doing. They should also be allowed to rent their farms to whites, who would improve them in the art of agriculture.

He called the particular attention of the Minister of the Interior to clauses 66 and 69. The former was too sweeping, enacting that no mortgage or lien of any kind could be taken on any personal property belonging to Indians, who, lacking a superabundance of cash, would in consequence be debarred from the purchase of agricultural implements, seed, grain, &c. Again, Indians could not be sued for debt.

These restrictions should be removed, and power should be permitted them to give chattel mortgages. Clause 66 would have a most injurious effect in their regard. Then as to the amount of land to be set apart for an enfranchised Indian, this was left for decision to the Indians in Council; and it might happen that while many on a reservation were sufficiently intelligent to desire enfranchisement, the majority would impede them in accomplishing their object, and allot them too meagre a share of their lands.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—There is a limitation in the clause.

Mr. PATERSON understood this merely to signify that a child under fourteen should not be allotted less than half what was given to an adult; but the latter's portion was not specified.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—The first part of the clause fixes the proportion to be assigned to an adult.

Mr. PATERSON was glad to hear that this was the case. He trusted that no retrograde step would now be taken. This Bill was applicable to the most advanced Indians, and it had not gone one step too far in the direction of the enfranchisement and elevation of the Red men of the Dominion. He now desired to say a word in regard to the duty that belonged to the Indian. In the Act of 1869 a clause was inserted providing that in the case of the convictions of Indians for offences against the law, the expenses of the Court might be borne by the Indian Department. That was very good as far as it went and it was a section he considered desirable. In his county there was a township of 3,000 Indians, and without saying anything to the disparagement of that class, he would state that there were more Indian cases before the Court in proportion to the population than any other. These Indians contributed nothing to the Administration of justice or to the municipal fund. Was it right then that one county should have to bear the expense of the administration of justice to that body of Indians? He thought the House would agree that it was not. He was

bound to say on behalf of the Indians that they asked no favours of white men. The land they lived on was their own, the money in the hands of the Government was their own, and he believed they were willing to pay their share of the taxes. He hoped the Hon. Minister of the Interior would give this matter consideration, and see his way clear to amend the Bill in the direction indicated.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it must be considered that Indians were not in the same position as white men. As a rule they had no education, and they were like children to a very great extent. They, therefore, required a great deal more protection than white men. He could not see the force of the remarks of the hon. member for South Brant, in which he asked for certain restrictions to be removed. He desired the Hon. Minister of the Interior to say how far the third clause changed the position of Indians.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—It merely gives a clear definition of the classes of Indians existing.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN thought the provision with regard to the severance of the connection between an Indian and his band should be amended. He did not think they should give a premium for the dismissing of an Indian from the band, as would be the case practically by the adoption of this provision. Was a man who was travelling for the purpose of improving himself to have his connection with his band severed, and if he ceased to be a member of his band was he to be deprived altogether of his land and money?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the clause was substantially the practice of the Department. The hon. gentleman would observe that while the band was allowed the option of giving their consent, still the Superintendent General or the Department had the right to investigate into the case.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that while he was in the Department that was done repeatedly, but in nearly every instance there were great difficulties either with the band or with the Indians themselves. He thought

that in one or two instances the order had to be cancelled.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—This Bill admits of their coming back.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN thought one of the clauses of the Bill would interfere with the acquired rights of some of the people.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—All their present rights are respected. Does the hon. gentleman mean those parties who are in receipt of annuities or the whites who had taken leases of Indian land? Those half-breeds who have been living on the reserves are now regarded as Indians, the law fully protects them, and their full rights cannot be disturbed.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked if the clause with reference to the surrender of lands provided that the majority of all the male members of the band, or only a majority of the males present at the meeting, was necessary to a decision.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—Of course the majority at the meeting.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said there should be a certain proportion of the band present before a surrender of lands should be determined upon.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the Department took good care in their practice not to allow these surrenders unless the Indians were at home at the time.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said, nevertheless, this precaution should be taken for the protection of the Indians, and as little should be left to chance as possible. The same provision should be made for the proper election of chiefs. It should be made clear that a certain proportion of the tribe should be present at the election. The clause respecting intoxicants should also be amended to prevent the Indians from manufacturing liquor for themselves.

The intention of the Minister of the Interior was no doubt good in proposing to enfranchise the Indians, but the hon. gentleman would fail as he (Mr. Langevin) had done in 1869. The Act of 1869 was framed to prevent jealousies by keeping the land in the hands of the tribe, merely giving the enfranchised

men a life interest in it. That did not succeed, and the same cause would make the Bill before the House inoperative.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the Bill was framed to meet the views of the Indians expressed at their grand council in Sarnia, the summer before last. If they did not carry it out the fault would rest with themselves and not with the Government.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it might apply to the Indians of Ontario, but it would not suit the tribes of Quebec. Some general plan would have to be adopted to educate the Indians and fit them for enfranchisement, just as a white boy would be prepared for manhood.

Mr. MCGREGOR thought that the Bill was a step in the right direction, as Indians should have it within their power to obtain the full privileges of white men. The Leader of the Opposition had had the honour of attending at a banquet given to an Indian residing in the County of Peel. The latter's brother, if in the House, would hardly be supposed to be an Indian, and indeed, many hon. members would sooner be so considered than this person.

The Minister of the Interior had visited his county last year, and settled a dispute, which had long existed there between the whites and Indians, the males being allotted 100 and the females 50 acres of the land, the balance being sold. They occupied about 8,000 acres. He regretted that the term of probation was not shorter, as three-quarters of the Indians in his county might very properly be enfranchised at once.

Mr. SNIDER had had a great deal to do with Indian Reserves and with Indians, who he knew were very grateful to the Minister of the Interior for the interest the hon. gentleman had taken in their welfare. He had with great pleasure shown educated Indians around the Parliament Buildings, and these he could say would do the House no discredit if they occupied seats on this floor, being more intelligent than the great majority of white men. This was a great improvement on former

similar Bills, and the Indians were perfectly satisfied with its provisions. He did not think that Indians could be so easily tempted with bribes as whites; and he hoped that the Bill would be made as perfect as possible.

Mr. FLEMING contended that the policy to be pursued with regard to the Indians, must be either one of preservation or one of absorption and amalgamation. Legislation during the past twenty years had a tendency in the former direction. In 1857 he believed the first Bill having relation to the enfranchisement of Indians had been introduced by the right hon. member for Kingston, who explained that the object was to raise them to the position of white men. If it had failed this was to be ascribed to the fact that the machinery provided had not been sufficient for the purpose. Indians should be placed precisely on the same footing with whites; and they should be made more self-reliant and self-dependent. He was greatly gratified on account of the introduction of the Bill; and he would have been better pleased had it gone still further, offering them greater inducements for self-advancement. As to squaws losing their rights to their property when they married whites, it was to be observed that it appeared from the 9th clause that an Indian widow could marry a white man, and yet retain all her estate, real and personal, though according to the 3rd sec., and sub. sec. C, an Indian woman marrying any person other than one of her nationality was deprived of such right; this was surely inconsistent.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—An Indian widow cannot marry a white man and convey dower to her husband.

Mr. FLEMING—I read it otherwise. The 9th clause is as follows:

“Upon the death of any Indian holding under location or other duly recognized title any lot or parcel of land, the right and interest therein of such deceased Indian shall, together with his goods and chattels, devolve one-third upon his widow, and the remainder upon his children equally; and all such children shall have a like estate in such land as their father; but should such Indian die without issue but leaving a widow, such lot or parcel of land and his goods and chattels shall be vested in her, and if he leaves no

widow, then in the Indian nearest akin to the deceased, but if he have no heir nearer than a cousin, then the same shall be vested in the Crown for the benefit of the Band. But whatever may be the final disposition of the land, the claimant or claimants shall not be held to be legally in possession until they obtain a location ticket from the Superintendent General in the manner prescribed in the case of new locations."

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—By sub-section D. she loses all such rights.

Mr. FLEMING—This should be made clear and distinct.

Mr. DECOSMOS stated that there was no such thing as statute labor in British Columbia.

With regard to sec. 79, touching intoxicants, he would mention that an Indian Reserve existed in Victoria, on which there was a licensed house held by a man named Everett, and the operation of this provision would interfere with the vested right that this person undoubtedly possessed for a certain number of years. Unless the Government was prepared to grant compensation, this right should be continued him. He would be gratified if amendments were made in this regard, as the Bill on the whole was excellent in its nature.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD thanked hon. members on both sides of the House for their favourable opinion with reference to the measure, and remarked that certain points had been noted, which could be more properly explained in Committee. His object was simply to make the Bill as perfect as possible, with the cordial co-operation of hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House. He proposed the second reading of the Bill, and announced that it would again be taken upon Friday next.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The hour being six, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

The Bill respecting roads and road allowances in Manitoba was read the second time.

SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply. Mr. Scatcherd in the chair.

Mr. FLEMING.

On item \$35,000 for the improvement of navigable rivers,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if anything had been done towards improving the Harbour of Partridge Island River?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE promised to furnish information on the subject at a future day.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if anything had been done towards dredging Wallace River? It was a very important work and a small expenditure in dredging would produce important results. Last Session the Premier had stated he expected to be able to provide for that in the dredging service, but nothing was done.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had found it impossible to reach that point. There were two large dredges which could not be used anywhere but in deep water, and the smaller dredges were employed elsewhere. Nothing would please him better than to dredge the harbours to which the hon. member for Cumberland had referred. The \$10,000 in this item for the improvement of navigation in Neebish rapids was to remove some dangerous rocks from the channel on the way to Lake Superior. The United States Government had dredged a great deal up to the boundary, and there was only a small passage in our territory that required improvement. The \$15,000 for raising anchors was to improve the harbour of Quebec. It was expected this expenditure would be fully repaid by the proceeds of the sale of the anchors and chains removed. A fair beginning was made last year, but five or six anchors were grappled at once, and the chain broke with the great weight. By the time repairs were made the severe weather set in, but if a good beginning were once made the bed of the river would soon be cleared.

Mr. WOOD suggested that something more should be done to improve the navigation of the Neebish Rapids than remove the rocks. Wharves should be built along the rocky shore to prevent vessels from being broken against it by the force of the current.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had to trust to the engineers, and they ob-

jected altogether to the building of a wharf alongside.

Hon. Mr. **LANGEVIN** asked if the Harbour Commissioners would have supervision over the removal of the anchors at Quebec?

Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE**—Yes; they have it under their charge entirely.

Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE**, in answer Mr. Cimon, said the hon. gentleman to must have misunderstood him, or he must have misunderstood the hon. gentleman. Mr. Symes had general instructions with regard to the rivers, and to examine into the reports made regarding them. His illness and death prevented him from carrying out the general instructions he had received. The Government had not yet appointed an officer in Mr. Symes' place, but such a man could be appointed in good time for the spring operations.

Mr. **McKAY** (Colchester) called attention to the fact that private parties were building their piers so far out in the river, at the head of the Basin of Minas, in the County of Colchester, that it was beginning to interfere with the navigation of the stream.

Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE**—That involves a point of law.

In answer to Mr. Bertram, Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE** said it was not the intention of the Government to take charge of the small rivers which had no connection with the great lakes or the ocean. The smaller streams come more properly within the jurisdiction of the Local Governments. With regard to the Trent Canal it was originally intended by the old Province of Canada for a highway to Lake Huron. The old Province expended something like \$200,000 on these works. The canal had been unproductive, the traffic being nothing or next to it.

Mr. **BERTRAM** said the Trent Canal was now in a very unsatisfactory condition. He had no objection to its being taken charge of by the Local Government, but he was of opinion that the Government should not abandon works that had cost so much money until they had made arrangement whereby the Local Government would assume the control of them.

Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE** said the Local Government had undertaken to construct some locks and improve the navigation of the lakes, thereby taking the ground, apparently, that they were willing to occupy that position in regard to these streams and lakes. Before Parliament rose he intended to submit a resolution asking authority to dispose of those and other works in Quebec and Ontario, and place them in the hands of the Local Government, which could manage them efficiently in connection with other parts of their business.

Hon. Mr. **TUPPER** questioned the power of the House by simple resolution to transfer these works to the Local Government.

The item was passed.

Item 98, providing \$25,000 for the Lake Superior and Red River route, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. **MACKENZIE** explained that this sum would be used for the establishment of a weekly mail over the Dawson Route, and to provide other service, if necessary.

Mr. **MASSON** remarked that his previous statements in this regard were borne out by the fact that out of four or five thousand people who had gone to Manitoba last year, only eighty had passed over the Dawson Route.

The item was passed.

No. 99, providing for the Toronto Examining Warehouse, \$39,000, Guelph Custom House, Excise and Post Office, \$25,000, and Kingston Military School and repairing fortifications, \$40,000: total, \$104,000—being taken up,

Mr. **BOWELL** asked the First Minister if this related to the beginning of a policy with regard to the erection of post offices in the larger towns of the Dominion. It was no doubt proper that Guelph should be so favoured; but he trusted that the principle would be extended a little farther—to places equal to and more populous than Guelph. He referred particularly to Belleville, which had a population of between 9,000 and 10,000. The net post office receipts here exceeded those of the former town, though as to excise, receipts were probably less.

Mr. **PATERSON** called the attention of the Premier to the fact that last

year he had promised to initiate a scheme during recess, whereby improved public buildings should be secured for the larger towns of the Dominion. He did not take the least exception to the item for Guelph, but Brantford had a larger population, and probably did more business. He hoped that it would be at least considered in this relation next year.

Mr. BROWN trusted that before next Session Belleville would be granted such accommodation.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that his impression last Session was that it would be desirable in large towns of 10,000 people and thereabouts that public buildings should be erected as a mere matter of economy; this was still his impression, and it was the intention of the Government to carry out the plan. The extent of population did not always indicate the amount of business done; the collections for all purposes in Belleville were less than \$150,000, while in Guelph they exceeded half a million.

Mr. BOWELL—Owing to the presence of the distilleries.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Its inland revenue receipts were very large. The collections of all kinds amounted to \$1,100,000 last year. Had it been possible to make other arrangements in Guelph, no such vote would have been asked. St. Catharines, Brantford, Guelph and Belleville occupied about the same position with regard to post office receipts; though widely different in other respects. The Customs collections at Brantford were larger than at Guelph; while the inland revenue receipts of the former place were next to nothing.

Mr. WOOD had hoped that the First Minister would have given a reason why last year's appropriation for an immigration shed at Hamilton was not used, their present accommodation for this purpose being inadequate. He also thought that Hamilton was entitled to a new post office and a fair share of the public money. He trusted that at the earliest possible moment the Premier would make provision for the erection of a post office in Hamilton which would be suitable for the city.

Mr. PATERSON.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE considered that the Hamilton post office was a very handsome structure; it was also spacious for the requirements, as the Postmaster now lived in the building. Where the free delivery system was established, these buildings were generally found to be too large. As to the immigration shed, it had not been erected owing to the fact that the tenants were too few, the majority going by the Bridge.

Mr. PATERSON thought that the answer might have been more specific. Brantford was under the impression that the scheme mentioned would be very generally applied. Guelph after all had the advantage in point of receipts, owing to the production of more whiskey; and the claims of Brantford with regard to the erection of public buildings, were in his opinion so strong that they could not be properly overlooked.

Mr. TROW hoped that Stratford would not be forgotten in this connection, its population numbering 7,000, and its position being central.

Mr. STIRTON observed that the hon. member for Brant had been mistaken with regard to his figures. St. Catharines, which had a population of 12,000, was the only town in the Dominion that exceeded Guelph in this respect. It was high time, under such circumstances, for the Government to do something in the way of accommodating the public. But the Government were quite justified in this expenditure on another ground. If they rented a suitable building they could not get one for less than the interest of the cost of the building would amount to. It was only tardy justice to Guelph.

Mr. PATTERSON had no objection to Guelph getting this building, but he wanted the First Minister to give the other larger towns public buildings also.

Mr. NORRIS said St. Catharines had a good Custom House, but required a Post Office. He hoped when the revenue was in a better condition that town would not be forgotten.

Mr. MACDOUGAL (Elgin) asked the Government to consider the claims of St. Thomas, which was a thriving town with a population of 6,000.

Mr. BOWELL reminded the hon. member for South Wellington that although the receipts from the post office at Guelph were larger than the receipts from the post office at Belleville, the difference was not great. The former amounted to \$11,100; the latter to \$11,800, while the cost of collection at Guelph was \$3,736, and only \$2,800 at Belleville, leaving a balance of \$586 in favour of the latter in the actual net receipts to the Dominion.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said there seemed to be a raid on the Treasury Benches to supply buildings for all the country towns. It would be a dangerous precedent to establish that the Government were bound to put public buildings in all the towns. There were some places where it would be to the public advantage, but he was satisfied in the most of them the people could be equally well served by hiring accommodation and at less expense than by constructing buildings. He hoped the Government would hesitate before committing themselves to such a dangerous principle.

Mr. MASSON asked the Premier to explain why there had been such a large expenditure on repairs of fortifications last year.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said explanations of this vote were needed. He wished to know why the commandant's house had been so badly planned that there was not a room in it large enough to accommodate ten persons. He wished to know who was the architect of this wonderful edifice? The commandant would not go into it. The House would also like to know something about the College building, and when it would be opened.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he received with the utmost meekness this rebuke for his neglect, since it came from one who knew so much more about plans than he (Mr. Mackenzie) did. What he had to say was that while he had not done all his hon. friend would have done, he had done his best in the matter. His impression was that the matter had been well attended to. The building was planned by an able architect according to his (Mackenzie's) direction, and he was prepared to defend the construction of the

building. In addition to other works, the interior of the stone fort, a large building 170 feet long and 4 chains high, had been entirely refitted, and a considerable amount had been expended in levelling the ground. A very large proportion of the vote was expended in repairing the fortifications. He was extremely well satisfied with the work that had been done. No doubt a part of this money would be required in the erection of a new wing, and they expected to be able to open the school early in the spring, in the front, with a small staff of professors.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—How many persons have applied to enter the Military School?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said 8 or 10 had passed the first examination, which was considered to be somewhat severe. Another examination would be held in a few weeks, less severe. They desired to have about 22 students to commence with, and not more than 25 at the outside, in order to leave room for the younger officers in the active force who desire to enter the school.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said that he did not speak on behalf of the commandant but from a personal inspection of the buildings.

Mr. MASSON—Asked what would be the cost of the new wing?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Said about \$20,000 or \$30,000, but the cost, of course, would depend upon the size of the buildings.

Mr. MASSON—What will be the approximate cost of the whole building?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—About \$100,000.

Mr. MASSON asked if the House was not pledging itself far beyond the wants of the country. He did not think they could utilize so large a building, and the expenditure in his opinion was unwarranted, unless they intended to establish a standing army in the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said if the hon. gentleman was of a different opinion to that of the Government, and it was the opinion of the House that it was not wise to make the expenditure, the Government were willing to learn wisdom from the House upon this, as upon other questions.

Mr. MASSON did not think that accommodation for one hundred pupils was required, unless the Government intended to establish a standing army. An expenditure of \$100,000—which would probably, in point of fact, be increased to \$150,000—was not warranted by the means of the country; he had supposed that a building of reasonable dimensions would have been erected; and he was astonished that such an expenditure had been made. The disbursements intended were too large.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Very well—vote against it.

Item 100, providing \$5,000 for repairing fortifications at Quebec, and \$60,000 for the examining warehouse at Montreal, having been taken up,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated that the sum of \$5,000 was too small for the purpose in view; and enquired whether the 60,000 would complete the warehouse.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE believed that it would; the estimate for the building itself had been under \$180,000.

The fortifications at Quebec, as at Kingston, did not meet the requirements of the latest systems; consequently repairs would only be made on the permanent buildings, as were absolutely necessary to prevent them going to decay. A considerable sum had been expended last year on the Point Levis fortifications, which had not been built in conformity with the exigencies of our climate. A portion of the walls of the citadel would have to be taken down.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN regretted the smallness of the sum, and he hoped that this point would be considered at least in connection with the supplementary estimates. The walls of the citadel, for the safety of residents of the Lower Town, would have to be kept up.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that these works had been neglected under the administration of the hon. gentleman; had this not been the case a very slight expenditure would now have been requisite to keep them in proper order. The chief architect had reported to him what was absolutely necessary to be done, and such repairs would be effected.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated that had the engineer reported, when he was at the head of the Department, that the fortifications were out of repair, prompt attention would have been given to the matter; but such a report had only been made in 1873. The walls were greatly dilapidated.

Mr. MASSON asked what assistance the Government would give towards the embellishment of the city of Quebec.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said they had not considered the question definitely. An engineering officer had examined the ramparts last year with a view to ascertain to what extent the wishes of the City Council and the people could be complied with. The understanding was arrived at that certain streets might be allowed to pass through the ramparts for the convenience of the public if the city would pay the expense of making something like ornamental gateways to preserve the beauty of the place from a historic point of view. The City Council had agreed to make an appropriation for the purpose, and the Government were bound, so far as the public interest would permit them, to allow the streets of the city to pass through certain portions of the rampart.

The item was passed.

On item \$3,000 for the Sydney Marine Hospital,

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) asked what the cost of the building would be?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—\$12,348.

Mr. MACKAY—Have any tenders been invited for the construction of the Sydney Quarantine Hospital?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think not.

Mr. MACKAY—Is the amount to be voted this year?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Mr. MACKAY—Is the building to be constructed?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not this year.

Mr. MACKAY said when the amount was put in the estimates, the work should proceed. At Sydney and North Sydney some 600 vessels come in from sea, and a season or two ago small pox

was introduced into the place, putting the Government to some two or three thousand dollars expense. It was not fair or right that this important port should be neglected. A quarantine station was absolutely necessary. The Government must take the responsibility on themselves if small pox should be introduced into the place this year again.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) said his hon. colleague in January, 1874, had read a letter from the Premier stating this work would be proceeded with immediately, but there had been some difficulty about the location of the two buildings. In his (Mr. McDonald's) opinion, both buildings should be located at the one place, where they could be attended by one doctor, at less expense to the country.

Mr. MACKAY said the opinion of the officers sent by the Government was diametrically opposed to this view. The people of Sydney would never consent to the construction of a quarantine hospital within the limits of the town.

Mr. FLYNN asked why the item \$1,000 for a marine hospital at Arichat, placed in the estimates last year, was not revoted this year?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was for the simple reason it was impossible to build a hospital for \$1,000. There was no foreign shipping coming in there likely to render necessary an institution of the kind at that point.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said it was true there was not much foreign trade at Arichat, but vessels called there from New York and Boston, where small-pox was prevalent.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said if a hospital should be found necessary at any point, it would be constructed, but it would not be well to give the impression that every small place on our coast should have such institutions.

Mr. FLYNN said that previous to 1873 several cases of small-pox were brought to Arichat from the United States. The matter was brought under the notice of the Government and a sum of \$1,000 was placed in the estimates for the erection of a Quarantine Hospital, it being thought that sum

would be sufficient for the erection of a small building. The amount was granted in 1875, but this year it had been omitted.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the late Government had made appropriations for the erection of these buildings at ports where they were required, and these appropriations having been revoted, he considered the Government was bound, unless they could show some good reason for not doing so, to go on with the work. He was satisfied that there would be great dissatisfaction in the places where the people found the Government were not prepared to fulfil the pledges which had been given them.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) also dwelt upon the necessity of the erection of a Quarantine Hospital at the port, stating that there was no place to send small-pox cases except to the Marine Hospital.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE believed that the Imperial authorities owned some property which the Government desired to obtain, but the Imperial authorities had declined to put it at their disposal. The Government did not think with the new Marine Hospital erected there that there would be any difficulty with the diseases that might occur in the port. All he could say at present was that the sum of \$1,000 was utterly useless for the purpose—at least four times that sum being required. That amount was only put into the estimates in order to make temporary provision if it was required, and the Government had thought it advisable to remove from the estimate a vote totally inadequate for the purpose.

The item was adopted.

Items 103 and 104, appropriating \$500 for the Louis Marine Hospital, was passed without discussion.

On item 105, Public Buildings, B. C., \$5,000.

Mr. ROSCOE asked if it was the intention of the Government to erect a Custom House on the river, where the Custom House officer had to live in a tent, and had no place in which to keep his money and papers securely.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said of course it was not the intention of the

Government to build Custom Houses wherever there were Custom House Officers. The Officer who was placed to collect revenue anywhere was generally supposed to find a dwelling for himself. The Government were not aware of the circumstances connected with this case until the hon. gentleman brought it to his (Mr. Mackenzie's) notice a few days ago. He said to the hon. gentleman then that the Government would erect a log building on the river which would do temporarily, both for the purpose of a residence and an office. Owing to the inability of the Government to get the boundary line defined, they had some difficulty in regard to the collection of duties there, but at the present time they had simply located the officer where they believed he should be located, and they would endeavour to obtain temporary accommodation for him.

Mr. BUNSTER enquired whether it was the intention to build a Custom House in Nanaimo; the collections last month amounted to \$3,000 and for the months previous they were \$8,000? They would be a great deal more, he was informed, if a Custom House were erected, as merchants at present did not bring their goods there directly. The prospects of Nanaimo were excellent, but like other parts of British Columbia it was very much neglected by the Administration. They also badly required a new post office.

The item was passed.

Item 106, providing \$30,000 for a general Penitentiary for the Maritime Provinces; \$20,000 for the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary; \$52,400 for the Manitoba Penitentiary; \$66,000 for the British Columbia Penitentiary, and \$5,000 for Penitentiaries generally (additions and repairs)—total, \$173,400, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that convicts would be employed in connection with the erection of the Penitentiary for the Maritime Provinces.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Where is the building to be placed?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE hoped to be able to give this information before the estimates were all passed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Another wing was to be built at the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary, from which, owing to want of room, 150 convicts had been sent to Kingston last year. The British Columbia Penitentiary was under contract. The last item was intended to provide for general contingencies, such as the destruction of one of the main buildings, which had taken place last year at Kingston.

Mr. MASSON—Will this vote complete all the buildings, save the Penitentiary for the Lower Provinces?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Scarcely. The British Columbia and Manitoba Penitentiaries will, however, be completed.

Mr. MASSON—Will the Custom House and post office at Manitoba be also finished with the amount voted?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am so informed. At this point the Premier rose to explain with regard to item No. 104, that the vote made for the post office last year would complete the building. The entry was entirely wrong; the \$25,000 was to be used for the erection of new buildings, a residence for the Lieutenant-Governor, &c., in the North West Territory.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Where will they be located?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That is not precisely settled.

Mr. SCHULTZ hoped that in this regard the Government would not pursue the course which had proved so disastrous last year, under somewhat similar circumstances, at Fort Pelly, where buildings had been erected without tenders being invited for the work. They turned out to be most miserable in construction, and were now entirely useless. This was due partly to the ill-judged haste with which the Administration had chosen Fort Pelly as the seat of Government, and partly to the employment of improper materials. The Mounted Police had found it utterly impossible to use them during last winter, and although it was not directly so stated in the report, an inspecting officer on visiting them considered them completely unsuited for the purposes in view, advising the Government to have nothing whatever to do with them. He hoped that this would

not again occur, and that tenders on this occasion would be obtained.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The buildings will be proceeded with exactly in the same manner.

Mr. SCHULTZ—Then I trust that it will be with different results.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think it will be with the same results.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN enquired where the British Columbia Penitentiary would be placed?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It will be built west of New Westminster on Government ground.

Mr. MASSON thought that the Premier's replies to Mr. Schultz had scarcely been satisfactory, and asked what could have justified them being given in such a manner?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Nothing whatever.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Perhaps the Premier will tell us whether the information of the hon. member for Lisgar is correct or incorrect?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not correct.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—You state that the buildings have been satisfactorily constructed—do I understand that?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I do.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Were they built with or without tender?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Without tender. It is quite impossible to get tenders for such contracts. We erect them by means of Government officers in accordance with the instructions of the architect at Ottawa.

Mr. SCHULTZ—I must hope, at least, that the results will be well worth the experience obtained, at any rate.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I know what our experience and the experience of the late Government has been with respect to the payment of extravagant sums for such contracts; and we do not intend to repeat it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—What expenditure has been made in the construction of buildings at Fort Pelly?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I cannot tell exactly; I will bring down the information shortly.

The item was passed.

Item No. 107, providing \$182,000 for rents, repairs, furniture and heating, &c.; \$40,000 for heating Public Buildings, \$2,500 for the removal of snow at the Public Buildings, Ottawa, \$12,000 for gas used in the Public Buildings, Ottawa, \$5,000 for fuel and light at Rideau Hall, and \$10,000 for repairs and miscellaneous expenses at Rideau Hall—total \$251,500—being taken up,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK stated the expenditure for rents, repairs, furniture and heating, &c., had increased remarkably during the last few years; in 1872-3 this item amounted to \$81,000; and in 1873-4 to \$95,000; and now it was no less than \$182,000. He hoped that the Premier would explain; and as he asked the question politely, he hoped that the First Minister would not snap his head off.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the expense of maintaining public buildings had increased enormously of late. The new public buildings in Montreal, Toronto and other places increased the expense of maintenance. It was found necessary to rent a number of buildings. In this city, for instance, it was found necessary to rent rooms for the Supreme Court and also for the Pacific Railway Surveyors, there being absolutely no room in the offices for them, and a great deal of work had to be done in the interior of some of those buildings to fit them for occupancy. The details of such expenditures would be found in the Public Accounts. He was not aware of anything abnormal at all; it was simply because of the greater number of buildings to be maintained. The selection of Rideau Hall was in the first place unfortunate. The cost of the grounds with buildings attached was not far from \$400,000. Last year, the old building having been found in a delapidated condition, they had to put on a new roof entirely of wood and iron, and it was now in a tolerable state of repair.

The motion was passed.

On the item, \$62,200, for harbours and breakwaters in Ontario,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that the \$6,000 to be expended at Thunder Bay was to dredge the bed on the Kaministiquia River, some 2½ feet deeper. The Local Government of Ontario had expended several thousands in improving the place, and as it was to be the terminus of the Pacific Railway it would be necessary to have it deepened to at least 12 feet.

Mr. PLATT asked for some information about the vote for Toronto harbour. It appeared to him very improper to neglect the port of Toronto, which was a harbour of refuge.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said a vote had been taken for this purpose last year with a view to enable the Government, in the first place, to make a thoroughly scientific investigation of the harbour, and in the second place to erect some temporary piers, if that should be found desirable, in order to ascertain the effect of currents depositing sand in different places. Several engineers had spent a great deal of time in this examination, and their report was nearly complete. The examination developed the fact, not previously known, that the breaking of the bar at the east end had really not in any way injured the interior part of the harbour. The water about the wharves was found to be not more than ten feet deep. The only part requiring early attention was some dredging at Queen's wharf, and extensive dredging would be necessary to facilitate the entrance of larger vessels. The bay was altogether too shallow. The original plan laid before the Department of Public Works would have involved an outlay of between three and four hundred thousand dollars, and the result of the investigation was to show this would be money thrown away. Dredging was the only way to get deeper water in the harbour. There was no fear of the destruction of the harbour by the breaking away of the bar.

The item was passed.

Mr. CIMON said he would be glad if the Hon. First Minister would tell him why he refused this year to put in his estimates any sum of money for harbours, piers and breakwaters in the Province of Quebec, in which the navi-

gation is so extensive. There was not a cent in the estimates for this purpose in the Province of Quebec. He would ask if the Hon. First Minister had received no demand for such an appropriation, and if he was not aware that improvements were required in that Province? He (Mr. Cimon) knew that petitions had been sent from his county asking for the construction of breakwaters, and yet were unanswered. Last year the First Minister had placed in the estimates \$28,000 for that purpose in the Province of Quebec; but all this money was for the County of Charlevoix, of which Mr. Tremblay was then the member. He supposed that Mr. Tremblay had gone to the First Minister and said to him:—"My election is contested, and the judgment declaring it void will be given next summer; if you don't come to my aid I will be beaten." And then the hon. gentleman gave this \$28,000 to Mr. Tremblay, which he applied only for the purpose of securing this election, the money having gone into the pocket of a very few friends of his. The work was badly done, and the money recklessly expended. First, M. Gagnon, son of M. A. Gagnon, who had represented Charlevoix in the Local House, got about \$16,000, and it was in this manner:—Mr. Gagnon had been a supporter of the Local Government till the Tanneries affair. His son had the contract for the Bay St. Paul's pier, and he was claiming from this Government an indemnity of \$16,000; the arbitrators of this Government had refused to give him that sum, allowing him only \$1,000. Then Mr. Gagnon, who had heretofore supported the Local Government, voted against him, supporting the *Rouges*; and some months afterwards the Federal Government made, out of this \$28,000 which were voted for the people of Charlevoix, a gift to Mr. Gagnon's son of \$16,000. He (Mr. Cimon) said a gift, because they bought from him timber which was worth \$4,000, and paid him \$16,000 for it. Then it was for the members of this House to draw the proper conclusions. He was sure that the First Minister knew nothing about this. He hoped the hon. gentleman did not; and thought that all these improper transactions, and all had been done only

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

though Mr. Tremblay, who had mistaken the Hon. First Minister. He wished to know why the Province of Quebec was so ignored?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said Mr. Gagnon entered into a contract, sometime before he (Mr. Mackenzie) assumed office, to build a crib for a certain sum of money, but by some oversight by the Department the contract was really executed for six cribs. Mr. Gagnon would not at first sign the contract, but afterwards finding that he could get the timber, he undertook the work. The contract was a larger one than was required. The timber was bought on Mr. Symes' recommendation, and the work was done under his supervision. He was not aware that this matter required any further explanation at his hands. Returns on the subject had been asked for and the papers would be brought down in a few days.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked how much money had been expended on the piers of Baie St. Paul, and Eboulements.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he could not be expected to give information on that, as there was no vote for it in the estimates.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the Public Accounts of 1875 showed that only \$7,085 had been spent on the Baie St. Paul pier.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that statement was up to 1st July, and he thought the large proportion of the work was performed after that. He understood that the work done would exceed the appropriation and if that were so the money must either have been paid or there were large claims for the balance. The Eboulement extension of break-water was not connected with the land, and therefore it was of no use for the purpose for which it was intended.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The building of landing-piers is not the business of the Government.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—The Malbaie extension is a landing-pier.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am sorry I did not know that. Had I been aware of the fact it would not have been built.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it was intended as a landing-pier by those who obtained the vote. A large amount of money had been expended on the work in question, and he was satisfied that what had been done could have been done for half the money.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was an inconvenient time to discuss the matter, no discussion on the subject being anticipated. He was not prepared to make the statement with regard to the character of the work the hon. gentleman had himself made; Mr. Symes was not an officer of his own choosing. He had found that gentleman in the Department, he had trusted him implicitly. With regard to the location of the Baie St. Paul pier, there had been a good deal of correspondence passed, and all he could say in regard to it, was that if the location was not the proper one he must throw the burden of that upon the officers of the Department, who he was satisfied did the best they could.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—The men the hon. gentleman sent down were not the proper parties to do the work. They were recommended to the hon. gentleman by parties interested in the matter.

Mr. CIMON—I am informed that Mr. Symes had instructions to act according to the views of Mr. Tremblay.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Mr. Symes did not receive instructions from me to act according to the views of anybody. The item was passed.

Hon. Mr. POPE enquired why proper accommodation was not provided for the Customs Officer at Sherbrooke, where from \$10,000 to \$15,000 were collected annually; a building might surely be rented—although this was in the Province of Quebec. He found that for the other Provinces, and especially for Ontario, \$124,000 were set apart for public works and buildings chargeable to income; Nova Scotia to receive \$42,500, and Prince Edward Island \$29,250. Something, however, should be done in Quebec.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that the collections in Sherbrooke amounted to \$10,487.19; in hundreds of other

places they were in excess of this amount; and in fifty places ten times as great; and yet they did not pretend to erect buildings where the business might be done in a room 10x12.

Hon. Mr. POPE—You rent sometimes, though.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I do not know anything about that. If anything is wrong, no doubt the Minister of Customs will attend to it.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—I think this officer receives \$150 for rent; he has not complained.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought that public money should merely be expended where it was most required without reference to localities. He deprecated the raising of sectional issues in this relation.

Hon. Mr. POPE said that he had not requested any unnecessary expenditure. Favours had been granted the Great Western and Northern Railways, and large sums were to be spent on the Georgian Bay Branch. He could not understand why everything should fall to the lot of Ontario.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The payment of the Northern Railway's debt had been made to the Dominion, not to the Ontario Government; and how this increased the allowance to Ontario passed his comprehension.

Mr. MASSON urged that the Prime Minister forgot that when a Province was relieved of a debt due to the whole Dominion, the other Provinces bore their share of the burden without partaking of the benefit. The Northern Railway had owed a considerable amount to the Dominion; and it was then well understood—it was admitted by the *Toronto Globe* and the greater portion of the Liberals in that city—that this road was in a fairly flourishing condition, being able to pay five per cent on its debt due to the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! No!

Mr. MASSON—The Treasury of Ontario had represented most distinctly in a state document, that this was the case; and more, the *Globe* had written editorially, that “the Northern Road is one of the very last un-

dertakings that should come a begging for relief at the present moment from any Canadian tax-payer.”

He could cite other extracts of a similar character from this paper, which further declared that the “Northern Railway is not so bankrupt as its Managing Director represents it to be. On the contrary, it is comparatively speaking, a healthy and prosperous enterprise, worth a vast deal of money as it stands, and giving every promise of being worth a vast deal more. To surrender shares in it to the amount of \$190,000, without a direct and valuable advantage to the city from the surrender, would be the very height of imbecility;” and this was the organ of the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No!

Mr. MASSON—Then it was the organ of the hon. gentleman's party; and yet though Toronto benefitted especially from the working of the railway, the journal would not consent to the abandonment of the debt towards the city. The Dominion did not benefit in so great a degree from such a local enterprise; and consequently the argument against abandonment of such obligations obtained greater force.

He agreed with the Minister of Public Works that these matters should not be treated from a sectional point of view; and if the hon. gentleman considered that Quebec had reached the millenium, not being in want of anything, he was quite justified in giving nothing to the Province. Still, the question put by his hon. friend from Chicoutimi had not been answered; it was, had not there been applications made for improvements in the St. Lawrence? He hoped that a reply would be made.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE could not answer a question so indefinite; if it was put definitely in writing, he would bring down the information desired.

Mr. MASSON hoped that, as was the case last year, when in the first instance very little at all events had been granted Quebec, the hon. gentleman would yet remedy matters in the supplementary estimates. This had previously been done to the extent of \$27,000.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE exceedingly regretted that hon. gentlemen from Quebec should attempt to make a sectional fight in this relation. He had the returns showing the relative expenditures in Ontario and Quebec during the last forty years; and these proved that Ontario had never acted grudgingly towards her sister Province. The same spirit still animated her people, and he could only say that he was as destitute of sectional feeling as it was possible, in his opinion, for any human being to be. He did not know of any great public work in Quebec that had not received due attention at the hands of the Government. The hon. member for Terrebonne said that everything went to Ontario.

Mr. MASSON—I did not say anything of the kind.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. member said, that whether it concerned railroads or anything else, all went to Ontario; and was applauded when he represented that a debt had been forgiven to the Northern Railway for the benefit of that Province. The hon. gentleman was cheered when he set out in the new role of bringing Quebec into collision with the other Provinces. This was, however, no boon to Ontario; the old Province of Canada loaned \$2,310,000 to the Great Western Railway Company, receiving in return three and a quarter millions, the capital and 4 per cent interest, which was paid, not to Ontario, but to the Dominion.

The late Government had proposed to absolve the Northern Railway Company from their indebtedness, for the sum of £100,000; the present Administration valued the assets of the Company at a higher figure, and brought in a Bill, passed unanimously he believed, to obtain one million of dollars instead; and if they were able to carry out this agreement they would do so. This was charged to Ontario; but what railway in any other Province could be sold for any money at all? As a rule, they did not pay working expenses; and it was no boon to own 700 or 800 miles of railway. This was anything but a money-making speculation; and the million in question would be added to the wealth of the Dominion.

Mr. MASSON replied that the hon. gentleman did not answer the question put, but pleased himself by erecting men of straw in order to amuse himself by knocking them down. He had not said a single word with regard to Quebec in opposition to any other Province; but he had affirmed quite the contrary. He had deemed it to be his duty to call the attention of the Government to the Northern Railway question; and he could read in this connection the memorandum submitted in 1873 by the Treasurer of Ontario to the Lieutenant Governor, declaring that this road could pay five per cent. on the lien. It ran as follows:—

“MEMORANDUM submitted to the Lieutenant Governor in Council, on the 3rd of May, 1873:—

“Upon an examination of the returns of revenue as earned by this railway, and after a liberal allowance for expenditure on capital account, it appears to the undersigned that the company could with facility pay interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum on this amount of the Provincial lien, and at the same time exist in full efficiency and make from time to time such alterations and additions as the traffic and public interest might require.”

That decided conclusively, from an Ontario point of view, what was the feeling of the country on the subject of the Northern Railway. It was true the old Government brought in a measure to grant relief to that railway, but it was opposed then, as now, by the representatives of Quebec, and the opposition was not from them alone but from the Ontario members also.

Mr. OLIVER thought it was very unfair for the hon. member for Compton to represent Ontario as receiving the whole benefit of the building of these Railways. Such was not the case. Montreal reaps as much benefit as part of Ontario from the Northern Railway which, by the Grand Trunk, draws the trade of a large section of country to Montreal. At this very time Ontario is granting bonuses to railroads which were increasing the trade of Montreal. It was unwise, therefore, for Quebec members to raise an issue between the Provinces. Look at the enormous amount of money expended on the Intercolonial Railway, five-ninths of which was contributed by the people of Ontario. Since confederation Ontario had paid into the

treasury \$15,000,000 more than she received from it. If there was one Province in the Dominion which had acted generously by the others, it was Ontario.

Hon. Mr. POPE said he did not complain that more money was expended in any one Province than another, but he did object to being told that because Quebec received some benefit from this road, which had cost the Dominion \$5,000,000 that debt should be forgiven to the railway company. He did not want to raise an issue between Ontario and Quebec, but he wanted to see justice done.

Mr. YOUNG said Ontario was really the only Province in the whole Dominion that paid more into the Treasury than it had taken out of it.

Mr. DOMVILLE—No; New Brunswick has also paid more than she has received.

Mr. YOUNG said he had the official figures and they were as follows:—Ontario, from July 1st, 1867, to July 1st, 1873, had paid into the Consolidated Fund, as nearly as could be calculated, \$55,251,758, and received \$40,095,756, being a surplus of over \$15,000,000 paid into the Exchequer, whilst Quebec had received some \$1,871,777 more out of the Treasury than it had paid in during the same period.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER called attention to the fact that there had been applications for repairs to the piers at Port Grenville and Partridge Island, and that considerable loss would likely be sustained if the repairs were not done.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) stated that at Cow Bay 10 cents per ton had been charged upon every vessel entering the port. That high duty precluded many vessels from going into the port, and it was desirable that this rate should be reduced.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that was the amount fixed by Statute, but he would call the attention of the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the fact.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) remarked that captains of vessels overtaken by storms complained greatly of the tax.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that the Statute of 1874 imposed ten cents

a ton on vessels under 100 tons once a year, and twice a year on vessels above 100 tons.

The item was passed

Item 112, Prince Edward Island, \$24,750,000, was also passed.

On item 113, providing, \$10,000, for slides and booms,

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) asked why the amount asked for the construction of booms at Des Joachim's slides at the last Session was left out of the estimates for the present year? He found that the receipts from these works were $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the cost of the construction of the works, and he considered that this was the largest rate of interest received from any public work in the Dominion

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the expenditure for booms and slides up to the end of the last financial year was \$1,832,007.36, and the receipts from the same work was \$1,580,215.28, showing a deficiency of about \$260,000. From a number of the small works no revenue was received, and the works in the vicinity of the Ottawa were generally productive enough. From the slides and booms on the Ottawa and its tributaries, there had been a revenue of \$175,000 in excess of the expenditure.

Mr. McDOUGALL (South Renfrew) said three-fourths of the square timber of the Ottawa passed this particular place, and as it would be a saving to the trade they would gladly pay a sufficient toll to return a reasonable interest for the construction of the work. This toll could be collected at a much cheaper rate by the Government than by a private company.

Mr. WHITE (North Renfrew) said the works on the Ottawa and its tributaries paid a considerable revenue in excess of expenditures for maintenance, and since 1867 had paid as much as $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the amount expended for capital account. When they were told by the Finance Minister that he could borrow in England at five per cent., and considering that this work would be of great benefit to the trade, the lumbermen were not asking too much of the Minister of Public Works in requesting to have this improvement made.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said it was not a question of mere money. The rapid was a dangerous one, and every year there was loss of life there. He hoped the Minister of Public Works, who was interested in the free and safe navigation of the river, would see his way to allowing the grant which had previously been placed in the estimates to be re-voted.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) corroborated the statement with regard to loss of life at that rapid. He had lost a number of men there himself. He thought that argument ought to induce the Government to allow this estimate to stand.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the matter had been submitted to the engineers, and they had reported on it sometime ago. It seemed to him, from their report, it was not of such a character that the improvement was absolutely necessary. He would only remark that there was no more reason why the public should execute these works on the Ottawa than they should construct any other works that were in the hands of private companies. There was no reason why private companies should not own these booms and slides. They could manage them to their own advantage much better than the Government could do it.

Mr. WRIGHT asked if the Government would be prepared to make over these works to the trade.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government would be prepared to consider the question. Before the estimates were finally passed he would inform the House what the engineer had reported on this matter.

Mr. WHITE said as a practical lumberman he could not agree with the statement made by the First Minister that these works would be better managed by the trade than by the Government. It was true that mistakes were sometimes made in location of works, but generally speaking they were located to the great advantage of the trade, and they were better in the hands of the Government than controlled by private companies who would desire to make money out of them. It seemed to him that these works were as much Government works as breakwaters and harbours of refuge.

Mr. McDOUGALL (South Renfrew) concurred in the remarks of Mr. White. The lumber trade did not ask the Government to make improvements for them for nothing at the expense of the rest of the Dominion; they were willing to pay tolls that would return a reasonable interest on the investment.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the works were not as remunerative as one would suppose from the figures, as there were some \$201,000 of arrears for some years past that it would seem almost impossible to collect.

The item was passed.

Item 114, providing \$11,000 for dredge vessels, was passed without discussion.

Item 115, providing \$102,000 for dredging, being taken up,

Mr. DECOSMOS enquired why dredging had been stopped in the harbour of Victoria? This appeared to him to be something extraordinary, as at Victoria there were paid in duties over \$500,000, one-third as much as Nova Scotia, and one-thirtieth of the Customs revenue of the Dominion. Was it part of the hon. gentleman's plan to shut down upon this as well as upon everything necessary and unnecessary for British Columbia? Did the hon. gentleman not intend to keep faith with this Province with regard to a small matter like this, as well as in connection with a great matter like the Pacific Railway?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not choose to discuss the question of keeping faith at that time, for he did not think that anyone on looking at the estimates would say that they were not keeping faith with British Columbia with reference to the expenditure of public money.

The harbour of Victoria could undoubtedly be improved; but it was in an excellent condition, and dredging was not at present absolutely necessary. The removal of rocks in the harbour was of much more consequence, and nothing further would be done during the current year. He had no desire to refuse to expend any money there; and his information in this respect was obtained from the engineers. A contract had been entered into for the removal of the rocks.

Mr. DECOSMOS remarked that if two rocks, which he mentioned by name, were removed, vessels of 1,500 tons could move about near the wharves with great ease.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE promised to make a note of that matter.

Item 116, providing for \$10,000 to be expended on miscellaneous works not otherwise provided for, was passed without discussion.

Item 117, providing for the expenditure of \$45,000 for surveys and inspections, being taken up,

Mr. KIRK remarked that he had presented to the Premier a petition very numerously signed, a few days ago, asking for the use of a dredge to clean out Lange River, near Tor Bay; and he enquired whether it could be obtained during the present season?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not know what dredge would be suitable for the purpose; he would make enquiry with reference to this matter.

The item was passed.

Item 118, providing for the expenditure of \$15,000 for arbitrations and awards, was passed without discussion.

The House adjourned at One o'clock, a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 22, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the chair at Three o'clock.

AFTER ROUTINE.

BEACON LIGHT ON RED RIVER.

Mr. SCHULTZ asked whether it is the intention of the Government to erect a beacon or light house at the mouth of the Red River, known as Sloop Channel?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not the intention of the Government to erect this light house. I am informed by the Department that no representation or application has been made on the subject, and it has not therefore been under consideration.

THE PENSIONERS OF 1812-15.

Mr. BLAIN asked whether, as some of the pensioners of 1812-15 died after the vote of last Session but before the

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amount was paid over, it is the intention of the Government to pay the amount appropriated under the vote to such of the friends or relations of deceased as attended them in illness and saw them interred?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—It is not the intention of the Government to pay these claims.

VICTORIA POST OFFICE.

Mr. DECOSMOS asked, do the Government intend to pay debts contracted and due about eighteen months ago respecting the post office, Victoria, by the Post Office Inspector with certain mechanics of that place? If so, when? If not, why?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Government will pay all debts contracted by officers authorized to contract them.

Mr. DECOSMOS—What about this particular case?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said although they were unauthorized, and it was irregular and improper for Mr. Wallace to order anything, still what appeared to be essential would be paid for.

PUBLIC RESERVES AND BUILDINGS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. DECOSMOS asked when do the Government intend to transfer to the Province of British Columbia for Provincial purposes certain public reserves and public buildings for which application has been made at various times between 1871 and 1876?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I indicated to Mr. Walkem, when he was here last and mentioned the subject, the lots which I believed the Government would be willing to give to the Local Government, but I never heard from him after he returned to British Columbia, and in consequence the matter dropped.

LAND RESERVES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. DECOSMOS asked did the Government send any telegram, despatches or Minutes of Council in 1874 or 1875 to the Government of British Columbia requesting the latter to make provision by Statute or Order in Council for the conveyance to the Dominion of a belt of land 20 miles

wide along the line of the proposed railway between Esquimaux and Nanaimo? If so, will the Government bring down all the papers connected with such request?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We have no objection to bringing down all the papers. There is nothing except an Order in Council and the letter communicating it to the Local Government.

LINGAN HARBOUR.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) asked whether it is the intention of the Government to send one of the Government steam dredges to deepen the bar at the entrance of the Harbour at Lingan this year, according to promise made last Session?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have no recollection of making any such promise. I can only have said the Government would do the best they could with the dredges. I can say nothing more now; but my impression is there are several harbours considerably more important as to trade which have to be attended to by the five dredges which are in operation.

THE NAVIGATION OF AMERICAN CANALS.

Mr. JONES (South Leeds) moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all papers and correspondence with the Colonial Office, or with the Government of the United States, in regard to the apparent violation of the Washington Treaty in denying Canada the free navigation of the United States Canals, in accordance with that Treaty.

He said he regarded this matter as a real violation of the Washington Treaty, although he merely termed it an apparent violation in his motion. In the Treaty of 1854 this very question was included in almost the same shape as in the Washington Treaty. Two years had now passed since the ratification of the Washington Treaty, and nothing had been done to bring about the reciprocal navigation of the canals and inland waters of the United States. In the Washington Treaty the United States undertook to secure to Her Majesty's subjects the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal and the State canals on terms of equality with inhabi-

tants of the United States. That portion of the Treaty had not been carried out. Canadian boats were stopped by the Custom House authorities of the United States, under an old Act which had not been repealed, and if the American Government desired to carry out the provisions of the Treaty they certainly would repeal that Act. The result of the action of the United States was that the trade of this country was conveyed to Albany and New York, in American instead of Canadian bottoms. A good deal of correspondence had taken place between the United States and the Imperial authorities on the subject during the last four or five years, but no satisfactory result, apparently, was being brought about. It might be said that it would be impolitic to lay these matters before the House. He did not think this would be the case, and he was of opinion that in Canada we were better able to judge of the question than those living at a great distance from the country. He hoped the Government would see fit to give the information required.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE doubted whether it would be advisable to bring down the correspondence on the question at the present time, and he would request the hon. gentleman, if he pressed his motion, that there should be a distinct understanding that the Government might bring down very little of the information, and perhaps it might be advisable to bring nothing down. The motion could only pass on that understanding. He thought the words "apparent violation of the Washington Treaty" should not be on the Journals of the House. If the motion were altered so as to read—"In regard to the action of the United States in denying the free navigation of the canals of the United States," then he would not object to the motion.

Mr. JONES—I am perfectly willing to accept that.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the returns could not be complete, because the Government were now in communication with the United States on the subject; therefore it would not be advisable to publish some of the correspondence the

Government was in possession of. The same reasons made it undesirable to discuss the matter then.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER was satisfied that his hon. friend would agree to the suggestions made. The discussion of a matter which was the subject of diplomatic correspondence might not only embarrass, but actually obstruct the negotiations of the Government.

Mr. JONES agreed to the suggestion and the motion was carried.

THE DEEP-WATER TERMINUS OF THE INTERCOLONIAL.

Mr. PALMER moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement showing the amount which the Government of Canada have incurred in the construction of the branch of the Intercolonial Railway around Courtney Bay towards the ballast wharf at the city of St. John, New Brunswick; also copies of all correspondence between any of the authorities of the said city and any person on behalf of the Government with reference to the terms on which the Government was allowed to build that work on property belonging to the city; and copies of all correspondence for the purchase of the Rankin wharf property for a deep-water terminus for the said railway, and of the estimate of the cost of securing and construction of such terminus. He said that the work as far as it had proceeded had cut off the city from the sea, and he understood that the Government had been allowed to build these works over the city property in consideration of their making the terminus of the railway at the Ballast wharf. It was said that the Government had abandoned this work entirely after expending certainty not less than \$100,000 or \$150,000 upon it. When he (Mr. Palmer) had asked them a question on this subject the Hon. the First Minister reported that he was not aware that any parties had claimed their property had been injured by the prosecution of this work so far. He, however, had since discovered that the Mayor of St. John had, some time previous to the answer being given, written to the Department stating that such was the

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case. It was perfectly clear, moreover, there would be a very large injury to the property of the city unless the work was completed. If completed, instead of being an injury, it would be a benefit, because then it would be utilized in making the approach by the railway to this property. Having some very considerable local knowledge in reference to this matter, he wished to say to the Minister of Public Works he thought Rankin's wharf was entirely unsuited for a deep-water terminus, being extremely difficult of approach and the water not being deep enough. However, that was a matter for the engineers to determine. The people were a good deal excited about the subject, and the city was now claiming damages for loss to property which they had allowed the Government to use on the understanding this work would be completed. Before the House was asked to vote any sum for the purpose of making a deep-water terminus, they should be in possession of the information he asked for.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said some of the papers could not be brought down, but most of them would be submitted. The expenditure for the purchase of land up to the present time was \$115,111. He could not agree in the opinion that if the railroad were carried no further it would be any more an obstruction to that part of the city than if it were carried the whole way. A considerable portion of the road would be useful under any circumstances.

Mr. DOMVILLE—Not at all. It is perfectly useless. I speak from personal knowledge.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the question the Government had to consider was what was best in the public interest, and if it were possible to harmonize it with the interest of the City of St. John, it should be done. The Government had the impression that the city sought to impose onerous conditions on them. It was originally agreed by the City Council that the Government should have possession of the frontage to Reid's wharf. This was afterwards recoded from. At all events the Gov-

ernment were convinced it would not suit their purpose except at an enormous expenditure to go to the Ballast Wharf and construct works that would be absolutely necessary there in order to secure accommodation for the large traffic anticipated. It was yet undetermined to what point they might go, but it was likely it would be determined very soon. They had to keep in view in considering that determination not merely what would be requisite for the traffic, but what would suit the harbour, and also what would be most likely to answer for connecting with the roads owned on the other side of the harbour.

He had no strong impression about the bridge himself, but if there was to be one it must be constructed either on the upper side of the suspension bridge at the falls, or across Navy Island. We might fairly look forward to the time when complete railway communication could be had from New York and Boston to the most eastern point of Nova Scotia, and with the straightening on various places, we might expect to see a large portion of a certain kind of traffic carried over it. Any arrangements made in connection with the St. John terminus of the Government lines ought to be made with a view to having them as convenient as possible for the anticipated trade. Of the present vote there was a sum of \$20,000 which had been awarded to the heirs of some estate—he believed the Chipman estate—that might be demanded at any time. There had been some legal difficulty about the matter.

Mr. DOMVILLE hoped that the Government would pause before determining to do anything in connection with this matter. He only wished to benefit the City of St. John in the selection of the place; and the Minister of Customs knew that Rankin's wharf was not fit for a deep water terminus. This was not to be gainsaid. As far as railway requirements were concerned, the proper location was above the suspension bridge. The city had voted a sum of money to a company on condition that a bridge was built above the falls; but this had not been done, and the Company had applied two

years ago for a charter to bridge the river or harbour where it would interfere with the rights of the people and cause a toll to be levied on the inhabitants of both sides. No doubt the Government railway must connect with the western extension in time; but why this should be done at the sacrifice of the public interests he could not understand. The railway in question was hopelessly bankrupt, and the bondholders in England had contemplated foreclosure. He had been asked, when in London, who could be put in charge of it. He hoped that the Premier would endeavour to meet the views of the citizens of St. John, though of course without sacrificing the interests of the Dominion in this connection.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE assured the hon. gentleman that he considered nothing regarding this matter save the general good. He had no idea where the terminus was to be selected, whether near Ballast wharf, or up towards Rankin's wharf. He was quite willing to leave it to the Minister of Public Works.

Mr. DOMVILLE disclaimed intimating that the Minister of Customs had any personal interest in view, and thought that the hon. gentleman, as a representative of St. John, should urge the Premier to place the terminus where it would most benefit the city.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE had no doubt that the Premier would be governed by the representations made on the part of the city on this subject. He had always, and was still, of the opinion that the bridge should be built where the suspension bridge now was.

Mr. DOMVILLE enquired if the hon. gentleman would use his influence to have the matters at issue submitted to arbitration?

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—This is to be dealt with by the Minister of Public Works.

Mr. PALMER hoped that the road would be made continuous. A drawbridge at Navy Island, would be utterly destructive to the city's interests, as the current and tide run at this point at the rate of seven miles an hour. He put it to the Premier whether the question of a continuous

line had anything to do with that of a deep-water terminus? He could see no connection between them. It would be much better to choose the latter at Ballast Wharf, where land was cheap, than in a thickly settled part of the city. He did not wish to obtain any confidential communications; but the House should be informed of the estimate of the probable cost of the work. The people of St. John could not comprehend why this should not be given, as they were confident that the Government had been misled with regard to this matter. If the location of the terminus at Rankin's wharf, including the price of the property, would cost less than at Ballast wharf, as was represented, then he would admit that he knew nothing of the subject. He hoped that the matter was not finally settled, as the change of terminus in the future would involve enormous expenditure.

Mr. KILLAM stated that many who did not live in St. John thought that if the city did the proper thing it should give the right of way to Ballast Wharf, and not leave it to arbitration.

Mr. PALMER—It did do it; and besides offered to give a large piece of land at Ballast wharf.

Mr. KILLAM—No! no!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — They asked \$100,000 for the land at Ballast Wharf.

Mr. KILLAM held that the city demanded an exorbitant price for this property. This was in part the reason why work had been stopped. He hoped that the Government would not proceed in this regard until the city took a proper view of the subject. He admitted that a bridge at Navy Island would do injury to the city, as the harbour was small and the current rapid. The city was seeking to make money at the expense of the Dominion.

Mr. McLEOD said there was considerable diversity of opinion as to where the deep-water terminus should be. It occurred to him, looking at the question from its various stand points, that if the river were dredged above the falls and the terminus were placed where they were crossing the river, that such an arrangement would suit the city of St. John best.

Mr. PALMER.

Mr. PALMER wished to state that when the Government found they required more property for this work, the city authorities said they would give all the land they offered at first and allow Government arbitrators to value the additional property they required. He wondered if the town of Yarmouth made so liberal an offer?

Mr. KILLAM—The town gave all the land required for the right of way.

The motion was carried.

HUDSON AND JAMES BAYS EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

Mr. SCHULTZ moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement showing imports during the fiscal year 1874-5 into the North-West Territories through ports on the Hudson and James Bays together with exports from the same; names of, and remuneration paid to persons employed by the Government at the said ports, together with the instructions furnished them by the Government, and reports made by them to the Customs Department.

He said that he wished to direct attention to this matter because he could learn nothing from the public accounts of last year, except that a Mr. Fortesque is a sub-Collector of the Government with a remuneration of \$200 per year. Now, there is a person of this name who is an officer of the Hudson Bay Company, at York Factory, in Hudson Bay, but he (Mr. Schultz) scarcely thought it possible that the Government should place itself at the mercy of any large importer of dutiable goods by employing one of the employes of the importer to collect the duties and make the returns. In this particular case the imports and the exports are large, and yet the trade and navigation returns do not give that exact information which the motion seeks. It seems quite clear that the Government interests in these regions are great enough to warrant the employment of a special Revenue Officer. There is in these Bays themselves and on their shores the possibility of a great trade for Canada. From very credible sources he (Mr. Schultz) learned that at Paint-

Hills and on Paint Islands, in James Bay, there is a vein of magnetic iron ore, which when examined by a practical English miner in 1865 was pronounced to be one of the largest and most valuable veins of that mineral in existence. Graphite or plumbago in a very pure state is also found at the same place. Galena is very abundant along the east coast, and a quantity sent to England was found when assayed to contain 80 per cent. of lead and 8 per cent. of silver. Coal is also said to exist near the Little Whale River, and the Esquimaux report iron mines on the mainland near Hudson Straits. All this mineral wealth is especially valuable because found on the shores and near the excellent harbours to be found in these bays. There is also a very large fishing interest in these regions. Immense numbers of white porpoise or arctic whales annually visit the Hudson and James Bays, where they enter the rivers, and could in these rivers as well as on the shores of the Bay be properly fished. The Hudson Bay Company, who carried on business in two of these rivers captured 7,749 of these fish, which yielded 768 tons of oil worth upwards of £27,000 stg. in the London market. Porpoise skins are also a valuable article of trade, a very superior sort of leather being made from them. On the islands of the bay, seals are to be found in great numbers, as well as the walrus and the polar bear. Salmon are abundant in the rivers, which drain the range known as the South Belshaves, and cod-fish are also abundant about Hudson Strait. In view of the importance of the trade possible in these regions, he (Mr. Schultz) hoped that the Government would give all information in their power, and that they would take into consideration the anomaly of appointing the employee of the principal importers to take charge of the very important direct and indirect interests of Government in this region.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said they would bring down all the information they had on the subject in the Department, and in the office at Sault St. Marie, where all the returns were made. The Collector at the Sault visited the district once a year and made an examination of all the entries, manifests and

books of the district. He had also to state that every safeguard possible had been placed on the collection of the revenue by the Department.

Mr. SCHULTZ thanked the Hon. Minister of Customs for the promise that all the information would be brought down. But he also desired to know why the Government employed an employé of the importer to collect their duties?

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said this was a very exceptional case. It was impossible to get people there to act as Custom House Officers unless they took some responsible man on the spot. The Government found that this service had been done for many years by one of the agents of the Hudson Bay Company there, and they had not seen their way clear to get any one else to take the position for the small salary they paid. They could not pay a large salary, as the revenue collected was very small.

The motion was carried.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. BUNSTER moved for the Reports of 1874 and 1875 of the engineer in charge of the British Columbia section of the Western Division of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

He said that it was agreed at the inception of this work that the survey should be completed in two years. Since then over five years had elapsed, and very little was known by the people of the country as to what had been done upon that survey, which ought to have been completed long ago. He showed how expeditiously the Central Pacific Railroad Company had conducted their surveys in that part of the country, and condemned the Government for not proceeding more rapidly with the survey.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he must ask the hon. gentleman not to press his motion. The report of Mr. Sandford Fleming, of 1874, was all that could be made public in regard to these surveys. The reports of Mr. Smith made to Mr. Fleming he could not promise to bring down, as they consisted to a great extent of confidential letters, and would not be proper documents to publish in the shape sent

down. If the hon. gentleman desired any specific information on the subject he had no objection to give it, but he did object to the motion in the way it was put.

Mr. DECOSMOS thought the report of the engineer of the Western Division should be placed before the House prior to the discussion of this subject.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) considered it important that these reports should be laid before the House. The Government had promised that the utmost diligence should be used in the forwarding of these surveys, and it was necessary they should have the reports before them in order to ascertain if the promise of the House had been carried out. The Session of 1876 had arrived and they had no more definite information as to the surveys than they had in 1874, and if they were to judge of the future from the past years and years untold would roll by before they would arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the route to be adopted.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he hoped the hon. gentleman would withdraw his motion. All the information up to 30th June was in the Public Works Report. If subsequent information would be produced in the chief engineers report which he has in preparation.

Mr. BUNSTER said he reluctantly consented to withdraw the motion, hoping, however, that the Hon. Premier would give all the information he could as fast as possible,

The motion was withdrawn.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS IN BANKS.

Mr. BOWELL moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement of all moneys lying at the credit of the Dominion in any bank, or in the hands of any financial agent, or other person with whom such moneys are deposited in Canada or elsewhere, said statement to show:—
1st. The amount to the credit of the Dominion in each Bank on the last day of each month from December, 1873, to December, 1875, inclusive. 2nd. The

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amounts drawing interest at the close of each month in the different Banks and the rate and the amounts on demand not drawing interest. 3rd. The amounts on deposit in the hands of Canadian banks, financial agents or other persons in England or elsewhere other than in the Dominion, and the rate of interest, if any, received upon said deposits. He said the information sought for by this motion had, to a very great extent, been furnished by the returns which had been laid on the table since his motion had been put upon the notice paper. Still, in looking over the Finance Minister's statements and comparing them with the official returns in the *Gazette*, he found such large discrepancies between the two that he thought it was well to call the attention of the House and the country to the facts, more particularly when he remembered that in a discussion which had recently taken place, the Finance Minister stated that the large amounts which were lying on demand in the Banks were not necessarily drawing no interest. On looking over the returns furnished by the Auditor General, however, he (Mr. Bowell) found that none of this money lying on demand in the banks drew interest. He thought some arrangement should be made with the Banks so as to secure some interest upon demand deposits, as was done with private individuals when they had running accounts and large deposits to their credit. When the Finance Minister made the statement to the House that deposits on demand were not necessarily without interest, no doubt he did so with the object of conveying to the country the impression that portions of these sums did draw interest. That was the inference drawn from it by himself and others, which the facts did not warrant. The amounts lying in the different banks, on demand, and bearing no interest, in 1874-5, were:—

1874.

July	\$4,909,595 00
August	3,170,344 29
September	3,995,391 81
October	5,233,667 70
November	4,873,623 23
December	4,875,496 39

1875.

January	4,999,612	47
February	3,194,740	48
March.....	3,843,957	73
April.....	3,916,996	47
May.....	3,985,324	70
June.....	3,548,781	85
July.....	4,227,130	89

Now, it seemed to him, some system might be adopted by which interest on these large amounts might be saved to the country, instead of, as was now done, lending it in the Banks thereby enabling them to encourage speculation by increasing their discounts largely, and sharing the profits among the stockholders at the expense of the people. The effect of this system was exemplified when the Finance Minister issued his circular informing the Banks that it would be necessary for them to pay the sums which they had lying at the credit of the Dominion. Expecting to have to pay these large amounts they were obliged to restrict their banking accommodation to the people of the country, and the result was almost a panic. The House had been informed by the hon. member for Montreal West that the effect of the issuing of this circular had on the country, was of a very serious character—that had the money demanded been paid at the time, it would not only have injured some of the weak Banks, but in all probability might have driven them to the wall. It had also been stated that the Government, and more particularly the Finance Minister, deserved very great credit for not putting his order in force and enforcing payment of that money, thus enabling the Banks to go on and continue their discounting without interfering with the business of the country. He was also given great credit for having gone to England and borrowed money instead of demanding from the Banks that which really belonged to the public—in other words, that he deserved praise for using the credit of Canada to borrow money while they had sufficient for all their requirements but allowed it to remain in the hands of private bankers for the benefit of their stockholders. He (Mr. Bowell) believed he could show that this money had been distributed largely among those Banks which were able to bring

and did bring the largest amount of political influence to bear in favour of the Government; and that at one time one of the Banks had on deposit a sum nearly equal to 50 per cent. of its paid up capital.

He would refer to only a few months of each year to show how unequal this money had been distributed. The Bank of Montreal, with a paid up capital of \$11,961,400 had the following Dominion deposits in 1873:—

	On Demand.	At Interest.
Dec. 1873,...	\$1,807,369	\$1,500,000
April 1874....	3,807,600	2,000,000
July " ...	2,389,885	2,000,000
Oct. " ...	3,613,579	2,973,333
Dec. " ...	3,055,568	2,973,333
April 1875 ...	1,769,414	2,473,333
July " ..	1,385,614	1,500,000
Oct. " ..	1,394,485	1,000,000
Dec. " ...	1,298,701	1,000,000

The Bank of Commerce with a capital paid up of \$6,000,000, but which did not appear to be in great favour with the Government, had the following deposits:—

	On Demand.	At Interest.
April 1874....	\$ 54,953	\$ 50,000
July " ...	497,027	50,000
Dec. " ...	494,725	539,888
April 1875....	236,983	539,888
July "	129,513	434,888
Oct. "	24,891	288,888
Dec. " ...	255,206	.....

The Merchants Bank, with a paid up capital of \$7,146,000 had only the following deposits:—

	On Demand.	At Interest.
Dec. 1873 ...	\$375,362	.....
April 1874...	358,197	.....
July "	382,749	.....
Dec. "	300,675	.....
April 1875....	.....	\$325,186
July " ...	.....	189,289
Oct. "	163,822	.....
Dec. "	185,196	.....

Such were the returns for the larger Banks; he now desired to call attention to the Dominion accounts during the same period in the Ontario Bank, which had a paid up capital of only \$2,932,752. In December, 1873, he found by the *Gazette* returns that the Ontario Bank had on deposit but \$180,491 on demand. In January, 1874, it had \$214,463, in February \$273,780.

March, \$291,361; and April \$300,468. During these months, January, February, March and April, there were no interest-bearing deposits in this Bank to the credit of the Government. In May, however, \$238,906 was on deposit on demand, and \$192,765 drawing interest; the deposits for June he was unable to find owing to the fact that the statement was not contained in the *Gazette*. The table continued as follows:—

	On Demand.	At Interest.
July 1874...	\$280,642	\$196,416
August.....	303,658	246,416
September..	336,088	440,861
October.....	336,088	440,861
November..	361,455	440,861
December..	370,991	440,861
Jan. 1865....	314,624	440,861
February...	347,129	462,527
March.....	377,128	547,527
April.....	353,609	669,194

He found in addition, from the returns moved for in the Senate during the last Session of Parliament, that there were at the credit of this Bank in England during the month of April the sum of \$243,333.33, but he did not know whether it bore interest or not, as the returns did not show it, and of course he had no other means of obtaining the information.

Taking the amounts deposited in England, and at interest and demand in Canada, the total deposit to the credit of the Dominion in the Ontario Bank at that time reached the figure of \$1,267,137.04, proving the truth of what he had said a short time previously — that the deposits for that month in the Ontario Bank were almost equal to 50 per cent. of the whole paid-up capital upon which to speculate at the expense of the people of the Dominion. Whether the country held any security for so large a sum he did not know, nor did the country, for such information had not been vouchsafed. In May, the Bank held on the part of the Government, \$359,331 on demand, and \$669,194 at interest; and in June, \$389,666 on demand, and \$669,194 at interest. In July, however, these deposits were changed, for we find that the non-interest bearing deposits were increased from \$389,666 to \$611,302, while the

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interest bearing account was reduced from \$669,194 to \$206,666, showing that the Government had either placed on deposit from funds then at their disposal, a very large sum to the credit of the non-bearing interest account, and had used a considerable amount which was bearing interest; or had drawn from the interest bearing deposits over \$300,000 and added it to the non-bearing interest account. He trusted the Finance Minister would explain why this large sum was carried from the interest to the non-interest bearing account. To the non-initiated, who formed their conclusions from the returns published in the *Gazette*, these figures presented a most extraordinary spectacle.

In August of the same year, the non-bearing interest deposits amounted to \$500,456, and the interest account to \$208,391. In September, \$598,084 on demand, and \$209,591 at interest. In October the former was \$597,752, while the interest-bearing deposits had been altogether withdrawn. In November, the non-interest bearing deposits were \$583,427 and the interest bearing account was a blank. In December \$428,686 were deposited bearing no interest, while \$100,000 bore interest; proving that whether the President of this Institution was so or not, the Bank was certainly a favourite with the Government for some reason or other. Either it afforded better facilities for doing business than any other Bank and was considered more solvent; or what is more likely these large deposits were given to the Bank in recognition of political services rendered by its President, the Hon. John Simpson.

This was not all. When he compared these figures with the official returns sent down by Mr. Langton, the Auditor General, and laid before the House, he discovered that the figures of one or the other were totally unreliable, for in fact no one taking both statements into consideration could come to any correct conclusion whatever. The discrepancy between the two was of the most extraordinary character, extending to hundreds of thousands. He would, however, only refer to the interest-bearing accounts

and exhibit the difference existing between the returns made by the Ontario Bank and published monthly in the *Official Gazette*, and the sums given as being in the Bank in the statement submitted by the Finance Minister. The table was as follows:—

<i>Official Gazette</i> Return.	Finance Minister's Statement.
1874.	
July . . . \$196,416	\$196,416
August . . . 246,416	196,416
September 440,861	196,416
October . . 440,861	196,416
November 440,861	196,416
December 440,861	440,861
1875.	
January . . 440,861	440,861
February . 462,527	440,861
March . . . 547,527	340,861
April . . . 669,194	340,861
May 669,194	340,861
June 669,194	340,861
July 206,666	340,861

Beyond this the returns submitted to Parliament did not go, and he had no means at his disposal for making future comparisons; but the wide discrepancies above displayed would certainly strike the House as being somewhat strange and unaccountable.

One thing, at all events, was certain, both returns could not be right. It might, and no doubt would be said by the Finance Minister, that those published by the Bank dated to the end of the month, while those brought down by the Finance Minister were to the first of the month; still he thought the House could scarcely be convinced that such a remarkable discrepancy as that between \$669,000, and \$340,000 should not only exist in one month, but should be continued for three or four months without any change.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I will save the hon. gentleman the trouble of wasting the time of the House over that point,—it is quite evident that the Ontario Bank included the amount it held in England during these four months.

Mr. BOWELL—If this be granted, then it only shows the necessity of adopting some other system in order that these figures, when published, may be comprehended by the general public. If the balances in England were added to the Ontario Bank, then why did not the Finance Minister show

that in his return so as to avoid misapprehension?

He found, however, that even with the aid of this interpretation they could not arrive at a correct solution of the problem. Taking the average totals as submitted by the Finance Minister and comparing them with those given in the *Gazette* for the same months, it would be seen that they did not tally; the difference on the whole for the thirteen months, it is true, was only \$4,545, but when he took the same totals and compared them with the figures relating exclusively to the Ontario Bank, he discovered a discrepancy of no less than \$210,556. The average totals as per the *Official Gazette* for the thirteen months, ending July last, was \$820,017, while Mr. Langton's average for the same period was only \$609,461, making a difference of \$210,556; so that if the statement of the Finance Minister were correct, that the deposits which the Ontario Bank had bearing interest in England and elsewhere accounted for the discrepancy between the returns, it certainly did not explain this discrepancy, at least, nor did they explain what had become of the \$210,556. This might all appear strange to some, but it would not so seem to those who had watched the course of events during the last two or three years, particularly as they referred to the favoured Ontario Bank. In this country the people would naturally ask why a bank having but between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000 of paid up capital, should have had so large an amount of Dominion money deposited with it without interest, while those Banks and moneyed institutions having a paid up capital three or four times as large, should not have had as much. He thought it could be better understood in the light of past events, and by looking at the political aspect of the whole question. A few years ago this Bank had not so much money at its disposal as it had had of late. The political parties of the country had changed places, and a change in the administration of the affairs of the country took place. An election followed, and his hon. friend, the Finance Minister, made a political tour through the central portion of the country. The hon. gentleman

visited South Ontario, as well as his (Mr. Bowell's) county, of which he had no reason to complain; for the result of his visit to North Hastings in one township alone was to increase his (Mr. Bowell's) majority from 38 to between 80 or 90. However, shortly after the hon. gentleman's visit to South Ontario, the present occupant of the seat for that riding became a candidate, and they found the President of the Ontario Bank issuing a circular to his friends and bank customers in that riding, in which he not only asked for the support of his friends, but he notified his bank managers in the different parts of the riding to do the same. For the information of those who had not seen the circular he would read it, and he was sure those who had read it before would be delighted to have their memories refreshed, and to those who had not read it, it would be a source of information, showing how elections were carried in Ontario. He was satisfied that this letter, together with the figures he had given to the House, would enable hon. members to understand why the Ontario Bank had received so much greater favour than other banks throughout the Dominion. The letter was principally as follows:—

"BOWMANVILLE, Jan. 17th, 1874.

"———, Esq.,

"DEAR SIR,—Although I am not disposed to oppose Mr. Gibbs on personal grounds in the approaching elections, still, as one who has laboured long and hard to promote the interests of Canada, I now ask my friends to support men who will support the present Government, for the following reasons:—

"Because many of the men forming the present Government are my personal and esteemed friends.

"Because, if the present Government is sustained, I will be able through them to get justice for our party in *needful appointments and otherwise.*

"Because, if they are sustained, our bank and other Ontario banks—and through them the country—*will have the use of the Government surplus until required.*

"May I ask you to give my old friend, Mr. Cameron, your candid and honest support?

"I am, yours truly,

"J. SIMPSON."

The President of the Bank in this instance had certainly shown a marked degree of penetration. He saw that

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if his friends were sustained the result would be beneficial to himself, his bank, and his shareholders. The result was as anticipated, and as he (Mr. Bowell) had shown. The country believed, and there could be no doubt that these favours had been conferred in consideration of services then rendered in defeating the Hon. Mr. Gibbs, and assisting in the election of Mr. Malcolm Cameron. But this undue influence did not stop here. So impressed was the Hon. Mr. Simpson with the fact that he was to receive great benefits from the Government in power that his bank managers were instructed and did send out letters, of which the following is an extract:—

"We," that is, the Bank, "*are largely interested in the success of the present Government as their continuance in power will add largely to the success and prosperity of the Bank. Our President, the Hon John Simpson, is calling upon all our friends to give us a hand for Mr. Cameron, and he would esteem it a great favour if you could give us a helping hand along with our many other friends.*"

Putting the President's and the Bank Manager's letters together, and looking at the official returns, he thought they might safely say that that President not only made a "big push" but a successful "push" in the direction of receiving large bank deposit which enabled him to do business upon the money of the Dominion, and declare large dividends to his stockholders at the expense of the country,—by having the money on deposit without interest—at rates ranging from 8 to 10 per cent. Are these facts not sufficient to cause people to ask whether some other system could not be adopted by which the country should receive benefits for the immense amounts now deposited with the banks, without any benefits being received to the country therefrom? It might be argued that these banks were liable to be required to pay over the money at any moment, and that they should, in consequence, receive some benefits for this; but as arrangements were made by private individuals by which they received a certain amount of interest on deposits, with the right to draw at any moment, he could not see why the country should not be placed in the same position particularly when they had seen that

the effect of the Government demanding its own money had been to materially affect the trade interests of the country. The interests of the country demanded that the system should be changed. Looking over these bank statements and returns of the Finance Minister, and the effect a sudden call had upon weak banks for this deposit and the trade of the country, he deemed it his duty to enter his protest against the continuance of a system of this kind, which enabled the Government to remunerate their political friends with the money which belonged to the whole people.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he had no objection to the motion passing, but he desired the return to be made up in such a way as to include the years 1871 and 1872, because it was desirable that the House should see exactly how these matters were managed during the two previous years. He could not help thinking it would have been wiser if the hon. gentleman had waited until the returns had been brought down before he made the speech he had just delivered. Had he done so, he would have had reason to modify several of his statements. He would call the hon. gentleman's attention to some two or three patent errors into which he had fallen, without entering upon a detailed criticism of his observations. In the first place, the discrepancy between the statement of bank balances as brought down by Mr. Langton in obedience to the demand of the Public Accounts Committee, and those published in the *Banking Gazette* was entirely attributable to the fact that they were made up to different dates, and dates at which there would be always a considerable variation in the balances. He might remark for the hon. gentleman's special information (and he seemed to require a good deal of information apart from that he had moved for) that considerable differences would always be found between a bank statement on the last day of the month, and a bank statement on the first day of the month. As a general thing, it would be found desirable, when the Government were in the habit of paying in or drawing large sums from banks that the money

should be paid in or withdrawn on the first day of each month. With regard to other matters to which the hon. gentleman had referred, if he desired to have the Auditor General examined before the Public Accounts Committee, he had no doubt satisfactory explanations would be given of the apparent discrepancies. It might possibly be that the returns in his office to some extent differed from those of the banks, because sometimes entry warrants were passed which might not be presented to the various companies on which they were drawn for several days, or, in some instances, for weeks after they were returned to the department. With respect to the statement as to the Ontario Bank, he begged to reiterate his statement made in answer to the statement of the hon member for Cumberland. He stated then what was the fact, that up to June 30th, 1875, instead of their being \$600,000 deposited with that bank, without interest, that there was only about half that amount. The sums given in the *Gazette* were divided into sums at demand and sums not at demand. Nothing was said as to whether they bore interest or not. With regard to the hon. gentleman's question as to whether it was desirable for the Government to charge interest on sums which they were likely to use and which they would require to have absolutely at their command, he thought the hon. member for Cumberland had laid down a very correct rule in his remarks on that subject some days ago.

It was stated then by that hon. gentleman that in his judgment money was of no use to a bank unless it had the control of it for a considerable time, and he was quite right in so stating. The position both of this Government and of the late Administration with respect to those bank balances was this: enormous expenditures were going on, amounting to something like forty or forty-two millions of dollars in a single year, and ranging sometimes from three to eight, or even twelve millions in a single month. Moreover, under the legal tender system to which the Government was pledged, it was necessary to keep large

sums on hand. That was one ground on which he (Mr. Cartwright) had opposed the introduction of the legal tender system at all. He had not in the slightest degree altered his opinion of that measure by which promises to pay had been substituted for one-half of the gold reserve of the country. No doubt there were conveniences attendant upon it, but the disadvantage inherent in the system was this: the Government were always obliged to keep, in addition to the gold reserve, a very considerable amount absolutely at call, and he doubted very much whether it would be expedient for a Government, however it might for an individual, to demand interest on sums so deposited. He had invariably found where interest was demanded, the banker was sure to endeavour to obtain some return for it. If it was desired that the public at large should not be embarrassed by having their accommodation curtailed, it would be necessary not to demand interest of money held at call. The reason was so clear that it was not necessary for him to lay down more than the general principal that in this country, while we have such enormous expenditures going on, a large amount of money must be held at demand, and it would not be wise in the public interest to exact much return for it. With reference to the distribution of these sums, any hon. gentleman could easily understand it was advisable the Finance Minister of any Government should not render an account of the precise reasons which induced them to withdraw deposits from certain banks. Special reasons might exist for it, and it was better in the public interest that the Government should be supposed even to act capriciously than that they should be understood to withdraw because a bank was not considered safe. Some of our largest banks had declined on more than one occasion to take considerable sums of money which he would have liked to deposit with them, for the simple reason they had no means of employing it profitably in their business at the moment. That was one reason why some banks had received a smaller amount than others. Another consideration, which had more or less influenced the Government was

this: sometimes they were put to considerable shifts to get out small notes. That was a difficulty which would always exist unless the Government had a monopoly of the whole circulation, or engaged in the actual practical business of banking. There always would be some difficulty in supplying ones and twos which were the denominations to the use of which they were confined. On more than one occasion he had found it necessary, for the convenience of the public, to give sums of twenty or thirty thousand dollars in small notes to the various minor banks for the purpose of getting them into circulation. He might also observe that if he were to remove deposits from some of these banks the only result would be that they (the banks) would be obliged to apply for gold for the Dominion notes, and that the reduction of their deposits might lead the public to suppose they were dangerously weakened. He did not say it was advisable that banks in such a position should have large deposits, but it was one of the reasons why sums deposited should not be hastily withdrawn. Under the operation of the Legal Tender Act, the position of these banks had been mixed up with that of the Government as regarded the amount of legal tenders which they desired to keep out; and that would continue to be a source of some considerable inconvenience, and in some cases of possible danger, to the stability of these institutions. Last Session, with a view to reducing this danger to a minimum, he had introduced a provision in the Banking Act, which required the Government to hold gold only for everything over \$12,000,000, and fifty per cent. of gold for all issues over \$9,000,000; and he thought as the population and trade of the country increased, it would, by the natural expansion of its reserves and of its banking capital, grow out of that system which contained within it certain elements of danger. As to the question to what extent the Government were the cause by removals of deposits, of the commercial panic which occurred in June, 1875, he thought a very cursory review of the bank balance on the first day of each month in 1874-5—particularly

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those of Ontario and Quebec, which were the only Provinces in which it had been asserted the balances had been violently disturbed—would show conclusively there was extremely little ground for that assertion. So far from there being any violent disturbance or oscillation in the bank balances, they were remarkably constant during the thirteen months from July, 1874, to July, 1875. On the 1st of July, 1874, after paying the subsidies, there was nearly \$8,000,000 in the Ontario and Quebec Banks, at interest, or in ordinary cash. On the 1st of July, 1875, after payment of subsidies, there was \$8,114,000 in the self-same banks, showing that the disturbance between these two periods had amounted merely to \$114,000. The only other disturbance was due to paying a large amount of seigniorial indemnity, for which a considerable sum had been brought from England. So far from this measure producing a panic, it was very considerably instrumental in sustaining the credit of country, and in bringing in capital, which was certainly more or less needed at that time, as a permanent investment. As to the sum total it would be advisable to keep in hand, it must be remembered that as our Dominion extends, as we take in new Provinces, and commence various great public works, it will be necessary to maintain a very considerable amount of money at certain points, more than would ordinarily be required. In the Ontario and Quebec Banks, where the chief reserves were, the Government very rarely had more than some \$2,500,000 or \$3,000,000 lying available, and of that, the largest proportion had been in the Bank of Montreal, their chief fiscal agent. The disturbance which had occurred almost invariably happened in the cash on deposit in that bank. He had been assured that not only had the Montreal Bank taken pains in their management to avoid in any way curtailing the accommodation to their customers when the Government made demands on them, but in order to strengthen credit here, they had drawn large sums from their reserves in foreign countries to enable them to accommodate the Canadian public, and render assistance

to other institutions which might be in want of it. He desired that to be thoroughly understood, because he had always made it a point of policy in dealing with our banks, to impress upon them the desirability of not allowing the balance placed in their hands to go to their customers so as to avert the disturbances which he had been charged with having caused. Every possible precaution had been taken to prevent these sums being used in that way. This system of making large deposits in the various banks of Canada had not been inaugurated by him, but was one he had found in full operation when he entered on the duties of this office, and the relative increase was vastly less from 1873 to 1875 than in the two years preceding. He proposed to bring down a statement showing the amount on deposit on the first of every month, from December 1st, 1871, to December 1st, 1875.

At six o'clock the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

PRIVATE BILLS.

The Bill intituled an Act to incorporate the Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Company, was taken up.

Mr. WOOD, in reply to the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, explained that the promoter of the Bill (Mr. Thompson, Haldimand) — then absent — declined to change the name of the Company on the ground that under this title it had been doing business for some time.

Mr. DOMVILLE considered that a breach of faith had been committed in the neglect to alter the title; he gave notice that he would move that it should be changed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE enquired what Company at present existing bore a similar title.

Mr. DOMVILLE—The Canada Mutual Marine Insurance Company.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There is also a Canada Life Assurance Company; as long as the name is reasonably distinct, there is no ground for complaint.

The Bill was read the third time, on motion of Mr. Wood, and passed.

The House went into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Desjardins in the Chair, to consider the Bill intituled an Act to amend the Acts respecting the Citizens' Insurance and Investment Company, and reported the Bill.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

The House went into Committee, Mr. Irving in the Chair, to consider the Bill intituled an Act to extend the time for the commencement and completion of the Great Western and Lake Ontario Shore Junction Railway, and rising, reported it.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

The House went into Committee, Mr. Oliver in the Chair, to consider the Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Clifton Suspension Bridge Company, and rising, reported it.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

The House went into Committee, Mr. Mills in the Chair, to consider the Bill entitled an Act to amend the Act to incorporate "The Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada," and rising, reported it.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

SECOND READINGS.

The Bill entitled an Act to incorporate "The British Canadian Loan and Investment Company," was read the second time.

The Bill entitled an Act to incorporate "The Maritime Savings and Loan Society," was read the second time.

The Bill entitled an Act to incorporate the Synod of the Church of England Diocese of Rupert's Land, was read the second time.

The Bill entitled an Act to incorporate the England and Canada Mortgage Security Company, was read the second time.

TRANSPORTATION OF CATTLE.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Mills in the Chair, to consider the Bill entitled an Act to amend the Act 38 Vict. Chap. 42,

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respecting the transportation of cattle by railway, or other mode of conveyance, within the Dominion of Canada, as amended by the Standing Committee on Railways, Canals, and Telegraph Lines—and rising, reported it.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

INCORPORATION OF BOARDS OF TRADE.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Macdonald (Toronto) in the Chair, to consider the Bill entitled an Act to amend the Act 37 Victoria, Chapter 51, intituled an Act to authorize the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion—as amended by the Standing Committee of Banking and Commerce;—and rising, reported it.

It was read the third time, and passed.

THE INSPECTION ACT.

The House went into Committee, Mr. Killam in the Chair, to consider the Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act to make better provision for extending to the whole Dominion of Canada, the Act respecting the inspection of certain staple articles of Canadian produce—as amended by the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.

Mr. KIRK desired to learn why the clause relieving exporters of fish from the necessity of having them inspected had been struck out by the Committee? He was informed by the fishermen of his county that inspection was of no value to them whatever, and he could not see why—since flour exported need not be inspected—fish should not be an exception to this rule.

Mr. DAVIES thought that the hon. member was in error, as inspection was certainly of value.

Mr. YOUNG explained that the Committee, after long and careful discussion, decided almost unanimously—only two votes being contra—that fish exported should be inspected.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL agreed that this should be done, as inspection was of very great importance.

Mr. BUNSTER hoped that the words "excepting British Columbia" should be erased.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought that this erasure was desirable.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON explained that the original Act did not extend to British Columbia, in accordance with the desire of its representatives; also that the entry of the words "excepting British Columbia," was in harmony with all the previous legislation in this connection.

Mr. BUNSTER hoped that the law would be extended to British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL urged that the omission of the words "British Columbia" would have this effect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE remarked that no provision had been made for the inspection of fish in that Province.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON considered that they were not in possession of sufficient evidence to show that the extension requested was desired in the Province. He, however, would be very glad to see such legislation secured.

Mr. BUNSTER stated that fish being a principle article of export in British Columbia, they wished to have it inspected, in order to ensure the establishment of a world-wide reputation in this relation.

Mr. DECOSMOS did not agree with his hon. friend from Vancouver; he was of opinion that the inspection of fish oils would be an injury instead of a benefit to their trade. He hoped that the extension of the operation of this law to British Columbia would be deferred until the desire of the persons interested could be definitely ascertained.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON remarked that as the representatives of that Province were divided on the subject, the delay requested should be accorded.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought that the Committee should rise and report progress, in order to obtain the opinion of the Minister of Justice on the legal point in question.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that if at a future time they became satisfied that British Columbia really desired to secure the inspection of its fish, this would be granted.

Mr. BUNSTER accepted this explanation, and withdrew his proposition.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE, in view of the gradual destruction of the oyster beds at Caraquez, etc., urged the inspection of oysters.

Mr. FORBES did not think that this matter came within the purview of this Act, but simply appertained to the jurisdiction of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL held that it was for the House to take action in this connection if it was considered advisable.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE announced that the Government would take this question into consideration; in the meantime he advised, that this Bill should be allowed to pass in its present shape,

Mr. SPEAKER was of opinion that the inspection should take place at the oyster bed, and not at the place of sale. Reckless fishing, unfortunately, was not rare; but as regards size, care should be taken under such circumstances, as the Caraquez oyster was much smaller than the oyster obtained from the Prince Edward Island beds.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—It is one-fourth the size.

Mr. GILLMOR moved in amendment to clause B, that half-boxes should be twenty-two inches long, and four inches wide, and should contain not less than ten pounds of fish.—Carried.

The Committee rising, reported the Bill as amended.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

THE ST. PETER'S CANAL.

The debate being resumed on the motion of Mr. Flynn, for an order of the House for a copy of the reports and plans made by Mr. Perley in the summer of 1873 for the enlargement of St. Peter's Canal, &c.,

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) stated that this canal was very important with relation to the shipping and other interests of the Lower Provinces. Somewhere about 1863-4 the Legislature of Nova Scotia had come to the

conclusion that it was very desirable that the waters of Bras d'Or Lake and the Atlantic should be connected by canal; well aware of the benefits which would be derived from this undertaking, as dangerous navigation would thereby be avoided, and a plain, easy, and direct way provided for reaching the coal ports in that quarter.

Since then a much larger class of vessels had come into use, and it was found that the canal was at present neither deep nor wide enough for the purposes of trade. During the past year nearly 700 vessels and over 200 boats had passed through it. Vessels of 1,000 tons capacity were, however, compelled to take a circuitous route by Scattaree and Big Bras d'Or, and a great saving of time and expense would be effected if this canal were properly enlarged. The steamboats plying between Pictou and Prince Edward's Island, touching at Port Hawkesbury, could not use it owing to its narrowness and shallowness, and steamers bound to the lakes were obliged to go round through Big Bras d'Or. A steamer which came from Halifax to Sydney would pass through by this route if it were possible, and the delay in enlarging it was seriously detrimental to the interests of the settlement on Bras d'Or Lake, and the coal trade, and the trade with the adjacent Provinces.

Some two years ago a sum of money was put on the estimates for, and the House consented to, the construction of this work, and the Government directed Mr. Perley, the engineer, either by himself or by his assistants, to make enquiry to ascertain what was required. The report was, that its breadth should be extended to 50 feet, and its depth to 15½ feet. The House had certainly expected that the money voted would have been expended, but nothing had been done, though the Government had not only asked for tenders, but had entered into contract with Mr. Tuck. This caused a very great deal of dissatisfaction among the people living in the counties of Cape Breton and Richmond. His county was principally interested in the matter—more so than Richmond or any other county. In the plans for the canal, its proposed

width and depth had been reduced, though the alteration had not been made in the general interests of trade. He would be glad to hear a satisfactory explanation for the change from the Premier, if such could be given. Those who were acquainted with the question conceded that Mr. Perley's report was correct; and were of opinion that the reduction of the proposed breadth to 36 feet, and of the depth to 14½ feet, was not in the interest of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and of the growing trade between the former Province and Newfoundland. When he remarked that the locks on the Ontario canals were to have the proportions of 270 feet in length and forty in breadth, he could not but think that the interests of Nova Scotia were comparatively neglected. The contractor had had a number of his employés and a portion of his staff on the ground, and he could have proceeded with the work in December last, to the great advantage of the labouring classes in the neighborhood during the winter; but still no action had been taken. It might be objected that a difficulty had arisen as to securing a portion of the lands required; but he understood that there was a special Act on the Statute Book authorizing the Government to take possession of any land needed for public works, arbitrators being appointed to consider its value, and a sum of money, as might be thought proper, being deposited in one of the courts. They could at any rate put themselves in possession of any land that was required for public purposes, but it was only within the last month or so any steps had been taken. The delay might be susceptible of explanation, but the reduced size was not in the interest of Nova Scotia. The Government had sent Mr. Perley to inspect the works and accepted his report, and he could not see why they now reduced the size. If a year ago the canal should have been fifty feet wide and fifteen and a half feet deep, surely that size was as necessary now as then.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman who had moved the resolution seemed to have two or three subjects of complaint. He was wrong in his assumption that Mr. Perley's report was submitted in the summer

Mr. MacKAY.

of 1873; it was made in the spring of 1874. He was also wrong in supposing that a greater draught of water than 14 feet could be got or used. Judging from what had been stated by Admiral Bayfield in his *St. Lawrence Pilot*, vessels of 12 feet draught were the only ones that could safely pass the shoals of St. Peter's Bay. Mr. Perley had come to Ottawa within the last few days and informed him fourteen feet was the maximum depth that could be used without enormous labor in removing those outside shoals, a work not to be thought of. The locks on the St. Lawrence canals were 270 by 45 feet. To apply the same proportions to St. Peter's canal, the locks 200 feet in length should be 33 feet wide, instead of 36 feet, which was the reduced breadth. The locks of the Welland canal, built in 1844, were 150 by 26 feet; the locks of St. Peter's canal built in 1859, were 122 by 26 feet beam. The traffic of the latter canal was very trifling indeed. At the present time no vessel with a greater tonnage than 150 tons could go through. When Mr. Perley's plan showing locks 200 by 50 feet was submitted to the permanent officers of the Department, they considered 36 feet would be a much better width. The mere work of making the canal a few feet wider was little compared with the cost of working heavy gates of 50 feet. The widest in Canada are only 45 feet, and the vessels have been adapted to the system of locks. The great trade of the country was done by propellers, and the width of 36 feet is enough for a considerable number, if not all the Allan steamers. It was very much wider than the largest propellers on the lakes. On the sea coast, however, it seemed there were side-wheel steamers engaged in the Bras d'Or trade, which were wider than 36 feet. The engineer had been instructed to find the greatest width of beam of this class of vessels, and if the Government found that the adoption of the locks to such steamers anything like a necessity, there could be no very great difficulty, at this time, in making them wider. He declined to recognize the doctrine that the Government were bound by the reports of their officers. He never hesitated to

change their plans very materially when the public interest demanded it.

Mr. FLYNN said he was not prepared to say what was the exact depth of water on the shoals in St. Peter's Bay, but Mr. Perley must have had all the information necessary when he made his report. In August, 1873, he had been sent by the late Government to St. Peter's to inspect the canal, and while on his way there, consulted him (Mr. Flynn) on the subject of his mission. He met Mr. Perley returning, and was informed he had instructions to submit his report in time for the November Session. When he (Mr. Flynn) came up to attend the Session of 1874, he understood Mr. Perley's report was in. Of course the Government had a right to alter plans, but this was something more. In this case the money was voted by Parliament in 1874 and 1875 for the enlargement of the canal based on the plans and specifications made by Mr. Perley in 1873. And in addition to this the Minister of Public Works invited tenders to carry out the same, which, in his judgement, differed materially from the position taken by the First Minister, and did not change the opinion he entertained on the previous occasion, that the Government had not the right to alter the plans after Parliament had voted the money.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not at all.

Mr. FLYNN said he had inspected the plans in the Department, and found the depth of 15½ feet and width of 50 feet had been recommended by Mr. Perley. With that he was satisfied. The Government was at that time determined to carry out that report. There was not a word said there that the commerce of Cape Breton did not require it. There was not a dissenting voice when the estimates were brought down, and \$75,000 voted. Nothing was done that year, but it was because no tenders were asked. The sum was re-voted the following year and tenders were asked for under those plans and specifications prepared by Mr. Perley. The people of Canada were asked to tender for the enlargement of St. Peter's Canal to 50 feet in width and 15½ in depth.

He held that after Parliament had passed a vote based on certain plans and measurements, they had no right to interfere with the size of the canal, and maintained that the Government could not obtain any further information than that they were already in possession of. However, the statement made by the Minister of Public Works that the Government would alter the width of the Canal if, after obtaining further information they found it necessary, in order to accommodate the paddle-wheel steamers now connecting between Pictou and the Bras d'Or Lake was satisfactory. These steamers, owing to the accommodation they gave, and not drawing much water, were likely to continue in use for many years. These are the description of boats used in all inland navigation in Upper Canada and the United States, and unless the Canal was made wide enough to allow the Prince Edward Island steamers to enter Bras d'Or the people of Cape Breton will have just grounds for being dissatisfied. We have now been asking since 1869 for the enlargement of this canal. About that time its insufficiency for the trade of the Bras d'Or was brought to the notice of this Government, and three years elapsed before even a survey was made, and now three years more have elapsed and not one dollar has been expended in improving this important work. There was a feeling in that portion of the Dominion that they had not been fairly treated by the Government, and in that feeling he (Mr. Flynn) fully participated. In consequence of the steamers running between Pictou and the Strait of Canso not being able to use the canal, the people of the Bras d'Or and a large portion of Richmond County are prevented from dealing in Montreal, as they otherwise might do if the canal was large enough to permit the Island boats to use it. They could connect with the Gulf boats at Pictou and carry freight to different points in Richmond and the Bras d'Or. The sum required to improve the Canal is not a large one. Last Session we voted \$4,600,000 to improve three canals in Upper Canada—the Welland, St. Lawrence and Lachine—while only \$260,000 was required to complete the

Mr. FLYNN.

work on the canal in question. He regretted that the Hon. the First Minister did not now give a positive assurance that the work would be enlarged to the size recommenced by Mr. Perley. But he had no doubt that when he instituted the enquiry promised, it would result in the enlargement of the Canal to the extent desired by the people of the Island of Cape Breton. He believed there was only \$38,000 difference between the price of the present contract and one of the tenders sent into the Department of Public Works when the first tenders were invited, and he thought it unfair and ungenerous that Cape Breton should have been denied what they required for so trifling a sum. However, he hoped the further information the Prime Minister said he would endeavour to obtain would be the means of enlarging the canal to the extent required and allay the dissatisfaction at present existing in Cape Breton in connection with this work.

Mr. DAVIES said the enlargement of this canal was a matter of the greatest importance to Prince Edward Island, but he thought the Government should proceed carefully in the matter.

If a report to the Government had shown that there was only 12 feet of water in the basin, it would be folly to make the canal 15½ feet. With regard to the class of steamers there, they were very broad, but he thought these steamers would die out as it had been found that propellers consumed one-third less coal, and paddle-wheel steamers could not compete with them on that account. It might be some time before this change would be effected, but he was confident that it would be effected. Therefore it would not, perhaps, be necessary to enlarge the canal to 50 feet. He was of opinion that the First Minister had acted wisely in not increasing the depth of the canal.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE then read from the report of Admiral Bayfield, in which he stated that vessels drawing 10 or 12 feet of water might run into the canal during rough weather with the aid of a chart, on which they would have to rely.

Mr. FLYNN—He does not say there are not more than 12 feet of water.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No. The chart says there are three fathoms, but Mr. Perley states that a vessel drawing 14 feet might get in when the water is still, and not otherwise.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) also claimed that after the Government had placed a vote in the estimates based on Mr. Perley's report, they were not warranted in changing the character of the work. He understood that the original contract would only have cost about \$36,000 more to execute than the one which had lately been given out.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Mr. McDONALD—I am sorry we had not the plans and specifications connected with the work so that we could ascertain.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will give the hon. gentleman the figures. The lowest tender based on the first plan was \$250,000, while the lowest tender on the last plan was \$203,000, being a difference of \$47,000.

Mr. McDONALD thought the difference being so small the Government might have proceeded with the work in accordance with the first plan.

They were to have a canal 14½ feet in depth and 36 feet in width of a cost of \$220,000, a difference of \$47,000 compared with the estimates for the increased dimensions that had been proposed. He regretted the Government's action, and expressed his belief that the canal would cost at least \$250,000. He understood that the contractor, Mr. Tuck, had been for several months on the ground, and very likely he would demand extra compensation. The St. Lawrence canals were to be 45 feet in width at the locks; and under these circumstances surely in connection with this canal—only half a mile in length, the same consideration should be extended by the Administration to the interests of the Lower Provinces. The member for Richmond had done his duty, and thrown the responsibility on the Government; and if the latter did not do its duty in this regard for a great many years to come, it would not obtain supporters from Cape Breton.

Mr. MACKAY thought the Premier must be mistaken in one point; outside

there were 4½ fathoms, from 25 to 28 feet of water.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That is an error.

Mr. MACKAY knew that on Bayfield's chart the depth was marked in some places as 3½ fathoms, 20 feet; vessels drawing over 15½ feet could enter St. Peters' Bay, and the canal should be at least the same depth. Reefs and rocks were in the way, it was true, but these could be buoyed and made generally known. He failed to discover that in any channel used the depth at low tide was less than 4½ fathoms; inside Bras D'Or Lake, close to the shore it was eight, and it immediately deepened to about 18 fathoms, Capt Bayfield's soundings were always under the mark.

Mr. MASSON, with reference to a remark which had fallen from the Premier, contended that the Government could not arrogate to itself the right of changing the plans of their engineers and architects when they thought fit and proper to do so. The First Minister in this regard was entirely wrong. This might be done by the Administration before they were submitted to Parliament and a vote taken for the expenditure of money; but afterwards this was not the case. The Government could not of its free will increase the expenditure; and at most could only reduce it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I never said anything else.

Mr. MASSON urged that even as to the reduction of expenditure in such relation, circumstances might occur when Parliament would not have approved of it. For instance, a vote might be taken in favour of the deepening of a canal to 14 feet, the Government might afterwards change the plans to 12—when if such had been the proposition presented to Parliament it would have been promptly rejected.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness) could see no force in the argument of the hon. member for Terrebonne, as the plans and specifications of this canal were not on the table.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They never were.

Mr. MACDONNELL observed that the House had voted without knowledge of the plans. He regretted that the dimensions of the canal had been lessened, as in the near future this might serve to the great detriment of trade. He was glad to have from the First Minister an assurance that if, upon re-examination, it would be found in the public interest to alter the specifications, this would be done. He felt confident that this would be the case. He had not had a high opinion of the report of the Canal Commission presented some years ago to the House, but it was known that this contained a recommendation in favour of the extension of the dimensions of this canal. The Lower Provinces had magnanimously resigned all claim to the making of the Baie Verte Canal, which involved the expenditure of eight or ten millions of dollars, and he thought that this being the case, their other public works should receive very generous consideration and treatment.

The motion was then agreed to.

THE INSOLVENCY ACT.

Mr. BOURASSA moved the second reading of Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1875.

Mr. BECHARD explained that the object of this measure was to protect farmers, professional men and labourers, all who were classed as "non-traders" in the Act of 1875, from the effects of that law which was passed to suit the convenience of traders and to meet the exigencies of trade. If traders required an Insolvency Law it should be limited to those for whose benefit it was enacted. Under the operation of this Act the trader after he has given up for the benefit of his creditors all that he possesses is discharged of the balance of his debts provided he can pay thirty-three cents on the dollar, while the non-trader cannot by the same proceeding be discharged from his liabilities after he has been ruined, too often by the acts of traders.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) said the Act of 1875 had only come into operation in September, and had been tried but a few months. The amendment now proposed had been submitted to Parliament last Session and rejected.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Nothing had yet occurred to justify the House in changing that decision, and he hoped the Bill would be withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE hoped the mover of the Bill would not press it to a division. If adopted it would entirely destroy the efficacy of the insolvency law of last year, because if only a certain class of the trader's liabilities were to be affected by it, he would be no better off than before. Under the existing Act, the non-trader who risked his money in trade knew the consequences of a failure.

A more practical solution of the grievance complained of under the existing law was for the non-trader to be careful to whom he gave credit, and to remember there was a risk of the person trusted going into insolvency. He hoped they would not attempt to alter the law in any principle so important as that.

The members were then called in, the House divided, and the motion was lost on the following vote:—

YEAS :

Messieurs

Baby,	Gordon,
Bain,	Greenway,
Béchar, d,	Hagar,
Benoit,	Higinbotham,
Bernier,	Hurteau,
Blanchet,	Jones (Leeds),
Bourassa,	Langevin,
Bowell,	Lanthier,
Bunster,	Macmillan,
Cheval,	McCallum,
Christie,	McCrancy,
Cimon,	McNab,
Cook,	Masson,
Costigan,	Monteith,
Coupal,	Montplaisir,
Cuthbert,	Orton,
Daoust,	Quimet,
Desjardins,	Pozer,
Farrow,	Robitaille,
Ferguson,	Rymal,
Fiset,	Stirton,
Fleming,	Thompson (Cariboo),
Flesher,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Fréchette,	White (Hastings),
Galbraith,	White (Renfrew),
Gaudet,	Wright (Ottawa),
Gibson,	Yeo—55.
Gillies,	

NAYS :

Messieurs

Archibald,	Laird,
Bannatyne,	Landerkin,
Bertram,	Laurier,
Biggar,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Blake,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Borden,	MacDonell (Inverness),
Bowman,	Macdougall (Elgin),

Brooks,	McDougall (Three-Riv)
Brown,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Buell,	McKay (Colchester),
Burk,	Mackenzie,
Burpee (St. John),	McGreevy,
Cameron (Victoria),	McIntyre,
Carmichael,	McIsaac,
Cartwright,	McLeod,
Casey,	Mills,
Casgrain,	Moffat,
Charlton,	Norris,
Church,	Oliver,
Cockburn,	Pelletier,
Coffin,	Perry,
Davies,	Ross (Durham),
DeCosmos,	Ross (Middlesex),
Delorme,	Ryan,
DeVeber,	Schultz,
Donahue,	Skinner,
Dymond,	Smith (Selkirk),
Flynn,	Taschereau,
Forbes,	Thibeaudeau,
Fraser,	Trow,
Gillmor,	Tupper,
Horton,	Wood,
Irving,	Workman,
Kerr,	Young—69.
Lafamme,	

CRIMINAL LAW.

Mr. BABY moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Criminal Law relating to offences against the person. He stated that the object of the Bill was to assimilate to a certain extent the Criminal Law of Canada to the English law, 23 and 24 Vict. Chap. 100, in which the death penalty had been established. As it was, it was impossible to get a verdict against any persons accused of some crimes against the person because the only penalty was the death penalty. He hoped the Bill would commend itself to the members generally, as he was sure it would to the gentlemen who had any experience in our criminal courts.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he would consent to the second reading of the Bill, upon the understanding that it should then be referred to the Select Committee, having similar Bills under consideration. He might afterwards ask that the Bill might not be proceeded with, in view of the probability of a general reconsideration of the Criminal Law in reference to capital sentences, before the next Session of Parliament.

The Bill was read the second time.

THE DOMINION ELECTIONS ACT.

Mr. TASCHEREAU moved the second reading of a Bill entitled an

Act to amend the Dominion Elections Act, 1874, and to declare ineligible for election to the House of Commons all persons disqualified for election to the Local Legislatures during the period of such disqualification.

He explained that it only contained one clause to the above effect; providing, moreover, that during that period such persons could not hold any office under the nomination of the Crown or Government of Canada. The Election Law would not be complete without such a clause.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER renewed his suggestion that when the disqualification was removed by Local Legislatures, the decisions of the Courts should still hold good with regard to this Parliament.

Mr. TASCHEREAU considered that this suggestion was against the very principle of the Bill, which related purely to the action of the Local Legislatures.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought that as Parliament had wisely entrusted the trial of election cases to the Courts, their decisions should be respected in their entirety. He agreed otherwise with the principle of the Bill.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE stated that the hon. member for Cumberland would experience a great deal of difficulty in drawing up the intricate clauses which would be necessary in order to secure the object the hon. gentleman had in view. The law as it existed might, moreover, be changed. His hon. friend from Montmagny proposed to redress a grievance in a practical and able manner, and as it seemed to him to the only practicable extent. The hon. member for Cumberland might embody his suggestion into an amendment, which he had no doubt would receive fair consideration.

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria) asked whether it was proper to leave to Local Legislatures the establishment of what should be considered disqualification for this Parliament. In one Statute it had been enacted that if a candidate took a drink, though with no corrupt intention, in a tavern on polling day, it should be cause of disqualification. This was absurd, and gave rise to cases of the greatest possible hardship.

Now, if this Bill should become law, the result would be to depute to the Local Legislatures the power of defining what class of offences shall be disqualifying for this House. If the Local Legislatures thought fit to pass absurd laws he did not know that it was right for this House to bind itself to them.

Mr. BABY suggested that there ought to be a provision that this Bill should not apply to cases now pending before the tribunals of the country.

The Bill was read the second time.

SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply—Mr. Mills in the Chair.

On the item \$276,281.67 for Ocean and River service,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked why the appropriation for steam communication from St. John, New Brunswick, to ports in the Basin of Minas had been dropped?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that the mails were now carried by rail. The subsidy for steam communication on Lake Superior had also been dropped, and in every case tenders were asked instead of granting subsidies.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE asked why the subsidy to the Gulf Ports steamers had been dropped?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that it was in accordance with an arrangement by which the mails were to be carried by the Intercolonial Railway as soon as it was in operation.

Mr. BUNSTER suggested that a similar arrangement should be made for carrying the mails to British Columbia, and he hoped the Pacific Railway would soon do the work that was now being done by steamers plying between San Francisco and Victoria. The service was not efficiently performed. The reason why the steamers did not get coal at Nanaimo was not because the contractor could not supply it, but because it was impossible to put it on board on the time specified in the contract for want of hatchways. He trusted that when the next contract of a similar character was made, the interest of British Columbians would be consulted, and that the Postmaster General would give these matters his

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consideration; and see that justice was done according to the spirit of the contract. In conclusion, he maintained that a better boat should be employed in the service.

Mr. DEWDNEY said that was the steamer they had come down by previously to the Session, and he contended that she was a good steamer. He did not know of a steamer run by the present company that was not a first-class boat.

Mr. DECOSMOS pronounced the steamer to be unseaworthy. Her boats were not sufficiently numerous for the passengers she carried, nor had she sufficient accommodation. Another disadvantage she possessed was, that she was not suited to the carrying of coal.

The item was carried.

Item No. 124, appropriating \$4,200 for steam communication with the Magdalen Islands, was adopted without discussion.

On item 125, appropriating \$15,000 for winter service by steamer between Prince Edward Island and the mainland,

Mr. TUPPER asked what was proposed to be done in regard to that service?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said they were endeavouring to make some arrangements for a steamer. They had not absolutely decided whether to purchase or construct a vessel, but the indications at present were that they would purchase a steamer.

On item 133 appropriating \$21,700 for the Quebec River Police,

Mr. LANGEVIN asked for the details of the reduction of \$6,500 on this service. He wanted to know what change was to be made in the *personnel* of the force?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the Minister of Marine considered a smaller force would be sufficient, but as the hon. gentleman was absent he could not give any particulars as to the reduction.

The item was carried.

Item 134, providing \$500 for the removal of obstructions in navigable rivers being taken up,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained, that it was intended to remove wrecks, &c., one or two such cases having already occurred.

The item was carried.

Item 135, providing \$142,917.50 for salaries and allowances of lighthouse keepers was passed without discussion.

Item 136, providing \$213,000 for maintenance and repairs being taken up,

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) remarked that he noticed in the report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries that the sum of \$117 had been paid for a sand bank, near Cape Bar, which was not in reality worth more than \$10.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT made a note of the matter, and promised to look into it.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Being in Cape Breton, it ought to be worth \$117.

Mr. McDONALD—Yes; I have no doubt that it was worth \$117 to the Government, at the last election.

The item was passed.

Item 137, providing \$30,000 for the completion of light-houses in course of construction being taken up,

Mr. SCHULTZ called the attention of the Government to the pressing necessity existing for the erection of a light-house at the mouth of Red River. The consequent expense would not be serious, and the shipping on the lake, which was becoming very considerable, would be greatly advantaged. The lake was larger than Ontario, and navigation at the mouth of Red River was difficult even in daytime. In order that the Cabinet might not plead want of knowledge in this respect, he drew their attention to it, and he hoped that action would be taken.

The item passed; and the Committee rose, reported, and asked leave to sit again.

The House adjourned at Thirty-five minutes past Twelve a. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 23, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

QUESTIONS OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. DESJARDINS drew attention to an incident which occurred in the

debate of Friday last, during which the veracity of a member had been called in question while absent from the House. The Premier, alluding to a remark made by the hon. member for Bagot that the Liberals wished to coalesce with the hon. member for Terrebonne, denied the statement. The hon. member for Bagot was now present, and perhaps the Premier would repeat the denial in order that the hon. gentleman might put himself right.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have no personal knowledge of what the hon. gentleman said, further than what was told me. I have only to say again, as I said the other night, I never made any offer to the hon. member for Terrebonne directly or indirectly of a seat in the Cabinet.

Mr. MOUSSEAU said he was glad of this opportunity to set himself right, because it was a serious matter to a young member to have his veracity questioned by one in so high a position as the Premier. On the occasion when the statement was made, he (Mr. Mousseau) was speaking in French. He had been referring exclusively to the Liberals of Quebec at the time, and showing their inconsistency on many public questions. He had pointed out that after condemning the hon. member for Terrebonne they wished to coalesce with him. That speech had been accurately reported and translated, and the statement could be found in the *Hansard* and the *Montreal Gazette*. If it was contradicted he would give to the House the reason which had prompted him to make the assertion.

The matter was dropped.

Mr. GREENWAY called attention to the following paragraph which appeared in the Ottawa correspondence of the *Toronto Mail*, the day after the vote on Sir John Macdonald's amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply:—

"I would take the earliest opportunity of pointing out to the Conservative electors of South Huron, that Mr. Greenway has proved a traitor to all the professions made to them by him when he was elected by acclamation, and that he sits in the House a mere chattel of the Administration, deserving the contempt of all honourable men."

That might have been allowed to pass; but on the 20th instant, the *Mail* published the following:—

“THE TRAITOR GREENWAY.

“The Brantford *Expositor*, a Grit journal, thinks we have been unduly severe on the traitor Greenway. Our contemporary makes two wrong assumptions in this matter which require to be corrected. It is assumed, for one thing, that our denunciation of Mr. Greenway was chiefly because of his having voted on the Free Trade side, and against Sir John Macdonald's motion. Now, it is true enough that this vote was the public occasion which first drew general attention to Mr. Greenway's apostasy: but nevertheless the fact that he was going to “rat” was well known to numbers of people, both in and around the Commons Chamber, and in his own constituency. The London *Free Press* truly says that as far back as a month ago news reached the Liberal-Conservative party (in South Huron) that their member could not be depended upon. Our Brantford contemporary, in its excess of charity, wishes it to be believed that where Mr. Greenway turned was on the trade question, the debate having had the effect of convincing him that Sir John's Protectionist policy was all wrong, and that the Free-Trade policy of Mr. Mackenzie was the thing for Canada. All stuff, we say; what Mr. Greenway turned on was the promise of a Government appointment for himself, expected to be in Manitoba. It sounds very fine to talk about a conscientious change of conviction, and so on, but it takes all the romance out of the affair when you know that the “conscientious conviction,” so called, was a mere vulgar matter of bargain and sale. While sincerely regretting the part we took in recommending Mr. Greenway to our friends in South Huron, we are glad to hear that they have already selected a gentleman upon whom they can depend to carry their banner when Mr. Greenway's time to ‘step down and out’ shall have arrived.”

He regretted that the first occasion on which he rose to address the House should be on a personal matter. He desired to say that whenever the policy enunciated by the Government met his approval he would have no hesitation in supporting it. He denied most emphatically that anything had influenced his vote but this principle. There never had been such a consideration as the *Mail* intimated. There was not now such a consideration offered; he had not been approached by any member of the Government or any of their supporters in such a manner, and the charge was a pure fabrication, utterly without foundation. He was sure the Premier would do him the justice of contradicting a statement which was without a shadow of foundation. At the proper time he (Mr. Greenway) would explain his vote to

Mr. GREENWAY.

the electors, but he would now inform the Conservative candidate who was out in his constituency that he would have about three years to wait before a chance would come to oppose him.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—In response to the call of my hon. friend, I feel bound to say that on no occasion has he, by myself or through any friends or other person, solicited anything whatever at the hands of the Government, either for himself or for any public purpose even. Many gentlemen on both sides of the House have occasion to call upon me about public works in their vicinity, but it so happens that even in this connection I have had no visit and no representation of any kind from the hon. gentleman, nor have I any knowledge of any kind whatever of a desire on the part of the hon. gentleman to seek or obtain any office under the Government, or any favour of any kind from the Administration. I am quite sure that no offer whatever was made to him by myself or any member of the Ministry; nor had we in any way anything to do with influencing the hon. gentleman on the vote to which he refers. I am glad to say that although the paper in question accused the hon. gentleman of deserting his party, no Ministerial journal has accused the seven or eight ministerial members of doing anything of that kind, because they chose, regarding that particular measure, to vote according to their consciences with the Opposition. The Ministerial party could afford to divide in this relation, as it can afford to divide upon many other matters where conscientious differences exist. I observe that there was no conscientious difference of opinion existing in this regard among the Opposition.

CROSSING NAVIGABLE WATERS.

The House went into Committee of the Whole—Mr. Mills in the Chair—to consider a Bill entitled an Act to make provision for the crossing of navigable waters by railway or other road companies incorporated under Provincial Acts, as amended by the Standing Committee on railway, canal, and telegraph lines. The Committee rose and reported the Bill with several amend-

ments. The report of the Committee being adopted the Bill was read the third time and passed.

SUPREME AND EXCHEQUER COURT.

On motion of Mr. Blake the House went into Committee on the Bill to make further provision in regard to the Supreme Court and the Exchequer Court of Canada, Mr. Mills in the Chair. Several verbal amendments having been made to the Bill,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE proposed a series of new clauses, of which he had given substantial notice on the notice papers. The 26th section would read—"An appeal to the Supreme Court in any *habeas corpus* matter shall be heard "at an early day, whether in or out of "the prescribed Session of the Court."

The law gave considerable jurisdiction to the Court in connection with these matters. It was at any rate doubtful whether these cases should be heard out of the prescribed Sessions, which were held in January and June; and it was obviously improper that any of them should be postponed until these Sessions.

The 29th clause was as follows:—

"In any *habeas corpus* matter before a Judge of the Supreme Court, and any appeal to the Supreme Court in any *habeas corpus* matter, the Judge or Court shall have the same power to bail, discharge or commit the prisoner or person, or to direct him to be detained in custody or otherwise to deal with him, as any Court, Judge, or Justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in any such matters in any Province of Canada."

The 28th Section read:—

"On any appeal from the Supreme Court in any *habeas corpus* matter under the said Act, it shall not be necessary, unless the Court shall otherwise order, that any prisoner or person on whose behalf such an appeal is made shall be present in Court on the argument of the judgment on such appeal, but the prisoner or person shall remain in custody to which he was committed or remanded at the time of giving the notice of appeal, unless on liberty on bail by order of Judge of the Court which refused the application, or of a Judge of the Supreme Court, provided that the Supreme Court may, by writ or order, direct that such prisoner or person shall be brought before it."

The presence of the party accused he thought should not be made a necessity; and it seemed to him essential that greater elasticity should be permitted in this relation. If an appeal came from Cape Breton or Vancouver Island, the enforced pre-

sence of the accused would involve consequences which were not to be thought of.

The next clause was an amendment which he could not consider as otherwise than important. His attention had been directed notably to the subject of the working of the Act for the extradition of criminals, and he had come to the conclusion that while no substantial injustice was at all likely to arise from leaving the law as it stood, yet it was possible that by the passage of this Act, delays and difficulties productive of considerable inconvenience might be created. The person held for extradition required a judicial trial before a judicial functionary, and after the magistrate had finally committed him for removal from the country, he had recourse to the highest tribunal of the Province on an application for a *habeas corpus* in order that it might be determined whether the decision was legal or not.

Immediately after that the papers came before the representative of Her Majesty who, on advice, of course, was bound to consider whether on the whole extradition should take place or not. These seemed to him to be sufficient safeguards against improper extradition; but delays might result from the existence of appellate jurisdiction. He also proposed the following clauses:

" COSTS.

"30. The Judges of the Supreme Court, or any five of them may, under the 79th section of the said Act from time to time make general rules and orders for awarding and regulating costs in each of the said Courts in favour of and against the Crown as well as the subject.

"31. Any costs adjudged to Her Majesty in either of the said Courts shall be paid to the Receiver General, and the Receiver General shall pay out any moneys in his hands for the time being legally applicable thereto, and which may be voted by Parliament for the purpose, any costs awarded to any person against Her Majesty.

" CERTIORARI.

"32. A writ of *certiorari* made by order of the Supreme Court or a Judge thereof issue out of the said Court to bring up any papers or other proceedings had or taken before any Court, Judge or Justice of the Peace, and which may be considered necessary with a view to any enquiry, appeal or other proceeding had or to be had before the Supreme Court.

"And also that section 58 be amended by adding after the words 'Crown alone' in the 8th line, the words following: 'And in all

cases in which demand shall be made or relief sought in respect of any matter which might in England be the subject of a suit or action in the Courts of Exchequer on its Plea side against any officer of the Crown; and also by striking out the words 'or any officer of the Crown' at the end of the said section."

Mr. TASCHEREAU suggested the addition of the following clause:—

"Whenever there is not a quorum of the Judges of the Supreme Court to hear and determine any cause or causes pending before the said Court in consequence of one or more of the said Judges being disqualified or incompetent to sit in any such cause or causes, absent from Canada or on leave, the Registrar shall, on a requisition to him to that effect, make an entry thereof in the Register, and on the order of one of the Judges of the said Court give notice thereof to the Minister of Justice.

"Her Majesty may therefore appoint one or more persons being Judges of one of the Superior Courts in any of the Provinces forming the Dominion of Canada to replace such Judge or Judges during the period of their inability to sit."

Mr. PALMER said the quorum might be reduced under such circumstances.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE was glad his attention had been called to this matter. He had felt from the beginning that the necessity of having a quorum of five in a bench of six was an element of weakness. There were obvious inconveniences in filling vacancies by *ad hoc* Judges. The usefulness of the Court largely depended on its judgments being given by at least five of the regularly appointed Judges.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) thought it would be better that there should be possibility of such a difficulty arising as had been suggested by the hon. member for Montmagny than to fill up vacancies in the manner proposed.

Mr. PALMER concluded it would be better to empower the Judges to reduce their quorum, relying upon their acting upon their clear and unquestioned duty of sitting when they were able to do it and not disqualified by law.

After some further discussion the Committee rose and reported and the Bill as amended.

The amendments were concurred in.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

ROADS AND ROAD ALLOWANCES IN MANITOBA.

The House went into Committee on Bill respecting roads and road allowances in Manitoba, Mr. Young in the chair.

Mr. SCHULTZ said as this Bill naturally brought in a variety of Manitoba Land matters, he desired to avail himself of the opportunity of discussing them. He regretted to be under the necessity of bringing up these matters year after year, but the grievance was so great that by no other course could he do justice to his constituents. He was glad to learn in another debate that the half-breed land patents were now actually being prepared for distribution, and he felt that had this been done years ago, when it should have been done, much of the dissatisfaction and ill-will which now exists would have been averted. These lands were a free grant to the English half-breeds. They did not press for them—the Manitoba Act granted them before they had a voice in this House to represent them, and the weary years of waiting for that which became theirs by Act of Parliament now nearly six years ago is what they complain of. Again, there are the very natural complaints of new settlers, who coming to make a home in Manitoba found these large reserves of lands in the river belts locked up from settlement by them and equally so from use by the owners, while had the Government three years ago distributed these lands, the holders would in many cases have sold to those who, coming into the country for homes, naturally wished them as near as possible to the river. Again the distribution of scrip to the half-breed heads of families has been so delayed that now when it is on the eve of distribution it will be found that owing to the Government reserving twenty miles on either side of the Canada Pacific Railroad from sale or settlement, most of the recipients in the County of L'Esperance will not be able with this scrip to locate land where it would be of any use to them. While speaking of this Railroad Reserve he (Mr. Shultz) desired to say that its continued exclusion from Homestead Entry was a gross act of

injustice to those who had gone to the country to make homes. Pushed back from the river by the intervening reserves, the Canadian immigrants had farmed the thriving settlements known as Springfield, Cook's Creek, Rockwood, Victoria and Woodlands. They had found even there in many cases that what with the Hudson Bay sections and the desirable Quarter sections pounced upon as soon as surveyed by land officials, it was difficult enough to establish themselves. Yet their energy and pluck is exhibited in their well-tilled farms, their schools and churches. These settlements are, however, full, and the pioneers who farmed them want more room for their relatives and friends who wish to join them—and what do they find? Forty miles in width of some of the best land in the Province locked up from settlement. Locked up for what? The Government said because a railway was to go through. Weary eyes have watched, however, for the indications of this coming work, but the signs of the times are too gloomy to afford much hope. What should be done and what he (Mr. Schultz) earnestly urged should be done would be to throw this Reserve open for homestead entry by all parties and let the country be filled up. There were other lands for the railway when the railway was actually to be built, and in the meantime the locking up of these lands would be productive of great harm to the settlement of the Province. Again, there were the wants of these new settlements in the matter of roads. He (Mr. Schultz) had brought the matter up last Session and he wished again to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that Manitoba alone of all the Provinces did not own her lands, and that the title being vested in the Dominion, the Dominion incurred all the responsibilities connected with that ownership. If the lands belonged to the Province the people of these new settlements could look with propriety for local aid in making and maintaining at least trunk lines of road, and this duty he (Mr. Schultz) now held devolved in the Dominion. The Dominion, for Dominion purposes, held greater Reserves which lay between these settlements and their objective points for marketing

and other purposes, and it was hard to expect that these young and struggling communities could bear the expense of roads, not only through their own sections but intervening districts. It was the duty of the Government, he held, to foster and encourage these young settlements, and it could not be better done than by liberal grants to their townships or local organizations to aid in making, at least, trunk lines of road. He was glad to be assured that the granting of patents for lands in the river belt and elsewhere would not be further delayed, for there had been far too much delay in this matter already, and the sooner all these vexed questions of title and the numberless grievances springing out of them were settled the better.

As regards the road allowances now under consideration, he (Mr. Schultz) still thought, as he had expressed himself on the first reading of the Bill, that it was unfair to fix an arbitrary rate of remuneration for the payments of owners of the land so taken. The land should be paid for at its actual value, whatever that was. The roads, he believed, would be useful; but the Bill did not go far enough, and he hoped that the matter to which he had called the attention of the Government would receive their consideration.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the roadway was taken from the Dominion lands. The only roads for which compensation was given were the lanes connecting them, and the amount which the Government proposed to pay for them was sufficient. A proportion of the land would be taken from each lot between which such lanes would run. He proposed to amend the 3rd section of the Bill to the following effect:—It was stated in the clause that the Local Government should have the surveys and plans made for these trails and highways which were to be transferred to the Province. As all the surveys had been under the control and supervision of the Dominion Government, he wished to provide by his amendment that the Dominion in lieu of the Local Administration should secure the surveys of these trails and highways.

The Bill was reported with amendments (which were concurred in), read the third time, and passed.

DOMINION NOTES.

The House went into Committee on Bill to extend the Act respecting Dominion notes to the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, British Columbia and Manitoba; Mr. Young in the Chair.

The Bill was reported without amendments, read the third time and passed.

SECOND READINGS.

The following Bills were read the second time :—

Respecting the attendance of witnesses on criminal trials.

To amend and consolidate Acts respecting insurance.

THE NORTH-WEST AMNESTY QUESTION.

Mr. COSTIGAN, previous to moving the motion of which he had given notice, with respect to W. D. O'Donoghue, desired to make a few remarks.

Hon. members very well knew that the question of amnesty was dealt with and a good deal of feeling excited throughout the country with regard to it. A large number of people outside of the House thought that it was the duty of the Government to grant a full pardon to all persons connected with the North-West troubles; nevertheless only a partial amnesty was accorded, in favour of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lepine—W. D. O'Donoghue, a member of the same creed and of the same Provisional Government being excluded from its benefits. He wished it to be fully understood on this point that he had no desire to injure, annoy or embarrass the Ministry in the slightest possible degree, being wholly actuated by a wish to relieve W. D. O'Donoghue from the position in which he was placed; and he moved this amendment simply because he could attain his object in no other way. He might have demanded more, and have seriously embarrassed the Cabinet and a few of its supporters, had he intended to make political capital out of the matter; but this was not his intention. During the last Session many hon. members, and many people throughout the Dominion, had been surprised to find that W. D. O'Donoghue had been excluded in the manner he had mentioned; they could not under-

stand why this was done; they could not comprehend how O'Donoghue could be more guilty than Reil and Lepine, or less deserving of leniency than they. The hon. member for Hastings had then stated that if W. D. O'Donoghue had not been an Irishman, but a member of the same nationality as the other two persons to whom he had referred, he, like them, would have been pardoned. Perhaps this argument did not possess much force, and he, for his part, had not then considered and did not now think that this was the reason that influenced the Government to do as they had done; but he did say this—the Government would have acted wisely had they seen fit to contradict this assertion and explain the real facts connected with the case. It was unfortunate that such an explanation or contradiction had not then, or afterwards, been offered.

His amendment contained no word of censure with regard to the Government and no attack upon it, and he did not even ask that a Committee should be appointed to enquire into the circumstances. He merely wished the Government to take such action as would do justice in the premises. He felt that this was perfectly fair, and he trusted that the Government would accept his proposition. O'Donoghue had been a member of the Provisional Government and had taken part in the troubles; but his guilt was no greater than that of his colleagues, and according to his own statement it was less. It might be said, of course, that he was also connected with the so-called Fenian raid into Manitoba; but he did not think that this was a reason sufficient to warrant his exclusion for all time to come from the benefits of amnesty. O'Donoghue denied that he had any thing to do with such a raid; but even if this were admitted, he (Mr. Costigan) did not see why he (O'Donoghue) should be treated with more harshness than any other Fenian held as a prisoner. This so-called raid, moreover, did not amount to anything serious, nor did it produce any consequences worthy of notice. Not one drop of blood was shed at the time, hence he considered that O'Donoghue should not be compelled to remain for all time

Hon. Mr. LAIRD.

under the stigma of a charge of murder and be debarred from the privileges enjoyed by other British subjects.

It appeared to him that the Government had acted with great inconsistency; on the one hand, here was a man who had denied taking any part in a Fenian Raid—

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—No! No!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—He admits it.

Mr. COSTIGAN—O'Donoghue denied that it was a Fenian raid. Of course he (O'Donoghue) might admit that he joined in a movement which formed part of the policy of the Provisional Government of Manitoba; but even putting the matter in the strongest possible light, and granting that this was such a raid, he (Mr. Costigan) held that the Administration would be dealing more harshly with O'Donoghue, and would be making his case an exceptional one, if partial amnesty were refused him—after all other similar cases, in connection with which the results were more serious, were taken into consideration. Touching the latter, everything had been blotted out, and the persons concerned had been freed for all time from the evil consequences arising out of their acts; yet this one man was singled out from all the others.

It had been said that O'Donoghue was of a violent temperament and always disposed to interfere with the peace and quietness of the community; but he (Mr. Costigan), having taken the trouble to enquire, had been informed, on good authority, that this was not the case. It was true that O'Donoghue had taken part in the troubles in question; but so had the majority of the residents of that section of the country. O'Donoghue, otherwise, stood well in the community; he was besides not an American citizen; he was no American adventurer; but a young man who was educated in Manitoba and who held there a position as a professor. It seemed to him that the Government had refused O'Donoghue an amnesty on account of his participation in the so-called Fenian raid; but twelve months had passed since the matter was previously discussed, and of course the Administration being

one year older, was one year wiser. He trusted, therefore, that the Ministry would see their way clear to an acceptance of his proposition. Every hon. member must feel that the position in which O'Donoghue was placed was not consistent with the attitude taken with regard to Riel and Lepine. He had not taken any step to force the Government into any particular line of conduct; and whatever might be the reason why the case of O'Donoghue had not been so favourably considered as that of his colleagues, he hoped, that this amendment would be accepted by the Ministry in the spirit with which it was offered.

He begged leave to move, seconded by Mr. Devlin,

“That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that whereas this House did on the 13th day of February, 1875, vote an Address to Her Majesty praying that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons connected with the North-West trouble, for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only Louis Reil, A. D. Lepine, and W. D. O'Donoghue, and that a like amnesty should be granted to L. Reil and A. D. Lepine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominion, thereby excluding W. D. O'Donoghue from the benefits of such amnesty—and whereas the said W. D. O'Donoghue has since written the following letter, viz:—

“To the Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons of Canada, Ottawa City:—

“SIR,—I beg to state to you and the hon. body over which you preside, that a great injustice has been done me by the late action of Parliament in excluding me from the amnesty granted to all others who participated in the insurrection of 1869 and 1870 in Manitoba. As this action of Parliament would seem to throw the whole responsibility of the ‘Insurrection,’ the ‘execution of Scott’ and so-called ‘Fenian Raid’ on me, I do not propose shouldering all of them, and those who were responsible may go forth spotless at my expense, purified by a resolution of Parliament.

“I accordingly make the following statement of facts, which I can prove most conclusively:—

“1st. The insurrection was advised by Gov. Wm. McTavish who, with other officers of the Hudson Bay Company, also aided and abetted it from its inception up to the very hour it ceased to exist. That Reil was in constant communication with Governor McTavish, and on many occasions under his instructions. That he, Governor McTavish, fully recognized the Provincial Government. That Donald A. Smith, on arriving at Fort Garry, recognized the Government, also in my own hearing, and

with Gov. McTavish was Riel's adviser during his stay in the Fort, and after the departure of both of these from the country, Riel continued to hold council with John McTavish, who then represented the Hudson Bay Company.

"2nd. That others, whose names I now forbear mentioning, and who are very 'loyal' subjects, advised recourse to arms.

"3rd. That I was not a party to the Insurrection till the 15th of November, 1869, about four weeks after its inauguration, and two weeks after possession was taken of Fort Garry.

"4th. That the case of Thomas Scott was never brought before the Provincial Government, either before or after the execution or 'murder,' as it is properly termed, of Thomas Scott, and I am entirely clear of this charge, and should no other alternative be left to remove the stigma of murder from my character, I am determined to do so at some future day at any hazard. From this I state without fear of contradiction, that the Provisional Government did not order the trial or execution of Scott, and that neither as a member of that Government, nor as a private individual, had I any part, directly, or indirectly, in the execution of Thomas Scott.

"5th. That the so-called 'Fenian Raid' is a *misnomer*, as Fenianism had nothing whatever to do with it. That it was simply a continuation of the insurrection inaugurated in '69, and with the same avowed intention, and by the same parties, a fact which the then existing Government of Manitoba was cognizant of for months previous to the so-called 'raid.' That my part in it was simply that of an agent of the people, holding a commission authorized by a resolution of the Council held at La Riviere Salle in September '70, over which Council L. Reil presided. This commission I hold, as a proof which I have in my possession the Minute Book of the Council. Neither was it brought at any time before the Privy Council composed of the French members of the Legislature. Further, that as a member of the Government, and having my residence in Fort Garry, I was entirely ignorant of the fact that a military council was to be held or being held, to try any of the prisoners there confined, until I was summoned to give testimony by Riel and the Council then sitting on Scott's case, which summons I treated with contempt by informing the Council that it was acting without authority, and as such I failed to recognize it, and that I refused to testify in the case. That neither Riel nor any other officer of the Government consulted with me, nor I with either of them, on the trial or execution, and that I am entirely innocent of the blood of Scott, which were I given an opportunity I could prove conclusively. And further, that but for my part in the so-called 'Fenian Raid,'—of which I will speak hereafter—I would have gone to Manitoba long since and demanded a trial on evidence in my possession signed by the officers, both civil and military, of the late Provisional Government of the French

party, also a copy of the resolution authorizing the commission.

"That I am aware persistent efforts have been made by certain parties since I left the country to throw the responsibility of all the unlawful acts committed during the 'troubles' upon me. A certain pamphlet was published last winter 'to show why an amnesty should be issued by the Canadian Government,' in which this effort was repeated, and the 'manifesto letter' of Riel aimed also at this point. Had the causes of the 'troubles' and the acts committed during them been thoroughly investigated, these immaculate gentlemen would doubtless stand in a different position, in the eyes of the public from what they do at present—purified by a resolution of Parliament and amnesty. That I ask no favours now of the Canadian Government or Parliament; they have meted out to me the full measure of their injustice, but the world shall know in my own good time the whole unvarnished truth.

"W. D. O'DONOGHUE,
"Secretary of Treasury, &c., &c., of the late Provisional Government of Rupert's Land, N.W.

"St Paul, Minnesota, Feb. 26th, 1875."

"In the opinion of this House the Government should at once institute a thorough enquiry into the statements contained in said letter, in order that justice may be done in the premises."

The hour being Six o'clock the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the hon. member for Victoria had proposed a resolution indicating it was the duty of the Government to institute an enquiry into the statements made in the letter of O'Donoghue in order that justice might be done in the premises. While the Government felt it was their duty to listen to all representations of the kind, they did not feel that any such duty was imposed upon them as the hon. member asked the House to affirm. The complaint the hon. gentleman made was that injustice had been done O'Donoghue by reason of a different measure being meted out to him, not of justice but of mercy, from what had been extended to others. The allegation was repeated that a different course was pursued towards O'Donoghue because of his nationality, and the complaint was made that the Government did not repudiate that statement. The hon. gentleman had mentioned that he would not re-assert that proposition. No more would he

(Mr. Blake) say the hon. member brought forward this motion because he was an Irishman, and no more would he say that he (Mr. Blake) opposed it because he was an Irishman. He did not see what nationality had to do with this question, and he regretted that the hon. gentleman had introduced, even to repudiate it, the absurd allegation that the distinction was made on the ground that Riel and his associates were Frenchmen, and O'Donoghue was an Irishman. The reasons why partial amnesty was granted to Riel were mentioned in the resolutions of last Session, and the Address based on them. They showed that after the termination of the North-West troubles and the establishment of a Constitutional Government in Manitoba, an incursion into that Province was set on foot, the principal actor, if not the leader of which was W. D. O'Donoghue. It was necessary to the preservation of that order which had been restored that there should be a union of all the inhabitants of that country. Such results were obtained upon pledges made to some of the actors in the old North-West troubles, and the attitude there assumed by them was one of the principal causes for the lenity extended to those individuals. It was unnecessary to do more than state these facts to show why, when it was proposed to deal mercifully and leniently with the actors in the North West troubles, the same lenity was not extended to O'Donoghue. A statement of the facts showed that a different line must be taken with him. What was the attitude of these three chief actors at that time? On the one hand they found O'Donoghue leading an insurrection against Her Majesty's subjects, while the others were found on the other side. The acts of O'Donoghue on that occasion were such as precluded the House from taking a favourable view of his case. The letter of O'Donoghue which the hon. gentleman had read showed that O'Donoghue did not dread anything that might be alleged against him in reference to these North-West troubles. The hon. gentleman had complained that in respect of this particular person an amnesty in reference to the North-

West troubles of 1869-70 had not been granted, and that O'Donoghue was not permitted to re-enter the Province of Manitoba free of danger in respect to these transactions. Now, O'Donoghue's letter, which had been read, expressly stated that he was entirely innocent of the blood of Scott, that he was under no apprehension of standing his trial on that subject, and that but for his part in the so-called Fenian raid, he would have gone to Manitoba long since and demanded his trial. He did not want mercy in regard to the North-West troubles, and was prepared to face justice on that charge. What now was the difficulty? It was not that he had not been pardoned for his connection with these troubles, because he did not want an amnesty for that. His difficulty was that his action in 1871, whatever it was, had not been pardoned. He wished the House to mark that in this letter O'Donoghue did not ask for lenity or generous consideration of his acts in regard to the 1869-70 troubles. He said that he had been unjustly treated, and that justice was all he demanded, and that he would receive it from the Courts of Manitoba if he were not disabled from going into that Province on account of the transactions of 1871. The hon. gentleman had asked why those transactions should be taken into consideration. He replied for the reasons they had given they were bound to take them into consideration in dealing with the transactions of 1869-70. The circumstances connected with that raid were of very material importance in judging of the transactions of 1869-70. The House was bound to consider the whole position and attitude of any person to whom it was prepared to extend the prerogative of mercy. He (Mr. Blake) maintained that the conduct of O'Donoghue was such as to disentitle him to any favourable consideration at the hands of this House or of the Crown. The hon. gentleman had said he did not admit that O'Donoghue was engaged in the Fenian raid of 1871. He was engaged, he admitted, in a raid which was a trifling affair, but not in a Fenian raid. All the evidence they had on the subject, with the exception of the statement in the letter, in which

O'Donoghue said he was not in the Fenian raid, was very clear and emphatic in the other direction. He did not intend to weary the House by reading passages from the evidence taken before the Select Committee on which the Address was founded. The House could not have forgotten that there was a unanimous concurrence of testimony in the view that the affair of 1871 was a Fenian raid. They must also remember the company in which O'Donoghue was at that time. They must remember that his aider and leader in that transaction was the so-called General O'Neil, who had been seen on the frontier in another quarter leading a Fenian raid. The hon. gentleman said it was a small matter and ought to be considered favourably. The House would recollect that a man who was not an Irishman was tried for participation in that raid, that he was convicted and received the capital sentence. The House would remember that that sentence was commuted to twenty years imprisonment, and that that sentence was still being undergone. He rejoiced that they had not heard either from Irishmen or Frenchmen anything about the commutation of that sentence or granting of an amnesty to that man. That Fenian raid was wholly unjustifiable, and whatever palliation there might have been for the original discontent there was none for the gang of miscreants who on that occasion hoarded the boundaries of Manitoba. He did not think the House would be disposed to say that it was the duty of the Government to institute an enquiry into the facts alleged by O'Donoghue in his letter in order that justice might be done. He (Mr. O'Donoghue) alleged that the transaction was a part of the old insurrection; that the Hudson's Bay Company had to do with it, and that other persons whom he threatened ominously, but did not name, were implicated in the affair. The House had justly resolved to pass the sponge over all those transactions with the exception which was referred to, and he considered that the renewal of an acrimonious discussion on the subject would prove utterly fruitless. He did not see any means, and if he had seen means he saw no use, in the Govern-

ment entering upon an investigation of the allegations of O'Donoghue because there remained the fact that he was the promoter of that wanton insurrection which produced results of a most serious nature. Although no bloodshed ensued, it necessitated the expenditure of a large sum of money and brought about a most unfortunate state of affairs.

Now, the hon. gentleman urged that they ought to enquire into the matter; but as he said at the beginning so he concluded — it was the duty of the Executive Government to make enquiry into the truth by any means in its power, and consider with respect any representations that might be made to it with reference to any proposal to exercise the prerogative of the Crown; and if O'Donoghue should bring forward any such statements as he thought were material, and if he applied to the Crown for the exercise of its prerogative of mercy, of course it would be the duty of the Administration to consider that application, these representations, and these statements. But what did this person do? He said that he asked "no favours now of the Canadian Government or Parliament; they have meted out to me the full measure of their injustice, but the world shall know in my own good time the whole unvarnished truth."

That "good time" it seemed had not yet arrived; he had not heard, and he had not seen the statement of the "whole unvarnished truth" as it was in that "good time" to be told by this O'Donoghue. He presumed that when the time had come, he (O'Donoghue) would make his statement, supporting it by his allegations, and present it in the proper quarter, where he (Mr. Blake) had no doubt that it would receive the attention and consideration which it would, probably, so eminently deserve; but in the meantime he asked the House whether upon a letter such as this, containing allegations and admissions such as this, not requesting anything, not giving the whole facts, and not seeking for any enquiry nor for mercy, they were to be called upon themselves to institute an investigation in order that they might find out before that "good time" of O'Donoghue's the facts upon which they were to advise the

Crown. That this could be their duty, and that they were called upon to do so was perfectly out of question. The hon. gentleman, moreover, did not point out any means or machinery by which, if this were the case, they could accomplish that duty at this time. How were they to find out these particulars to which this gentleman referred, or at which he rather darkly hinted? No such means existed.

The resolution of the hon. gentleman, although he (Mr. Costigan) said that he did not intend it as a censure on the Government, and although he affirmed that he uttered no complaint with regard to it, declared that to be the duty of the Administration which, if it was its duty, was so at the earliest convenient moment after this letter became public, and so had been ever since. If the hon. gentleman's allegations were correct the Government had neglected and were now neglecting their duty; but whether this was so or not, they did not recognise that they were called upon to make any enquiry or take any step in this affair under the present circumstances; and while he repeated that it would be their duty to receive any representations made by any man who asked for the favour or clemency of the Crown, this was not their duty considering the attitude which O'Donoghue assumed—he having preferred no representation and having given no materials or facts. Nor had they the means of instituting any useful enquiry; and in consequence of all these things they were obliged to ask the House so to decide, vote down this amendment, and proceed with the business to transact which this House had been really called together.

Mr. DEVLIN, as the seconder of the motion, deemed it to be his duty to offer a few remarks in explanation of the reasons which had prompted him to take this position. Before proceeding to do so, however, he felt bound also to say that he had heard for the first time in the House a statement with reference to the connection of O'Donoghue with the difficulties which had arisen in Manitoba. He desired to be understood that in seconding the motion he was not actuated by a wish to obtain the

influence of the Government, the House or the country on behalf of O'Donoghue if it were true that after the insurrection in the Province of Manitoba had ceased he had organized a body of men for the purpose of disturbing its peace and its order. If the facts bore out the statement made by the Minister of Justice, and he took it for granted that the hon. gentleman made it on evidence laid before him, these had certainly not come within his own personal knowledge. It was well that the Minister of Justice had made that explanation, because it had been widely circulated that this man (O'Donoghue) was excepted from the amnesty granted to other persons implicated in these unfortunate disturbances because he (O'Donoghue) could not bring to bear the same amount of influence, owing to his humble position, as those who were associated with him in that insurrection, if it could be so called. It had also been published—as the Minister of Justice must be aware—that O'Donoghue was passed over because of his nationality. He well knew that this insinuation was false; he was perfectly conscious and confident that the present Government had never refused to grant an amnesty to O'Donoghue and extend to him the clemency of the Crown because either of his creed or his nationality. He also knew that the House had dealt in a generous manner with all the persons who were concerned in these unhappy disturbances, which for a time had attracted the attention of the country; and certainly it did seem strange to those who were not aware of all the facts which had just been mentioned by the Minister of Justice, that the leading spirits in that insurrection should have had extended to them the clemency of the Crown, and been pardoned as they had been, while one man, and one man only, who had been associated with them—but not so prominently concerned—in that so called insurrection was excluded from such benefits and assigned to banishment. Therefore the action of his hon. friend in making this motion was deserving of commendation because, first of all, it offered the Government of the country, through the Minister of Justice, the

opportunity of tendering an explanation, as they were bound to do; and in the next place it was a matter of high importance that the people of this country should know and feel that all men were treated alike, and that equal justice was administered to them no matter under what sky they happened to be born, no matter what might be their creed, and no matter what their nationality.

He spoke under a feeling of embarrassment, because he had not had a knowledge of the facts which it seemed had come under the observation of the Minister of Justice; and therefore he considered it to be his duty to plead, as it were, the cause of this man who, after all, as had been stated by the Minister of Justice, was not actually a suppliant at their door seeking pardon, but who was simply an applicant relying upon his rights as a British subject in order to obtain justice from the Parliament of this country. In this character O'Donoghue demanded an enquiry, alleging that he was not guilty of the crimes charged against him; also that he was prepared to establish, if the opportunity were offered him, that he was certainly as much entitled to amnesty as the other persons who had received that measure of leniency from the Crown. True, the Minister of Justice put O'Donoghue's case in an entirely different light, and if the evidence bore this statement out—if after peace was proclaimed, and the residents of Manitoba had returned to their respective homes determined to maintain the law of the country, O'Donoghue had plotted an insurrection and scheme to overthrow the Government of the country, then he had no right to appeal to the clemency of the Crown, or expect favourable consideration from this hon. House, because he held that situated as O'Donoghue was, there was no justification for his having recourse to violence. If he did so in order to subvert the lawful Government of the country and failed, and the result had brought down punishment on himself, he (Mr. Devlin) would be disposed to regard him as a coward in afterwards appealing for pardon. The man had not been heard, and he contended a fair trial should be accorded him. Much of the evidence collected and placed

before Parliament with regard to the others was unreliable, and it might be equally untrue with regard to O'Donoghue who claimed the consideration of the House, and the leniency extended to others implicated with him. The opportunity ought to be afforded him to make good his allegations. In this letter O'Donoghue said the Fenian raid was a misnomer, and that it was simply a continuation of the insurrection inaugurated in 1869. He (Mr. Devlin) could not speak as to the accuracy of this statement, but it placed the matter in a different light from that in which it had been viewed by the hon. Minister of Justice. If that hon. gentleman saw fit to institute the enquiry prayed for he would probably not find it difficult to arrive at a different conclusion.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE — O'Donoghue has never prayed for an enquiry. He says in his own good time he will come down with the facts.

Mr. DEVLIN—Of course if he has not asked for an investigation it would be unfair to press it upon him. In the statement, O'Donoghue says:—

“I beg to tell you and the hon. body over which you preside, that a great injustice has been done me by the late action of Parliament in excluding me from the amnesty granted to all others who participated in the insurrection of 1869-70. This action of Parliament would seem to throw the whole responsibility of the insurrection, the execution of Scott, and the so-called Fenian Raid on me. I do not propose shouldering all of them that those who were responsible may go forth spotless.”

According to the resolution, continued the speaker, O'Donoghue was specially excluded from the amnesty granted to the other parties, and he claimed by that exclusion a great injury had been done him. The natural inference which followed from this letter was that if the matter was investigated the man would be enabled to establish his allegations. This was an embarrassing subject now and had been before. It was one which he (Mr. Devlin) would prefer to avoid referring to if possible, but he knew that he ought on an occasion of this kind to make the case known, leaving it with the House to deal with the application as their wisdom might suggest.

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Mr. WHITE (Hastings) said O'Donoghue had certainly an advocate in the hon. member for Montreal Centre of whom he had no cause to be proud. He (Mr. White) honestly and candidly believed that the hon. gentleman cared less for his countrymen than for the Government. If O'Donoghue had nothing to do with the death of Scott, he was more entitled to the amnesty than those who got it. Like many other poor Irishmen, O'Donoghue was caught in a trap, while those who inveigled him into the position were allowed to go free. When he listened to the vacillations of the hon. member from Montreal Centre on this subject, who might have done good service for a fellow-countryman, he (O'Donoghue) might well exclaim "Save me from my friends." But there was another phase to the affair. The man who lost his life in the North-West Territory (Thos. Scott) was an unfortunate Irishman; his brother, who is now an incurable lunatic owing to that tragedy, was also an unfortunate Irishman, and O'Donoghue was another. In view of this it would be well for Irishmen to take the advice given by Mr. Waller on St. Patrick's day—to discharge their duty and be good citizens of a free country. He (Mr. White) voted that no amnesty should be granted to Lepine or Reil, but he was now prepared to vote that O'Donoghue should be heard and justice meted out to him. Irishmen had been greatly misled, but he believed they would never be brought into the same position again.

Mr. BANNATYNE denied the assertion in the resolution. The late Governor did all in his power to warn these men and begged them to go to their homes. He knew that the late Mr. Mactavish never did advise Louis Reil, but to warn him and his party to give up their actions and return to their homes, and the first trouble commenced long before McDougall's arrival at Pembina—indeed, he might say, was caused by the hon. member for Lisgar and other agents of his, whom he styled "friends of Canada," men who never lost an opportunity of both of writing against and abusing the people of the country, saying that they

would soon be ruled differently when they got in power, as they soon would be. Not long after this a meeting was called, through the organ of the member for Lisgar, by one Wm. Dease, which over one hundred French *Métis* attended. Mr. Dease addressed the people, and informed them that the Hudson Bay Company had sold their lands and themselves to Canada, and were to receive some £300,000 sterling. Dease was well furnished with information on the subject, and he (Mr. Bannatyne) would like to ask the hon. member for Lisgar if he did not know who furnished him with it, and also advised him to take this step, was it not the hon. member himself? Dease advised the people to organize, demand the public money from the Hudson Bay Company, and form a Government of their own. Governor Mactavish was sent for, came and explained all he knew, and said that there were negotiations going on in England, but that the money was only for their chartered rights and not for the people's lands. On the few occasions in which the interference of the authorities were practicable, their efforts to calm the existing excitement were met by the assertion that they were regarded as mere nominees of the Hudson Bay Company, which had sold the country and its inhabitants, and were, therefore, entitled to no consideration. Another source of all troubles from which they had suffered lay with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The manner of Confederation was a blunder. From the year 1857 to 1869 the Imperial Government had been trifling with that country and refused to give any useful assistance towards its progress and development.

When the papers from Ontario and Quebec came up, and when they learned McDougall was going in armed to take possession of the country, they organized and kept everyone out of the country. Mr. McDougall was turned away, and a Government formed. Reil was elected at their head, and he sent to Governor Mactavish asking him to delegate his authority to them. He said no, not while there was life in his body. After this the unfortunate death of Scott occurred, and it was a wonder only one life was lost. During

the time the delegates were at Ottawa, O'Donoghue was not loyal to the *Métis*. When the British Flag was raised, a few minutes after, O'Donoghue ordered it to be taken down. News of this was brought to Reil who went out and told O'Donoghue there should be but one master, that the *Métis* expected to have their rights secured and would live under the British Flag. In proof of it he nailed it to the mast and there it remained until the troops were brought in. O'Donoghue on many occasions did all he could to work for annexation, so much so that at one time a gentleman of high standing came from the American side and offered Reil \$50,000 in cash and \$100,000 more and a position if he would only work for annexation. Reil told him "Take your money, keep your assistance, I want none of them; I will never work for annexation, and I trust the day will never come when Canada will be annexed to the United States. I left my farm where I was working when I was told we were to be transferred to another power without our being consulted. I will fight to the last until we get a representative Government. I want not your money, and when our point is gained I will go back to my farm again." In June of that year he (Mr. Bannatyne) found O'Donoghue was doing all in his power to secure Reil and his party. He had sent down to the United States and parties were noticed travelling through Minnesota and down the Red River armed. The name of the party who led them could be mentioned if necessary. Reil saw it and wrote to Archbishop Taché urging him to hasten to Red River as O'Donoghue was determined still to resist the Canadian Government, and also instructed the speaker to write his Grace to the same effect. The immediate cause of all the troubles was Mr. McDougall himself, vigorously aided by the member for Lisgar, with whom he took counsel, who grossly deceived him. McDougall afterwards stated that, send where he liked, to the Portage la Prairie or Stone Fort, all his information was certain to come back from Dr. Schultz—information unfortunately for the peace of the country, wholly unreliable, giving an entirely erroneous impression

Mr. BANNATYNE.

of the actual circumstances of the country and settlers.

The late Governor Mactavish did all he could, and had he or the hon. member for Selkirk done otherwise than they did when the latter acted as Commissioner from Canada, there would have been much bloodshed to deplore, that country would then have been in ashes, and to-day would not have been ours, the almost certainly being there would have been civil war all over the North-West.

Here Mr. Bannatyne read extracts from a letter of the late Governor Mactavish to the late Hon. Joseph Howe, the Secretary of State for the Provinces, dated 14th May, 1874, which were as follows:—

"The ground on which Mr. McDougall pretends to base a belief in the connivance of the Company's officers at the seizure of their Fort, is contained in a report of Major Wallace, who appears to have been commissioned as a spy. I have made diligent enquiry into some matter relating to the visit of the person in question, to the settlement and the probability of his having arrived at the sentiments of those with whom he came in contact. I am informed that the plan taken by the Major to win the confidence of his interlocutors was free indulgence in coarse and unseemly abuse of the gentl man in whose interest he had come. By some people these representations were quickly swallowed as the sentiments of a person who had enjoyed the privilege of long intimacy with the object of his abuse and was therefore a reliable authority; but by the more intelligent of his hearers the Major's deportment caused him to be regarded as a schemer, or a man lacking discretion to a dangerous degree. On the whole I am inclined to think the mission of Major Wallace an error of judgment on the part of its originator. Relying on the accuracy of his assurance' Mr. McDougall remarks that the Company's officers in charge of Fort Garry were told of the intention of the Rebels to take the Fort the day before it occurred, and that the Chief Constable, Mulligan, who is an old soldier, offered to raise a force, partly composed of pensioners, with which he declared he could hold the country against all the rebels who would be likely to attack it, but he was told by Dr. Cowan, the officer in charge, that 'his services were not wanted.' To this I reply there was no such man as 'Chief Constable Mulligan.'

"A force of policemen has for some years past been employed to keep the peace in the village of Winnipeg. Of those men, Pensioner Mulligan is one, but he is vested with no authority or pre-eminence whatever over the others, as the description of his office above quoted would lead one unacquainted with the facts to believe. The other two policemen

are French half-breeds, and were among the Insurgents.

"Mulligan did not advise Dr. Cowan of the intended seizure of Fort Garry the day before it occurred, but some time after it had taken place, he and another old pensioner named Michael Power called upon the Doctor and offered to expel the French. On being asked what force he would require to effect his object, Mulligan was silent, but Power replied:—'One man to raise the flag and another to stand below and defend it.' The ridiculous offer was forthwith declined.

"I deny that any of the Company's officers as a body are capable of the gross breach of trust assumed by Mr. McDougall, and I protest against your acceptance of the report of Major Wallace as authoritative, or even fairly reliable in the matter on which it treats.

"At no time was Mr. McDougall or the misery of his position absent from my thoughts. I felt and still feel most deeply on his account and that of the members of his party. Advise or suggestions I had absolutely none to offer, except those which at the rare intervals complained of. I sent in the letter, the length of which seems to be unpalatable. These letters were, as Mr. McDougall correctly supposes, written by my legal adviser, Mr. Black, at a time when, from excessive weakness, I could only with difficulty sign my name. He is incorrect, however, in imputing to Mr. Black personal views, the attainment of which might have influenced the policy of the local authorities and found expression in their official correspondence. As a man of strict honour and integrity, Mr. Black commands the fullest confidence of myself and Council, and I have no hesitation in assuming responsibility for any statement he has placed over my signature. I object to having been laid under the necessity of formally denying charges which should never have been made or entertained against me by your representatives, unless supported by incontrovertible proof. Complicity with those who degrade the Magisterial office by countenancing and supporting armed rebellion against the Sovereign, combined with betrayal of trust, the aim of which would be to sacrifice to a ruinous amount the property of those whose commercial interests have been placed in my hands, imply a moral obliquity of character to the imputation of which I must not be indifferent.

"I object that civil disorder should have been excited in the Colony through official mismanagement.

"Apart altogether from the military episodes of the last few months, it has long been patent to all men of intelligence connected with this place that the mode in which Canada was preparing the way for political incorporation with this country was injurious and likely to create trouble. The mission of Mr. Snow, though represented as an act of delicate charity to a famishing people, made a good deal of mischief. Mr. Snow's apparently close connection with the faction already alluded to, appeared to lend the countenance of your

Government to the promoters of tumult and disorder. Canadian newspapers containing absurd caricatures of the country and people, from the pen of the paymaster on the works, were diligently read by the objects of attack. Complaints arose of unjust dealing, of liquor selling to Indians, of interference with pre-emption rights of settlers, of extortion and other disorders, the results of which were a law suit and several uprisings among the French half-breeds, which were with some difficulty suppressed. The bad feeling, however, remained."

Very unfortunate for Mr. McDougall was the impression which even then prevailed in the colony, that he was determined to support his subordinates in everything, and was, although at the time employed with Sir George Cartier, as Canadian Commissioner in England, encouraging political disturbance in this place, with the object of precipitating the downfall of the Company's rule, and the consequently more certain and easy success of his mission.

I think the Imperial Government ought to satisfy English interests in this country on a basis of justice, the more so as this territory has hitherto cost it nothing.

He could only say that while O'Donoghue charged the Hudson Bay Company and others with having instigated and kept up this rebellion, these charges were untrue, and when he stated he was not present at the death of Thomas Scott he also stated what was not true. He was there, and there giving directions on the morning Scott met his death, and O'Donoghue alone, he believed, was the instigator of that crime. O'Donoghue never cared for the interests of the people. His whole wish and determination was to make the people believe that they could not expect mercy from the Canadian Government, and that they would be glad to hand themselves over to the American Government. When O'Donoghue stated that the so-called Fenian raid was only a continuance of the troubles that had already existed, he knew he stated what was untrue, for the moment the Governor General's proclamation was issued Riel and Lepine were found twenty miles from home inciting the people to rise and saying that this was a different matter from the other, and if they were willing to protect their homes before, there was much more

reason to do so now. It was said they were rather slow in coming forward to offer their services—that was because the proclamation was not issued in French. Had the motion of the hon. member for Victoria only been for amnesty for O'Donoghue—as a member of the Provisional Government, and had he in that capacity acted only as Reil and the other members of it—he would have been most happy to vote for it. A few years ago Fenians had entered the Eastern Provinces of Canada, some of our best young men were shot down, and some of the Fenians were taken prisoners. A few months afterwards they were liberated, but O'Donoghue's attempt at invasion was even more wanton and unprovoked than the attempt which had been made in Canada, and did not in his opinion merit amnesty.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said it had been made to appear that the case of O'Donoghue was the case of Riel and others who were connected with the insurrection at Red River in 1869-70. It was true that these men were together up to the time the country was occupied by Canada in the summer of 1870, or rather until within two months of that period, for it was known that before the troops reached Red River there was a great divergence of opinion between them. It was well known that Riel and his friends were anxious at that time to come peaceably into Canada, but O'Donoghue took quite a different course. There was evidence to shew that O'Donoghue endeavoured to keep the people from uniting with Canada, that he used every effort to have the country annexed to the United States, and it was also well established that Riel at that time had offers from the other side of the line which he would not accede to. In August, 1870, Canada took possession of that country; this Fenian raid occurred in October of 1871 after there was a Government in the country, and it had become a province of the Dominion.

Everything was going on with apparent satisfaction to the inhabitants when we heard of this Fenian raid. To call it a continuation of the outbreak of 1869-70 would be absurd, as it did not take place until fifteen months

afterwards. There could be no doubt at that time O'Donoghue was associated with the body known as Fenians. It was also known that Riel and these other parties who had been connected with the insurrection of 1869, on this latter occasion offered to aid the Government against the Fenians. The hon. gentleman from Victoria had taken credit for O'Donoghue, that there was no blood shed during his attempted invasion of Manitoba, but even this could not be credited to O'Donoghue. It was entirely owing to the admirable conduct of the people of Manitoba, who rose to defend their country and their rights as Canadian citizens, and to the timely assistance given by the officers of the United States at that time on the frontier. He did not think that O'Donoghue should be pardoned because he was an Irishman, any more than if he were English, Scotch or French, as all were equally entitled to the protection of the law in this country, no matter what their nationality.

Now, with reference to the accusation of complicity with the insurgents, brought against Governor MacTavish and other officers of the Hudson Bay Company—Men actuated by proper feelings would pause and well consider before venturing an opinion in such a case. But, perhaps, it was becoming and congenial to men like O'Donoghue and the hon. member for Lisgar after all the prime mover in this affair, maliciously and unblushingly to prefer those charges against the lamented gentleman, Mr. MacTavish, now that his lips are sealed in death. Mr. MacTavish, was well known to be a gentleman of the strictest integrity, a man ever actuated by the highest principles of honour, a man whose memory was enshrined in the hearts of the whole people of the Red River of his day. He would be long remembered for the good he had conferred on the country. Mr. MacTavish saw that he was unable to withstand the strong force in opposition to him, and in order to prevent bloodshed he adopted the course which he thought most advisable under the circumstances, and in this he (Mr. Smith) cordially co-operated with him. How could Mr.

MacTavish have found means of doing anything against such an insurrection as that to which he was opposed? The people, rightly or wrongly—he did not then think rightly—believed their rights were in jeopardy. They believed they ought to have been consulted before they were dragged into Confederation, and he frankly admitted he held the same opinion. Seeing they were not consulted they determined to protect their rights as they understood them, and with such a force against him Mr. MacTavish was powerless. The honorable member for Lisgar had spoken of cowardice and incapacity in connection with this matter; but such an imputation would come home with more truth and justice against the hon. gentleman himself. When intrenched within his stronghold at the outset of the insurrection, why did he not keep his post with the body of men with whom he was then associated? Were the odds too great against him? and if so, why so unmanly as to turn round and upbraid those who were in a weaker and far more difficult position than he himself, when he surrendered his arms and was marched off to prison? How different another party of some forty men, when having in their keeping important documents and information from the Canadian Government to be communicated to the people of Red River, they found themselves opposed by more than ten times their own number of armed men! They, at the imminent hazard of their lives, fulfilled their commission, and so prepared the way by maintaining comparative peace and quiet in the settlement for its union with Canada.

He was sure, had Governor MacTavish lived, he would have been foremost in desiring an investigation into his conduct; and it was well known to the hon. gentleman from North Hastings and all the other members of the North-West Committee, that he (Mr. Smith) was most anxious and pressing to have a full and searching enquiry into everything concerning the insurrection, and into the alleged connection of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers with it.

With regard to himself (Mr. Smith) he desired to refer to a statement made

by the hon. member for Lisgar last Session, to the effect that he (Mr. Smith) had attended a public meeting in the Parish of St. Andrews in the winter of 1870, at which he (the hon. member for Lisgar) was also present. This allegation is contained on page 1,077 of the Debates for 1875. This charge being brought against him, he believed it to be his duty as a man of honour to disprove it, and he was in possession of the means of doing so most effectually. Briefly, then, on the 27th December, 1869, he arrived at Fort Garry—on the 19th and 20th of January the meetings of the people of Red River, known as the "mass meetings," took place. At these the friendly intentions of the Canadian Government were made known to the settlers, and they then determined to meet in convention to arrange terms of union with the Dominion. The convention held its first sitting on the 25th of January, and before rising on the 10th February, desired to have delegates elected in the several parishes to insure the peace and quiet of the settlement until the union with Canada could be consummated. On the 17th of February Riel and his friends captured several men—some of the persons he believed with whom the hon. member for Lisgar had been associated in opposition to the former—and who, after the liberation by Riel of a number of prisoners, had disbanded and were on their way to their homes. One of these men, Major Bolton, was taken prisoner on the 17th, tried by those then in power, and condemned to be shot at midnight on Saturday the 19th of the same month. He (Mr. Smith) conceived it to be his duty—his bounden duty—to see Louis Riel on the matter, and endeavour to save the life of this officer. After much earnest discussion Riel consented to spare Bolton's life, and at the same time said: "Now, Mr. Commissioner, I have a favour to ask of you." Riel then asked him to go throughout the settlement and advise the people that with a view of coming into Canada, and maintaining the peace in the meantime, they should assemble peaceably and quietly in convention. The result of this he was assured would be the release of every prisoner. Who

would not have responded to such a call, seeing that there were no other means within command of accomplishing an object desired by every man in Canada? Besides, was it not his duty to do all in his power to prevent bloodshed so long as there was no sacrifice of honour? They knew that nothing but evil could come of strife. [Up to the 20th of February he had never once left Fort Garry from the time he had entered it, on the 27th of the previous December, with the sole exception of going to the Court House under guard, and two or three times just outside of the wall. It was asserted that he appeared at meetings at which the hon. member for Lisgar was also present in the Parish of St. Andrews—that was before the 20th of February, 1870.

He would now read affidavits of gentlemen of the highest respectability, residing in the Parish of St. Andrews, the Hon. Mr. Hay, Captain Kennedy and Mr. Andrew Mowat, as follows, showing that the hon. gentleman was not present at the meeting in question:—

“(COPY.)

“PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, }
“ LISGAR *to wit* :

“I, ANDREW MOWAT, of the parish of St. Andrews, in said county and Province, farmer, do solemnly declare as follows:

“1. I was a resident of the said parish of St. Andrews during all the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

“2. I know Donald A. Smith, Esquire, and John Schultz, Esquire, the present members of the Dominion House of Commons for Selkirk and Lisgar respectively.

“3. During the said year, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, the said Mr. Smith never attended a public meeting of any kind, either in the school-house or in any other place in the said parish of St. Andrews, nor did he and the said John Schultz ever meet each other upon any occasion in the said parish. My grounds of belief for this last statement are that during Mr. Smith's visit to Red River in that year, Dr. Schultz was either a prisoner in Fort Garry, or in hiding in the neighborhood of St. Andrews, until the departure of the latter for Canada, *via* Lake Winnipeg. During the period of his concealment he was five days in my house, and only appeared in public upon the occasion of the expedition to Kildonan in February, and the meeting held upon the return of that expedition. And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the Act passed in the thirty-seventh year of Her Majesty's reign, intituled:

Mr. SMITH.

‘An Act for the suppression of voluntary and extra judicial oaths.’

“(Signed),

“ANDREW MOWAT.

“Taken, acknowledged and subscribed by the said Andrew Mowat before me this twelfth day of February, A.D., 1876.

“(Signed),

“SEDLLEY BLANCHARD,
“Notary Public.”

(COPY.)

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, }
LISGAR, *to wit* :

“I, EDWARD H. G. G. HAY, of the Parish of St. Andrews South, in the County of Lisgar and Province of Manitoba, Esquire, do solemnly declare as follows:

“1. I have lived in the said Parish of St. Andrews since the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and recollect distinctly the circumstances which occurred in the said parish in connection with the Red River troubles, ‘so called.’

“2. I was present at every public meeting held in the said parish in connection with the said troubles from the first day of January of the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy, until I went up to Winnipeg or Fort Garry to attend the Convention of Delegates held at Winnipeg in the month of March of that year, which Convention is now known as the Provisional Government.

“3. In the month of February, in the year last named, a body of armed men marched from St. Andrews, aforesaid, to the parish of Kildonan, in the County of Selkirk, and about four miles distant from Winnipeg, with the ostensible object of obtaining the release of the prisoners then confined by Mr. Riel in Fort Garry. Messengers were sent to Mr. Riel and the prisoners were released. The force then, after deliberation, retreated to St. Andrews.

“4. On the day after the return of the said party from Kildonan a public meeting was held in the school-house at the Rapids church in said parish of St. Andrews South. The object of that meeting was to discuss the propriety of taking possession of Lower Fort Garry and setting up a Government in opposition to Riel. Dr. Schultz, member of the House of Common of the Dominion of Canada for the County of Lisgar, was present at the meeting. I was also present. Donald A. Smith, Esquire, the present representative of the County of Selkirk, in the Dominion House of Commons, was not present, either on the same day or the Monday following. Another public meeting was held in the school-house at which I was present, and of which I was chairman. The said Donald A. Smith was not present at that meeting. At that meeting Thomas Sinclair of St. Andrews, the present Registrar of Deeds, and myself, were elected Delegates to the Convention at Fort Garry, which, as I have said, has since been known as the Provisional Government. A day or two

after that meeting Mr. Smith came down from Fort Garry, accompanied by Archdeacon McLan and Henry McDermot. This was the first occasion of his visit to St. Andrews since his arrival in Manitoba, then Red River. He met the said Thomas Sinclair and myself at the Reverend Mr. Gardiner's house, and after a short consultation he continued on to Lower Fort Garry, and thence to St. Peters.

"5. He attended no public meeting in St. Andrews North or South during that visit. At this time Dr. Shultz had left St. Andrews on his way to Canada via Lake Winnipeg.

"6. The said Donald A. Smith never attended any public meeting of any kind in either of the parishes of St. Andrews North or South during all the period of time he was in Red River as Commissioner or Agent of the Dominion Government, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and to the best of my knowledge and belief Dr. Shultz and Mr. Smith never met during that visit, and I make this solemn declaration conscientiously, believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the Act passed in the thirtieth year of Her Majesty's reign intitled 'An Act for the Suppression of Voluntary and ext a judicial Oaths.

"(Signed),

" EDWARD H. G. G. HAY.

"Taken and subscribed by the said Edward H. G. G. Hay before me this twelfth day of February A. D., 1876.

"(Signed),

" SEDLEY BLANCHARD,

"Notary Public for the Province of Manitoba."

Another affidavit from Capt. William Kennedy, St. Andrews, County of Lisgar, and sworn to before Sedley Blanchard, Notary Public, was also submitted, giving evidence to the same effect as the foregoing.

Mr. SCHULTZ enquired whether Mr. G. Hay, one of the deponents, had not been the Hudson Bay Company's candidate against him in Lisgar County.

Mr. SMITH replied that he was not called upon to answer this question. However he would state that Mr. Hay, the Hon. Mr. Hay, at one time a member of the Provincial Government, had never been a candidate of the Hudson Bay Company in any respect. But the hon. gentleman had certainly opposed the hon. member for Lisgar in that county.

These affidavits were signed by some of the most respectable men, not only of the Parish of St. Andrews, but of the Province of Manitoba, who were acquainted with the exact circumstances, and who could not but have known

had he visited that parish as was asserted by the hon. member for Lisgar. With these vouchers for the accuracy of what he had said last year, he could pronounce the misstatement then made by the hon. member for Lisgar in this relation utterly false, and such as would brand him as one not to be tolerated, as a member of such an honourable body as this House. The hon. member wished to seem to set lightly by this, but here was the proof, and it was impossible for the hon. member to gainsay it. Up to the 20th of February, he (Mr. Smith) had never left Fort Garry to go even for half a mile away, for the best of all reasons—that this was utterly beyond his power. These assertions of the hon. member last year had been false from beginning to end. This he must say, in presence of the vouchers he held, and if an investigation was made into the matter, he could adduce the most abundant proof to show that the hon. member had come to the House with the deliberate intention—and with malice aforethought—to make a statement that he knew to be absolutely false, and that he did make such statement. Before the real circumstances were known regarding the hon. member's conduct at Red River, the hon. member had been lionized in Canada, and presented with watches, services of plate, guns with which to shoot the members of the Provisional Government, and all sorts of nice things. This was very pleasant no doubt at the moment, but he fancied that the hon. gentleman seeing it is now known how little he deserved them, looked back upon these occurrences—these trophies with very little satisfaction.

The Imperial Government had had every opportunity of investigating into and knowing the truth, and they had exonerated the late Mr. MacTavish of all blame in connection with the troubles. With regard to himself (Mr. Smith) perhaps he might say a word more. He regretted that the right hon. member for Kingston was not in his place; but other members of the late Government were present, and they would not object to his reading the letter he had received from them, not in 1870, when any doubt

might have existed as to the course he had pursued, not even in 1871, but as late as 1872. But, aside for a moment, touching the affairs of 1871, he might ask when the Fenian raid took place, and almost every man turned out, and when he himself had the honour of standing at the head of a hundred as good men as ever bore arms to repel these Fenians—not the Provisional Government—where was the hon. member for Lisgar then? Was he in these ranks? No, he was not. On another occasion, in 1870, the hon. gentleman had made as quick steps as possible out of the country, and so did he also act in this case.

To resume, however, in 1872, certainly without any solicitation on his part, he (Mr. Smith) had received from the then Government, a letter dated the 22nd of February, entirely approving of and thanking him for all he had done while acting as Commissioner in 1869-70; and so anxious was the Ministry that he should obtain it, that having sent one copy to Fort Garry, he was informed by telegraph—for he was then on the point of leaving for England—that another duplicate had been sent to his address by the same steamer by which he took passage.

Having read an extract from this letter conveying the thanks of the Governor General for the manner in which he had executed the commission entrusted to him, Mr. Smith being asked by an hon. member what about the \$60,000 paid to Dr. Schultz as indemnity for losses during the insurrection, replied: Not \$60,000—only \$32,000, or with the money for Brick's \$35,000, adding the hon. member for Lisgar told the House on a former occasion that he had been whitewashed in respect of this payment by a Committee of Public Accounts, but every hon. member of this House then on that Committee knew that through that layer of whitewash there appeared many very dark streaks.

Mr. Smith then expressed his regret that he had been forced into these explanations, adding that he trusted this was the last occasion on which this affair of the North-West troubles would be brought before the House.

Mr. LITTLE believed mistakes were made by the Hudson Bay

officials. They did not preserve that firm attitude for the country they did in their own interests. If they had done so those disturbances would have been nipped in the bud. He believed also a great mistake had been made in giving this amnesty to Riel. The Crown can do no harm, but its advisers can and did. He did not believe in this process of whitewashing by Parliamentary law. It had been done in Ontario, but he trusted in this instance such an evil would not be repeated. He could not vote for a committee that would have the effect of whitewashing such an offender. Like any other British subject he ought to come forward like a man if he believed himself innocent, and be tried by a jury of his countrymen.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that it must be conceded that this discussion had wandered away far from the motion before the House. So much latitude had been allowed to many, in fact, all the speakers, that it would seem as though the Speaker himself rather enjoyed these North-West discussions, and if in the discussions he should wander a little himself, he would expect the same consideration which had been shown to his hon. friend from Selkirk. As to the remarks of his hon. friend from Provencher, he had nothing to say. He differed with him entirely in the opinions which he had formed and the conclusions he had arrived at, but at the same time, knowing that he was the brother-in-law of Governor MacTavish, it was the least he could do to take, as he had done, the first opportunity which offered to present the conduct of his relative in as favourable a light as possible; and while the hon. gentleman might have been led in the heat of discussion into making statements against himself, yet he had refrained. But while this was the case with his hon. friend from Provencher, what must he say of the manner in which his hon. friend from Selkirk pursued him? What had he (Mr. Schultz) done that year after year he must be the victim of his hon. friend's peculiar views on North-West matters. Hon. gentlemen would remember Coleridge's beautiful tale of the ancient mariner. This ancient mariner was described as a man of weird and unearthly aspect,

Mr. SMITH.

over whose soul the shadow of some great crime rested, and who, at stated intervals, was compelled by some hidden remorse within to pour out his doleful tale and relieve his misery, and it almost seemed a parrallel case with his hon. friend from Selkirk, who all through the recess and up to the time when he could pour out his tale of mis-statements of the hon. member for Lisgar seemed to be boiling and simmering with this oft-told tale of the North-West troubles. He (Mr. Schultz) felt much as the wedding guest, whom the ancient mariner stopped, who exclaimed:—

“ I fear thee, Ancient Mariner ;
I fear thy skinny hand,
By thy long gray beard and glistening eye,
Now wherefore stop'st thou me.”

Now, if his hon friend the ancient mariner had only told his story to the marines instead of to the House of Commons not much harm would be done, but we had every year the same trash brought up and talked about by the hon. member. On the present occasion he had seen fit to dispute what he alleged the member for Lisgar had said last Session about his (the member for Selkirk) being at a school house to dissuade the people from resisting Riel, and had brought an affidavit from a Mr. Hay, the Hudson Bay Company's candidate against him in his county to disprove what he had said. Now it really mattered very little whether the hon. member for Selkirk was in the parsonage using his influence or in the school house. The facts remained the same; what he asserted last Session he still asserted, that the hon. gentlemen had advised the people who were then resisting to yield to Riel's Government, and that by his cowardice and incapacity as Commissioner for the Canadian Government he continued a rebellion which a man of firmness and courage in the same position could have stopped. As his honourable friend had read a number of papers, he must beg permission to read a couple, too, which would be found to bear on the question raised by the hon. gentleman. The first of these was from John Bruce, the first President of the Provisional Government, who might be supposed to know even more about the events discussed than the hon. gentleman from Selkirk or himself.

“ TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, }
“ COUNTY OF PEMBINA, } ss.

“ John Bruce of Pembina County, Territory of Dakota, farmer, who being duly sworn deposes and says: That he is the person who was the first President of the Provisional Government of the North-West, in the years 1869 and 1870; that the matter connected with it formation was first brought directly before his notice by being invited to attend a meeting in the Court House, at Fort Garry, in the beginning of October, called for the purpose of discussing the change about to take place in the affairs of the country. At this meeting the question of admitting Governor McDougall was brought up, and while a number, such as Dease and Hamlin wished him to come in, Louis Riel and others opposed his being admitted, saying that once in he could not be put out, as those in favour of admitting him were in the majority. He, the said John Bruce, did not take part in the discussion, as he had been elected Chairman of the meeting; but he was in favour of keeping out Governor McDougall by force, for the following reason: Being well acquainted with Governor MacTavish, and being a Justice of the Peace under the Hudson's Bay Company's rule; he, the said John Bruce was accustomed to go frequently to Governor MacTavish for advice and instructions, and that when the movement was first talked of in the month of September he had gone to Governor MacTavish and asked his advice about it. Governor MacTavish said in answer to him that it would be well to resist the Canadian Governor and keep McDougall out; that it was an injustice to the people the Canadians taking possession of the country, and an injustice to the officers of the Hudson Bay Company, because the Government had given to them no part of the three hundred thousand pounds paid for their country. On the 16th day of October, A.D. 1869, another meeting was held at St. Vital, when Riel addressed the people in an excited manner, saying that McDougall was coming in to rule the country; that he would ill-treat the *Metis* and urged them to immediate action to keep him out. Next morning early a crowd went and constructed the barricade at Stinking River. About one week after this event he went again to see Governor MacTavish and learn his opinion of what had been done. After telling Governor MacTavish all that had been done and was intended, Governor MacTavish told him that it was all right and to keep out McDougall, but to be careful, for he feared the movement might go too far and cause bloodshed. After the party went to the Hudson Bay Company's Post, at Pembina, and drove Governor McDougall over the line, he, the said John Bruce, sent to Governor MacTavish to inform him of the event and to learn his opinion. Governor MacTavish sent word that it was all right. On the 2nd of November Fort Garry was occupied by Riel and the party during the absence of the said John Bruce. That he, the said John Bruce, again visited Governor MacTavish at his home on the 5th of November, and that MacTavish said: ‘ Well, Mr. Bruce, what news? That his answer was: ‘ Well, you have the news! Your Fort is occupied and it will be a great expense to the Company. Then said MacTavish replied that he would rather have the *Metis* there than the Canadians, and that as for the expense, that the Company in England had got £300,000, and he did not care if it did cost

them a thousand or two. He, the said John Bruce, then asked him how long he was willing to feed them, and he said, 'As long as you like, because while you are here I feel safe.' A short time after this the said Governor MacTavish requested a guard to be put before his house, as he feared injury from the Canadians, which was done. When Col. Dennis came into the country with the proclamation from Governor McDougall, he, the said John Bruce, again saw Governor MacTavish and told him of the proclamation of Governor McDougall. Said MacTavish said: 'The proclamation amounts to nothing; it is not worth anything; it is not true and you need not believe a word of it. I have received a letter from McDougall and I am as mad as I can be about it.' After the taking of Dr. Schultz, done on the 7th of December, A.D. 1869, he again saw and informed Governor MacTavish of the capture and imprisonment of the Canadians, when the said MacTavish again assured him 'that it was well done and that now there would be no further trouble,' but they had better release the natives of the country; 'as for Dr. Schultz, they had better chain and make sure of him, as he was the most dangerous of the lot.' That about this time he, the said John Bruce, thought that the movement was going too far, and shortly afterwards, and long before the shooting of Scott, he had left the movement and Riel had taken full control. That said John Bruce does not believe that Governor MacTavish in any way encouraged the action which led to the death of Scott, and felt that it would hurt their cause; but that up to that everything was done of importance with the full knowledge and consent of the said MacTavish. That he believed the reason for the action of the said Governor was caused by the general feeling of the Company's officers against the Canadian occupation of the country; and verily declares that if at any of the interviews described Governor MacTavish had expressed disapprobation or counselled a different course that the insurrection would not have commenced, or after its commencement would at any time have been stopped.

JOHN BRUCE.

"I hereby certify that the above affidavit was taken and subscribed by the said John Bruce after the same was duly read to him before me this 24th day of January, 1876

"Witness my hand and official seal.

"[L.S.] WM. R. GOODFELLOW,
"Notary Public,
"Pembina County, D.T."

The second was not so long, and was from John Lennon, now of Pembina, formerly of Fort Garry.

"TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, }
"COUNTY OF PEMBINA. } ss.

"Before the undersigned, a Notary Public, in and for said County and Territory, appeared John Lennon, of the town of Pembina, in the said County of Pembina, Hotel-keeper, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says:—That his name, occupation and residence is correctly stated as above, and that during what are known as the troubles of 1869-1870, he was then a resident of what is now the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, where he kept a saloon. That when the movement

Mr. SCHULTZ.

against Governor McDougall was first commenced by Riel, Bruce and others, he took no part in it, believing at first that it was an offence against the Hudson Bay Company who were then ruling the country, but that this impression was soon removed from his mind by finding the officer of the Hudson Bay Company, then at Fort Garry, encouraging those who were to resist the entrance of Governor McDougall, and in every secret way encouraging and assisting those who were engaged in the movement. The first case which occurred by which he knew that officers of the Hudson Bay Company were in complicity with the movement, was a short time before Riel took possession of Fort Garry. A number of persons were assembled at a hotel kept by Dutch George, where John MacTavish of the Hudson Bay Company, the person at present in charge of the Hudson Bay Company's Post at Fort Garry, urged every one present, including myself, to go up and join the party under Riel at Stinking River, and that a short time afterwards I went in to Robert O'Lone to see Governor MacTavish, then Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, and that when the said Robert O'Lone asked him his opinion of the movement, he then said Governor MacTavish told us that Riel and the insurgents were perfectly right in resisting. That the Canadian Government had no right to force the purchase of the country and thus injure the half-breeds, and that the Hudson Bay Company were forced to take the three hundred thousand pounds rather than nothing from the Dominion Government, and that it was an act of injustice to them as well. Seeing from this and from many sources of information that the movement was then really one of the Hudson Bay Company's authorities, I became engaged by the Provisional Government as Chief Constable for the Province, and while thus engaged I had an opportunity of knowing all about their secret matters. In reference to the loan said to have been drawn from the Hudson Bay Company by the Provisional Government, I knew that there was no forcing in the matter, and in regard to the so-called capture of Fort Garry by Riel. I knew of my own knowledge that it was practically understood between the authorities at the Fort and Riel that Fort Garry should be taken possession of. In reference to the shooting of Scott, I believe that Wm. B. O'Donoghue was in no way connected with it, and frequently in conversation with me told me that he was away at White Horse plains and that it was a bad step and deeply deplored. It was that action also that caused me to leave the moment which I did, immediately afterwards. I fully believe but for Governor MacTavish and the other officers of the Hudson Bay, no movement of any kind would have occurred and that Governor McDougall would have come in without opposition.

JOHN LENNON.

"Subscribed and sworn before me this 24th day of January, A.D., 1876.

"Witness my hand and National Seal,

"[L.S.] WM. R. GOODFELLOW,
"Notary Public,
"Pembina Co., D.T."

These papers were only interesting from the fact that they were on the question of the Hudson Bay Company's com-

plicity or otherwise. The House must be aware that this company had made a large claim against the Government for compensation for losses during the rebellion. If the Hudson Bay Company were not guilty of complicity in the rebellion, they were entitled to compensation for their losses the same as anyone else, but it seemed that their guilt was confessed in the fact that they did not dare now to push their claim; and that even his hon. friend from Selkirk, brazen as he was in other respects, did not dare say a word about it.

As regards the ungracious and unkindly allusion made by the hon. member for Selkirk as to his reception by the people of Canada in 1870, after escaping from Riel, he could only say that he would regret if it was undeserved, and that if his hon. friend had done his duty as Canadian Commissioner, he (Mr. Schultz) would not have had a price set on his head, and been compelled to make the trip mentioned. It seemed to him that the hon. gentleman from Selkirk, in view of what had been said in the House, when last Session he had (he had almost said swindled) succeeded in getting \$3,000 out of the Government. He would have shown better taste in keeping silent on a subject which had, to say the least, so lit le for his honour and glorification in it.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said neither at any public meeting at St. Andrews, nor in any other way or on any other occasion did he make such representations as those attributed to him by the hon. gentleman who had just sat down. Even if he had done it would not have affected in any way the action of the people of St. Andrews, because they had appointed their delegates to the meeting while he (Mr. Smith) was still a prisoner within the walls of Fort Garry, as his hon. friend the member for Provencher would bear testimony.

He desired to ask the hon. gentleman if he was aware where Mr. John Bruce was at that time, and if he was not in Manitoba did he leave the Province on account of a charge of theft or perjury being brought against him?

Mr. SCHULTZ said he was not Mr. Bruce's keeper. He wished to make

one explanation directly bearing on what his hon. friend had stated. The hon. gentleman was under a misapprehension as to what he had stated in regard to his (Mr. Schultz's) conduct at the school house. What he wished the House to understand by his speech last Session was that it was through the hon. gentleman's instrumentality that the people of Red River, at a time when they might have resisted the authority of Riel, conceded to him their allegiance, and that by the hon. gentleman's cowardice and incapacity in the discharge of his duty as Canadian Commissioner he prolonged that rebellion at a time when it ought to have been stopped.

Mr. BOWELL could not give a silent vote on this question, and while he intended to vote against the motion he desired to take exception to some of the reasons given by the Hon. Minister of Justice for the action of the Government in the matter. The hon. gentleman had stated that those who had been pardoned by the Government were not parties to the Fenian raid. Now, it was proved by the evidence taken before the North-West Committee that on the 5th of the month the raiders marched towards Pembina to take possession of the fort, and it was not until March 7th, after they had been driven from Canadian soil and had taken refuge on American territory, that Riel and those with whom he was connected, offered their services to the Government. Had it been supposed by Riel that O'Donoghue and those with him would have been successful in their raid, he would have joined them. He (Mr. Bowell) believed that had O'Donoghue been of the same nationality as Riel and Lepine he would not have been excluded from the amnesty. He stated this before, and he believed it now. He might be wrong but nevertheless he was sincere in what he said. He was not prepared to vote for any motion which would extend that pardon to any of those whom he believed were guilty, not only of rebellion, but of one of the blackest crimes that perhaps had blackened the criminal annals of this country. He could not help expressing his amusement at the ignorance of the subject displayed by

the member for Montreal Centre, and more particularly of its application to the class he claimed to represent.

He must have regretted exceedingly that he consented to second the resolution, because after the speech of the Hon. Minister of Justice he evidently had found new light. Having done that it would have been much more honourable for him to have asked the member for Victoria to have allowed him to withdraw his name as seconder to the motion, but he did not do so, and he supposed the hon. gentleman was prepared to vote with the mover of the resolution. He trusted they had heard, for some time at least, the last of this question in this House, but if it did come up again it would not be to extend pardon to those who should never have received it.

Hon. Mr. POPE said he was one of those who had voted for the amnesty last year. He did so because he thought no possible good could come from punishing these men. To-day he stood in the same position, and with the hope that the hon. gentleman from Victoria would withdraw his motion, since he saw it was impossible to carry it. This man O'Donoghue, whoever he was, or whatever crimes he might have been guilty of, was said to be nothing less than a Fenian from the United States. He understood the man was a Canadian, and he took arms against this country; but did they not find other men taking up arms against the country? Were not many Fenians placed in the penitentiary from the other side of the line? Was not an amnesty given to them, and why should he not be pardoned too? If any good purpose were to be obtained by banishing this man from the country he would support it; but as nothing could be done now he would urge upon the hon. gentleman to withdraw the motion and await a time when this country would think it was beneath them to pursue anyone to the extent they had pursued this man. He admitted that the crime was a serious one, but no possible good could come from pursuing this man any further.

Mr. COSTIGAN said he had become satisfied from the tone of the remarks of the Hon. Minister of Jus-

Mr. BOWELL.

tice that his mind was made up to oppose this resolution. He could easily understand how the hon. gentleman, by the forcible way of putting the subject before the House, could make out such a case against O'Donoghue that his resolution would be voted down. But he remained of the same opinion as formerly, that an injustice had been done; that there was an inconsistency in the manner in which this man had been treated as compared with the justice dealt out to others. He had said at first that he was not going to charge the Government with the insinuation that had been cast across the floor of the House, that it was because of his nationality that O'Donoghue was excluded from the amnesty, but he felt that as far as concerned the allowance of justice or fair consideration in this House, a man might as well be a farmer as an Irishman. The Hon. Minister of Justice said it was quite competent for this man O'Donoghue to obtain justice in the Courts. The same proposition was made that Riel could stand his trial in Ontario, Quebec or Manitoba, and then this House would deal with it afterwards. But he never did so; and notwithstanding he did not submit to be dealt with by the tribunals of the country, the Government took the motion up, and an amnesty was granted to him and to Lepine. The Minister of Justice made a strong point against O'Donoghue when he said the so-called Fenian raid was not a continuation of the North-West troubles; but he thought there was evidence already adduced which gave strong reason to believe that the Provisional Government had entered into an agreement with O'Donoghue that this raid was to be made for the purpose of forcing the amnesty from the Government, and that the former were cognizant of the steps about to be taken. It appeared that the affidavit furnished by Francis Charette showed that these parties were in league with O'Donoghue and those who were with him. (He here read the affidavit in question.)

It had been clearly stated to-night this man O'Donoghue had certain strong claims on the sympathy of those who favoured an amnesty for Riel and

Lepine, because the Minister of Justice had admitted if it had not been for this raid and the assistance they rendered to repel it there would have been no amnesty at all. He remembered when Riel and Lepine had been treated by hon. members opposite as anything but gentlemen.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Mr. COSTIGAN—I am glad to hear the Minister of Justice say “hear, hear,” because he has called them gentlemen.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—If I did so it was inadvertently. I withdraw it at once. It would be a disgrace to the name.

Mr. COSTIGAN—It is extraordinary that while he considers Riel and Lepine gentlemen, to which I do not object, he treats O’Donoghue, their colleague, as a ruffian.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—We must draw the line somewhere.

Mr. COSTIGAN said the principal reason why the Government granted a partial amnesty was the fact that they were pressed by their supporters on one side to grant a complete pardon and on the other to grant none. They were obliged to yield. In the instructions to the Governor General it was clearly laid down that there should be no amnesty for the crime of murder. Notwithstanding this the Government were forced to pardon Riel and Lepine. There had been many Fenian raids into Canada, but in every instance excepting this a full and unconditional pardon was granted. He would not withdraw his motion, though he knew it would be defeated, because he intended to continue his effort until justice was done O’Donoghue.

The House then divided on the amendment, which was rejected by the following vote:—

YEAS :

Messieurs

Benoit,	Hurteau,
Bernier,	McCallum,
Blanchet,	McQuade,
Caron,	Mitchell,
Costigan,	Monteith,
Coupal,	Montplaisir,
Currier,	Orton,
De St. George,	Pinsonneault,
Devlin,	Robillard,

Domville,
Donahue,
Dugas,
Ferguson,
Gaudet,
Harwood,

Robitaille,
Stephenson,
St. Jean,
Thompson (Cariboo),
White (Hastings),
Wright (Ottawa)—30.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Appleby,	Kirkpatrick,
Archibald,	Lafamme,
Aylmer,	Laird,
Bain,	Lajoie,
Bannatyne,	Landerkin,
Barthe,	Langevin,
Bertram,	Langlois,
Blake,	Lanthier,
Borden,	Laurier,
Borron,	Little,
Bowell,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Bowman,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Boyer,	MacDonnell (Inverness),
Brooks,	Macdougall (Elgin),
Brouse,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Brown,	McKay (Colchester),
Buell,	Mackenzie,
Burpee (St. John),	McCraney,
Burpee (Sunbury),	McGregor,
Cameron (Cardwell),	McIntyre,
Carmichael,	McIsaac,
Cartwright,	McLeod,
Casey,	McNab,
Casgrain,	Masson,
Cauchon,	Metcalfe,
Charlton,	Mills,
Cheval,	Moffatt,
Christie,	Mosseau,
Church,	Norris,
Cimon,	Oliver,
Cockburn,	Patterson,
Coffin,	Pelletier,
Cook,	Perry,
Cunningham,	Pettes,
Davies,	Pickard,
Dawson,	Platt,
Delorme,	Plumb,
Desjardins,	Pouliot,
De Veber,	Pozer,
Dewdney,	Ray,
Dymond,	Robinson,
Farrow,	Ross (Durham),
Ferris,	Ross (Midd esex),
Fiset,	Ross (Prince Edward),
Fleming,	Ryan,
Flesher,	Rymal,
Flynn,	Scriver,
Forbes,	Shibley,
Fraser,	Short,
Fréchette,	Sinclair,
Galbraith,	Skinner,
Gibson,	Smith (Peel),
Gill,	Smith (Selkirk),
Gillies,	Snider,
Gillmor,	Stirton,
Gordon,	Taschereau,
Goudge,	Thibeau,deau,
Hagar,	Trow,
Hall,	Tupper,
Higinbotham,	Vail,
Holton,	Wallace (Albert),
Horton,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Irving,	White (Renfrew),
Jones (Halifax),	Wood,
Jones (Leeds),	Wright, (Pontiac),
Kerr,	Yeo,
Killam,	Young.—136.
Kirk,	

The following gentlemen paired :—

YEAS :	Messieurs	NAYS :
Currier, Rochester, Oumet.	Power, Blackburn, McDougall (Renfrew)	

SUPPLY.

The House then went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Young in the chair.

Item 138, providing for salaries and disbursements of Fishery Overseers and Wardens: Ontario, \$3,860; Quebec, \$10,000; Nova Scotia, \$14,375; New Brunswick, \$10,085; Prince Edward Island and Manitoba, \$1,500 and British Columbia, \$1,000; being taken up,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK stated that these salaries in Quebec had been increased \$2,000; in Nova Scotia, \$1,300 and in New Brunswick, \$2,500—signifying either that a greater number of overseers had been appointed, or that their salaries had been advanced, neither of which was necessary. The Government proposed retrenchment, and this was a department in which it could well be done. He had heard more grumbling concerning the system in force during the last year than during the ten previous years, and this related particularly to Inland Districts, on account of hoop and trap-net fishing, which, if allowed to continue, would utterly destroy the fish in these quarters. The evil effects of this practice had already been seriously felt on the Rideau Canal, and the River St. Lawrence. The farmers in his constituency complained loudly in this relation, stating that it was now impossible to catch fish where they had formerly been plentiful. He urged the Government to look into the matter, and thoroughly investigate the license system.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that the attention of the Minister and Marine had already been called to the use of hoop and trap nets, which would be restricted as much as possible. The licenses would be quietly and gradually diminished to the greatest possible extent. As to the other point, if a system of fish protection prevailed in this Dominion, a considerable number of officers must be appointed to inspect the various lakes

and streams; and this was done in order to remedy the very evil against which the hon. gentleman had directed his eloquence. The only addition made to salaries had taken place in Nova Scotia. One inspector had formerly attempted to discharge the duty of looking after all the officers employed in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and as one person could not properly perform this task, they had separated the Provinces in this relation, and appointed a special officer for the latter. In the other items there was no increase, but on the contrary, a positive decrease. The usual details would be found in the report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) thought that the hon. member for Frontenac had not been very logical in his statements with reference to the increase of expenditure, as he had complained of this, while he found fault because the fishing districts in his part of the country were not sufficiently protected. This protective system, he would remark, was only now being introduced into the Lower Provinces under the energetic management of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. He anticipated that under the circumstances the expenditure would be yearly increased, for it would be useless to establish breeding establishments in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick if a sufficient number of overseers and wardens were not nominated.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that to him it seemed an outrage upon the rights of the people of Northumberland to say that the riparian privileges which they had enjoyed for three-quarters of a century should be taken away by an Order in Council without the fishermen being allowed an opportunity of presenting their case to Parliament. Before the Government should have issued such regulations, which were first dated in the month of March, but which date was subsequently struck out and May substituted, they should have submitted this policy to Parliament, which was at that time sitting, and ask for an expression of this House as to whether the rights of three-quarters of a century should be taken from the people without warning. Instead of doing so,

they issued this Order in Council, and the first intimation the people had of the policy of the Government was that these Orders were fulminated from one end of his constituency to the other.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE suggested that the debate should be adjourned in consequence of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries being absent from the House; the debate could take place on concurrence. The suggestion was adopted and the item passed.

On item "Nova Scotia, including Inspector and Clerk," \$14,375,

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) asked why there was an increase of \$1,175 over the vote of last year?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said there was formerly an inspector appointed for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick jointly, hitherto; now there were two.

The item passed.

On item, \$17,000 for the maintenance and repairs of steamer for protection of fisheries,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the increase of \$7,000 was only apparent as it was taken from the item for Dominion steamers. The object was to send the steamer *Lady Head* to the Gulf for a longer time than usual.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said the logical results of the present system, as far as could be judged, was that the more money that was spent the less efficiency was secured.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said he would be glad if some arrangement could be made with the neighbouring country to protect our waters.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT admitted the great importance of this point, and they had communicated through the British Ambassador with the United States on the subject. He was not, however, prepared to say what chance there was of satisfactory arrangements being consummated.

Mr. BERTRAM called attention to the fact that a number of Americans came over here to fish for pleasure, and suggested that a small fee should be exacted from them.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the Government applied the regulations in regard to the fisheries in a manner

which was unjust to the Province from which he came. He contended that the Government was bound to administer the affairs of the country as not to press unduly on one section. For instance, it was an outrage to pass laws that were limited in the operation to New Brunswick. He thought the Government had acted in a high-handed manner in regard to the fisheries. The return for which he moved time ago had just come down, and after a hasty glance he could not find any justification for the attempt to deprive the people of the Maritime Provinces of rights which they had enjoyed for nearly a century.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE said the *Glendon*, which had been purchased at St. John for \$20,000, was not fit for the service she was bought to perform. The very men that went on board this vessel had condemned her and were afraid to go to sea on her when there was any sea or wind. She had not power enough to face a breeze. When she left St. John for Pictou, a schooner left a day later and yet got to Pictou ahead of her. The Government could have purchased a Scotch built vessel for \$25,000 at the time they got the *Glendon*, and saved money in maintenance and running.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the *Glendon* had cost \$30,000 in the first place. Mr. Smith, who examined the vessel, valued her at \$25,000, and she was purchased by the Government for \$20,000. All possible pains had been taken to see if she was fit for the service. It appeared, however, that she was not, and had to be employed in the lighthouse service.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said it was an insane purchase. One of the persons who had sold the vessel to the Government informed him that he would have been glad to part with her at half the price.

Mr. DOMVILLE said the vessel was not really worth \$5,000, and she could have been bought any day for \$10,000 cash. It was well known in St. John that she was unfit for the service, and people would not believe at first that the Government had bought her.

Mr. McLEOD said the purchase of the *Glendon* might have been an error

of judgment, but she cost only \$70 per ton, while the late Government had paid over \$100 per ton for two schooners which were now doing duty as light-ships.

The item was carried.

On item No. 148, appropriating \$16,000 for fish-breeding, fish-ways and oyster beds,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked how much of this money was spent in Ontario and in the other Provinces of the Dominion?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the money was expended on the fish-breeding establishments in the various Provinces. About \$4000 would be spent in Ontario and the remainder on the other establishments, which were about six in number.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the money spent in the encouragement of fish breeding in Canada was most judiciously expended, and he would have been in favour of a larger expenditure in this work.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE thought that the money in question was well expended, and asked what was to be done with reference to oyster beds?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that they would be as far as possible protected.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE read from a report a statement to the effect that our oyster beds were being completely exhausted, accompanied by the warning that unless they were closed against dredging for three years it would be too late to preserve seed. He lamented the circumstance that we continued to import vast quantities of oysters from the United States at prices which made this favourite shell-fish an expensive luxury, while our native sources of production, from which an abundant and cheap supply could be obtained, were being abandoned to destruction. Hon. gentlemen from Prince Edward Island might not think it worth while to talk about protection in this connection, but before five years had passed they would change their opinions. Our oysters were at present greatly reduced in size, compared with their size five years ago, and if the system were not changed before five years more had elapsed they would be in a far worse

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condition. The beds should be treated in the same way as the salmon fisheries had been protected and encouraged under the fostering care of the late Government. The beds should be closed for one year, or for two or three years.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD stated that the Local Government of Prince Edward Island had legislated to secure the protection of its oyster beds.

The item was passed.

Items 141, 142, 143, and 144, providing respectively for the vote of \$2,400 to the Quebec Observatory; \$4,800 to the Toronto Observatory; \$500 to the Kingston Observatory; \$500 to the Montreal Observatory, and \$850 to the New Brunswick Observatory were passed with little discussion.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton) stated that the service performed at Sydney was not worth the salary paid.

Mr. PLUMB thought arrangements might be made to have the telegraphing done cheaper by companies on contract.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL was of opinion that the expenditure could be largely increased with propriety, and what was being done was very judicious.

On item No. 148, appropriating \$23,000 for the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, Quebec,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked whether any change had taken place in the administration of the affairs of this institution?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Minister of Marine and Fisheries had taken steps to have the hospital placed on a proper footing as a Dominion institution.

The item was carried.

On item No. 158, appropriating \$6,000 to meet expenses in connection with the inspection of Insurance Companies,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked what was the policy of the Government in relation to Marine Insurance Companies? He asked this question because he understood that the policy of the Administration would be such as to drive foreign companies out of the market.

They had not even now nearly sufficient Marine Insurance Companies to do the business.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said they did not desire to discriminate against any companies. The sole object was to provide against the establishment of irresponsible companies, and they chiefly devoted their attention to fire and life companies. It was only to a moderate degree that they interfered with marine companies at all.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL called attention to the fact that the Clinton Insurance Company had taken people's money, and in one instance where a fire occurred had only paid one-third of the claim and asked time for the balance. Finding they were acting illegally they refused to pay the rest of the claim. He wished to know if there was any recourse against them?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the company had been acting illegally and were subject to a heavy penalty under the law.

The item passed, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

The House adjourned at Fifteen minutes past One, a. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 24, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

RETIRING ALLOWANCES OF JUDGES.

The House went into Committee of the Whole (Mr. Mills in the Chair) to consider the following Resolution:— That it is expedient to extend the provisions of the third section of the Act 34 Victoria, Chapter 33, to the Chief Justice and Justices of the Court of Error and Appeal for the Province of Ontario, so that they shall under like circumstances be entitled to the same proportion of their salaries as retiring allowances, as the Judges mentioned in the said section, payable in like manner out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

The resolution was reported and concurred in.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill founded on the resolution.

SUPPLY.

The House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Young in the Chair.

On the item \$289,096 for Indians,

Mr. COSTIGAN complained that the Indian Commissioner in New Brunswick resided a hundred miles from the reserve, and a considerable portion of the appropriation every year was eaten up in travelling expenses. Now, if a local man were appointed, it would save a considerable amount of the Indians' money. The Indians and white people had no confidence in the present Commissioner, and were desirous of having a change. He hoped the Minister of the Interior would comply with their wishes.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied that this state of things existed prior to his entrance on his present office. Two agents had been appointed some years ago in New Brunswick, at salaries of \$400 each, and it was true that this was more than was given to the agents in Nova Scotia, but it was to be remembered that the latter were seven or eight in number, and consequently the former had larger areas under their supervision. No doubt it was competent for the Government to dismiss officials or reduce their salaries, but it was a very unpleasant duty to perform, and he could not see his way to meeting the wishes of the hon. member. He had intended to visit the locality last year, but could not go; he hoped to be able to do so this year, however, and he would investigate the matter and see what could be done to improve the existing condition of affairs.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) thought that the Minister lost sight of the fact that the payment of these salaries came out of the Indians' funds, and consequently he considered that it would be better to incommode one man than a large number of persons whose interests were well worthy of consideration.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked how many Indians there were in Prince Edward Island?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—About 303.

Mr. McLEOD asked how many there were in Nova Scotia?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—About 1,500.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked why the item for agriculture implements for Indians in Manitoba and the North-West had been reduced?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said a number of the Indians had already been supplied in accordance with the terms of the treaties. Once they were supplied there was an end of the necessity for making such an appropriation.

Mr. SCHULTZ thought that this required some explanation; they were asked to vote \$10,000 to supply provisions for Indians assembled to receive annuities under the above-mentioned treaties, referring to treaties Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied that it did not appear on the face of the estimates for this reason: A vote had been made yearly for this purpose. The treaties were made away from the posts and a conference sometimes lasted a week. It was absolutely necessary to provide supplies for them during the time the meeting lasted.

Mr. SCHULTZ said it was a great grievance with the Indians that the time of receiving payments was so uncertain. He suggested there should be definite times and places for payments. Sometimes the Indians assembled and had to wait for weeks before the Commissioners paid them.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD stated that they were endeavouring to do so; hon. members would understand that in a new country and under the circumstances in which they were placed, it was impossible to be exact to the day. They hoped in the future to be able to keep their appointments with the Indians with greater exactness.

Mr. PLUMB asked why there was such a large appropriation for salaries and office expenses in the Manitoba superintendency? He noticed it was \$18,660 this year, an increase of \$1,910 over the appropriations of last year.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained that the increase was due to the proposed appointment of a Superintendent for the North-West Territory, and of local agents both there and in Manitoba,

which step in the end would effect an economy as to the provisions distributed yearly.

Mr. PLUMB hoped that the details would be brought down.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he noticed in the report of the Minister of the Interior that school books, medical attendance, garden seeds, &c., were included under the head "salaries and office expenses." He thought these items should be voted separately.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said it was impossible to put down these small items separately in the Estimates. They varied from year to year, and it was found necessary to ask for a bulk sum to be expended as advantageously as possible for the Indians. When everything was organized in the North-West as it was in Ontario, the Government could state in the Estimates what sums were required for special purposes now included under this one heading. In their report to the Finance Department they gave the number of schools, but these particulars were not furnished in the Estimates. They hoped hereafter to give the items in greater detail.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the salaries and office expenses were known definitely and could be voted separately. So could the larger items now included under that heading, and the House would then know what they were voting.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said it was only a few months since this organization was commenced, and until it was completed nothing definite could be known or stated in the estimates. This was the first year that these items appeared.

Mr. PLUMB remarked that the estimate in this relation last year almost reached the same figure; therefore he thought that some organization had been effected.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD, regarding the appropriation of \$1,500 to supply ammunition and twine to Indians under treaty No. 4, explained that they happened to be twice as many in number as they had anticipated; therefore the amount had been increased from \$750 to the figures mentioned.

Mr. SCHULTZ, concerning the appropriation of \$80,000 to defray probable expenses in connection with new treaties, regretted that the expense incurred in connection with the negotiation of past treaties had been much greater than they should have been. Had supplies been obtained through tender, a great deal of money could have been easily saved; and he hoped that a change would be made in the policy which had been pursued, ensuring an important saving for the country.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD thought that they had taken the greatest precautions in this relation during the past year. Tenders had been invited, and on one occasion they had secured flour at the rate of \$2.50 per hundred lbs. Extreme care had been exercised, and the accounts had been audited at Ottawa before they were paid.

Mr. SCHULTZ claimed the right to call attention to such matters in the public interest. Tenders might have been asked; but he considered it strange that he, living where they were said to have been published, had not observed it, and it was there the general impression that it had not been done. The charges for the transportation of the flour had been excessive, and the person who had done this had then turned round and sold oxen to the Government at a price much higher than they could be purchased in Winnipeg. A radical defect existed in regard to the negotiation of those treaties. It was easy enough to collect a body of Indians, and if there were plenty of provisions, and if the interpreters and half-breeds were on the side of the Government, it was easy to induce them to make almost any treaty. They were unacquainted with the value of money, and it rested with the Government simply to say whether it would deal fairly with them or not. The point he wished to make was this: in scarcely any of these treaties had it been definitely settled where the reserves were to be. This was due to the hurry shown in making them, and the desire of those engaged in the matter to get through a troublesome business as soon as possible. What had been the result relative to the first treaty? Trouble had

existed all along owing to this fact. He trusted that in the future, before the Commissioners left the ground, the question of the reserves would be definitely arranged. This course would avoid much of the trouble which from his place in the House he predicted would occur if the system was not changed.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied that in Manitoba, where there were a good many settlers, they had been more particular touching the selection of reserves. Regarding Treaty No. 4, the Indians were consulted with and the location of the reserves was chosen, but it proved that only one-half of the bands were prepared to select their reserves at all. Most of them were plain hunters who did not wish to retire on the lands; they had found it better to treat with each man separately in this relation, as they had a perfect right to do. If the first treaties had not mentioned where the reserves were to be, they would have found it much easier to deal with this matter—as there would have been more freedom on the part of the Department and also on the part of the Indians.

Mr. RYAN asked if the Government were making any arrangements to remove the band of Sioux at the Portage to their reserve? They were continually committing depredations, and their presence was a nuisance and likely to prove dangerous. Six of them had shot one of their comrades and escaped punishment.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said there were ample reserves at the forks of the Little Saskatchewan, and the Government had endeavoured to persuade and induce them to move there. Some did move but the greater number of them would not go. The Government did not think it wise to use compulsory measures, but the matter was under consideration.

Mr. SCHULTZ said there was no re-vote of the appropriation made last year for the removal of those Indians. He believed the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs was due to the failure of the Government to furnish a reserve for the band. They were offered a reserve on the coast of Lake Manitoba, with which they were satis-

fied, but the delay of removing them there had excited dissatisfaction. There would be a repetition of the difficulty if they were not removed at once.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said they had absolutely refused to go to the Lake Manitoba reserve because they were afraid of the Salteaux and the Chipewas. The delay was due to their own action, and that was the reason why the land at the forks of the Little Saskatchewan had been reserved for them. There were no Indians near that place and it suited their wishes. There was wood, water, and a good supply of fish. A few depredations had occurred, but on the whole their conduct was good. Very few communities under similar circumstances would have been better, and Manitoba was benefitted more than it had lost by their presence. They worked for the farmers and had been found honest and faithful. When they were removed to their reserves the Province would miss them.

Mr. RYAN quite agreed with the Minister of the Interior as to the superiority of the second reserve, and admitted that some of the farmers found them useful, but the great body of the settlers wanted to have them removed.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if any steps had been taken to punish the Indians who murdered their comrade?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said it was a matter which came under the jurisdiction of the Provincial authorities. The Dominion Government had no right to interfere in the matter.

Mr. SCHULTZ said the duty of the Government was to use every exertion to deal with this case, and to remove these 300 Indians who were strangers in the country and had no right there.

Mr. GOUDGE asked if it was intended to establish a school for the Indians of Nova Scotia?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD admitted that education was backward among the Indians of that Province. He thought the people of Nova Scotia should urge them to apply for a school. No such application had been made yet.

Mr. GOUDGE begged to say that Indians of the Province greatly desired

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the establishment of a school, their admitted backwardness being the very reason which made this step advisable. If these Indians were to be preserved from extinction, and if they were to be prepared to take advantage of the means provided for their enfranchisement, they must be educated. He did not charge the Government with dereliction of duty, but trusted that attention would be paid to this matter. He hoped during the coming season the Government would send an official of the Department to investigate the management of the the Indians in Nova Scotia. There were several agents, none of whom visited the agencies to see that they were properly administered. The Minister knew that one agent, at least, did not give satisfaction.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD stated that one of the great difficulties experienced in dealing with the Indians of Nova Scotia was due to the fact that they were so scattered; nevertheless, attention would be given to the question which was brought by the hon. gentleman under his notice.

All the items under the head "Indians" were passed. •

On the item, \$86,000, for miscellaneous expenditure.—In connection with the item of \$8,000 for miscellaneous printing,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER called attention to the publication of the Bank Returns; he believed that the Government were endeavouring to secure their greater accuracy and had hoped that they would be so precise as to show the amounts on interest, and the sums which were held without bearing interest. It was also important that these returns should form a portion of the *Gazette*, instead of being inserted as at present on a fly sheet.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—as to the second matter, had no objection to comply with his hon. friend's suggestion; he would look into the matter and see if this were possible.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK hoped some assurance would be given that the monthly statements were more correct. Last year they were so inaccurate as to represent an expenditure of \$2,000,000 more than the actual

amount. It would be better even to delay the publication of the statement for a week or so and have it correct than to mislead the public who watched for those returns with great interest.

On the item \$50,000 for unforeseen expenses,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK remarked that this item only amounted to \$30,000 during the Administration of the late Government though it had been since increased to \$50,000. An extraordinary expenditure had been incurred last year with reference to the Governor General's tour, but as this was not likely to take place again during the present year, he could not see why it should not be reduced.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said in 1872 the late Government asked for \$75,000; in 1873, \$75,000, and in 1874 \$30,000, which had all been expended when the present Government came into office.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the amount, \$12,000, for commutation in lieu of remission of duties on articles imported for the use of the army and navy, was too large since the troops had been removed.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the amount of duties remitted last year for wines and tobaccos imported for the use of the Imperial forces at Halifax was over \$11,000.

Mr. BOWELL asked why were not A Battery in Ontario and B Battery in Quebec granted similar privileges.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that these were native, not Imperial troops.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) observed that this was not a new item; it had appeared in the Estimates prior to Confederation. The arrangement in question had always prevailed in Halifax since it was a garrison town.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said on referring to the returns, he found that the amount voted in 1873 for unforeseen expenses was \$75,000, the amount spent was \$18,000. In 1874 the appropriation was \$45,000,000, and the expenditures were \$38,360.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had merely read from the estimates and had not looked at the return of expenditures.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the expenditure under this head sometimes varied thirty or forty thousand dollars.

With regard to the appropriation of \$120,000 for the organization of a Government in the North-West Territories,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired when it was proposed to organize this Government?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that this would take place, probably, very early in the summer. Further details would be found on the same page.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked whether any of the \$33,800 voted last year had been expended?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought that a portion of this sum had been spent.

All the items under the head "Miscellaneous" were passed.

COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS.

On the item \$697,591 for the collection of Customs revenues,

Hon. Mr. BURPEE, in reply to Mr. McCallum, said there was no objection to making the canal officer at Port Maitland an official in the Customs Department. The contingent account had been reduced, and any vacancies that might occur would be filled up from officials in the service.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK was glad to hear that the Government had determined to put an end to the system of making Custom House appointments among local political supporters; this had, however, not been peculiar to the present Administration. The amount paid for salaries had of late largely increased,—in the Province of Ontario to the extent of \$95,000 since 1873-4; and in Quebec, \$23,000; and in the other Provinces in proportion.

Mr. BROUSE surmised that this was due to the batch of appointments made by the late Government, when on the point of resigning their offices.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK thought not, as he believed that at least many of these appointments had been cancelled.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said there was an increase of about \$23,000 in Prince

Edward Island. The increased expense by the appointments referred to was some \$32,000, and the increase by larger salaries was \$56,000. The present Government had cut off some \$30,000 and gone back as nearly as possible to the condition of affairs in 1873-4.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked whether the case of Mr. Robert Miller, of the port of Miramichi, had received favourable consideration, his salary having been reduced owing to his strong partizanship for himself (Mr. Mitchell) ?

Hon. Mr. BURPEE explained that Mr. Miller had been doing duty as appraiser at Newcastle and Chatham ; the Inspector had reported recommending that another officer should be appointed to act at one of these places, Newcastle, which had been done, without any reference to his political opinions, with which indeed he (Mr. Burpee) was unacquainted.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the object was to starve Mr. Miller out to gratify the vindictiveness of a person who was not now in the House. The Minister of Customs had no doubt been innocently led into this, and he was satisfied the hon. gentleman, now that his attention was directed to the matter, would do justice to Mr. Miller.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER claimed the indulgence of the Committee for a few minutes, while he drew attention to one or two matters with which he thought they could better deal in connection with the item before the Chair. The charge had been made, that the expenditure in the Customs Department had been unduly increased under the late Administration by large additions made to the salaries of its officers. Now, the Committee was perfectly well aware that the House had placed at the disposal of the Government a sum of money for the purpose of readjusting the salaries in that Department, which only was performed in obedience to the decision of Parliament, involving a large increase in expenditure. It appeared to him perfectly obvious, under the circumstances, that the hon. gentlemen who had succeeded them in office did not require to make any corresponding increase, though he found that for the collection of Customs

Hon. Mr. BURPEE.

last year an addition of no less than \$24,374 had been made to the expenditure, notwithstanding the fact that, during the last year the late Administration was in power, its expenditure in the Customs Department had exceeded considerably the largest expenditure ever made in this relation, in this country. Then coming to the present year, he found that, in lieu of a policy of retrenchment and economy, and instead of reducing the disbursements in those departments of the public service especially under the control of the Government, they were asked to vote \$39,292 more than they had voted for the year 1873-4. Any hon. gentleman who turned to the Estimates of prospective revenue submitted by the Finance Minister would observe that instead of anticipating a larger, the hon. gentleman expected to have a smaller revenue. When we had much lower importations than during the past year—to the amount of eight millions, the expenditure was \$24,000 less, and without any expectation of receiving larger revenue it would during the current year exceed by \$39,000 that of last year. To what was this due? And this brought him to another branch of the question which was pertinent to the item under consideration. When he had last the pleasure of visiting the Riding of North Renfrew in company with his friend the First Minister, that hon. gentleman stated to the electors that the late Government when in the throes of dissolution, and in the last hour of its existence, had created some two hundred offices throughout the country and made some two hundred appointments.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I said one hundred.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Very well ; he would give the hon. gentleman the benefit of his correction, but he was afraid that the people of North Renfrew understood the hon. gentleman, as he had done, to declare that the late Government had created two hundred offices.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! no! I recollect perfectly saying—within a trifle of one hundred ; also that about one hundred were cancelled.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER would come to this other matter in a moment. What

he understood the hon. gentleman to say, and what he hoped the hon. gentleman did not say, and the electors comprehended him to affirm, was that the late Administration had created two hundred offices, and made two hundred appointments; that of these one hundred were brought into existence for the purpose of finding places for their friends, like the unjust steward; and that one of the first duties the hon. gentleman had to discharge in the interests of the people of this country, was to cancel and sweep away for ever one hundred of those appointments, for which there was no necessity whatever. He hoped that the hon. gentleman had said one in lieu of two hundred; at all events this was a statement which it was necessary now to make, because he had, under his hand, a return laid on the table of this House by the hon. gentleman, showing the appointments they had made, and the appointments which had been cancelled. The former numbered in reality about seventy-five—but were they of the character which the the hon. gentleman had pretended they were? Were they offices created to find places for their friends, and had the country been saved the cost of the salaries in question from that time to this? He thought that if the hon. gentleman would turn to the records of the Privy Council, he would find that he could not place his hand on five offices which though cancelled had not been filled subsequently by the hon. gentleman himself.

He denied the truth of the assertion that an office had been provided in order to secure a position for a friend. He invited attention to this matter because it was a very grave charge which had been preferred.

He would be filled with deep regret if the Administration of which he had the honour of being a member had been open to such censure. What was the character of these appointments? If the hon. gentleman took the trouble to read over the list of these offices filled in fulfilment of the pledges of the late Government to their friends, who had asked, as they were entitled to do—that this should be done, and in relation to which the Government had only discharged their duty in making

provision for the public service, he would see that out of the 750 offices cancelled, no less than thirty-five of them existed in the Island of Prince Edward, and that instead of being created unnecessarily, the Administration in taking this step had been simply fulfilling the provisions of the Union Act, which made the officers in the new Province officers of the Dominion, touching services that came under the purview of the Dominion Parliament, until they were regularly appointed by an Order in Council;—therefore, instead of creating officers, they had merely given official recognition to persons who had held office many of them for ten and some for twenty years.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—And some of them never.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER would admit that this was quite true; they might have discharged their duty by giving appointments to persons who had not held offices previously; but they had not created the offices. Twenty-five of them were Customs officers; and the hon. gentleman would hardly say that in appointing Collectors of Revenue, as they were entitled to be named by this Government, the late Administration had done wrong. He was, however, bound to do the hon. gentleman the justice of stating that although he had cancelled thirty-five appointments in Prince Edward Island, he had re-appointed a large number of these officers.

It appeared that he had taken this course, simply in order that these parties might have the distinguished honour of holding office under the appointment of the new, instead of the old Administration; he would not find fault with this, but he would remark that of that number, twenty-five were Customs officers. Was this the creation of offices in order to find places for their friends? He thought that the hon. gentleman would hardly so inform the House, when he told the hon. members that if they would turn to the Public Accounts of last year, instead of these twenty-five officers appointed by the late Government in Prince Edward Island, the present Administration had there given appointments to no less than sixty-six persons.

The Public Accounts now showed 66 Customs officers for Prince Edward Island instead of the 25 appointed by the late Administration, and yet the hon. gentleman (the Premier) told the people of North Renfrew that he had, by a stroke of the pen, swept away 100 offices that his predecessors had created, and which were not called for by the interests of the public service. The hon. gentleman not only reappointed these officers whose appointments were cancelled, but increased the number to 66. The House could readily understand from this why there was such a large increase in this item in connection with the public service. These were the facts as shown by the public records as they exist.

The Minister of Finance had stated that the only means he had to present to the country to provide for the very large deficit in the revenue was by increased economy, but they certainly did not find this economy being exercised in any of the departments specially under the control of the Government themselves. With reference to the Civil Service, nothing would tend to the efficiency of the public service more than following closely, and as far as possible, the Civil Service Act, which provides when vacancies occur the next lowest in the service shall be promoted, provided he had the necessary industry, sobriety and ability to discharge the duties of the office.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Did the hon. gentleman do that?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Yes; we did.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Did he do that in the port of Montreal, for instance?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he would invite the hon. gentleman to inspect the records of the Department which he had administered, or go to Montreal and point out an instance in which the administration of patronage under his control as Minister of Customs had not been to fill vacancies by promotion as they occurred. As to the case mentioned in Montreal, he had only given legitimate promotion to an officer who had not only a claim to it by a long term of service, but his appointment was endorsed by the leading merchants of the city.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

Mr. JONES—What about the Collector of Halifax?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said his friend was anxious to exhibit his Sampson strength by lugging in the Halifax Collectorship, but the late Administration never had found it necessary to take a Minister of the Crown from their Cabinet in order to find a Collector for the port of Halifax. He did not think the hon. gentleman consulted the wishes or feelings of his friends in making any allusion to that appointment. It was a great injustice when vacancies occurred in the service to bring in outside parties in order to provide places for political supporters and put them over the heads of officers who had spent years of their lifetime at low salaries in the public service, with the expectation of promotion as opportunities occurred.

Mr. DAVIES said the appointments in Prince Edward Island were made the day before the late Government resigned. Thirty-five officials were appointed, and the reason why there were not more was they had not time to do the work. More were required, because the shores of the Island were not sufficiently protected against smuggling. If a revenue cutter were provided for the service it would save money to the public treasury. In the ordinary course of events the late Government should have made the appointments in the Island after it came into the Union, but they waited until the representatives of the Province were elected and could come to Ottawa to nominate persons to fill the offices in the Island. The Government were then under a cloud, and when they found the representatives of the Island would not sustain them, the appointments were made just before they resigned.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—A good many of them were made after the late Government resigned.

Mr. DAVIES hoped the number of officials would be increased in order that smuggling might be prevented.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that the salary which was paid to these officials, who numbered about 45, was \$40 a year. The position of the Island rendered it necessary that a large

number of officers should be employed at a small salary. He desired to state that of the amount voted in 1873-4 only \$40,000 was expended, so the total sum added to the estimate of that year would come out as nearly as possible like the estimates he had in his hand, and the expenditure asked for this year would be within \$41,000 or \$51,000 of the amount the hon. gentlemen considered as the necessary expenditure up to October 31, 1873.

It being six o'clock, the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

PRIVATE BILLS.

The House went into Committee on the Act to grant to the Canada Landed Credit Company enlarged powers of borrowing and lending, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

The Committee reported the Bill without amendment, after which it was read the third time and passed.

Mr. BROOKS moved the second reading of the Bill respecting loans by the British American Land Company.

The motion was carried, and the Bill was referred to the Committee on Banking and Commerce.

The House went into Committee of Supply.

COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS.

The debate on the estimate for Collection of Customs was resumed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked why the new Custom House at Chatham which was now completed, was not occupied by the Government? He stated that the Government were renting a building from a gentleman who opposed him in his last election, and he desired to know the intention of the Government in this particular.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said that they had obtained a favourable report as to the condition of the new Custom House from the collector at Chatham, and it was the intention of the new Government to occupy the new building as soon as possible.

Mr. BUNSTER regretted that there was a decrease in the appropriation

for British Columbia, and called attention to the fact that an additional officer was required at the port of Nanaimo, where it was a difficult matter for one officer to do the work properly. There was a great necessity for an increase in the number of officers instead of a decrease.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said a great saving would be effected this year in this department by the occupation of the new Custom House. With regard to the port of Nanaimo, he said that the revenue last year was \$2,800, and that it was collected by one officer. It seemed to him that one officer ought to collect the revenue of that port during the ensuing year.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked what had been done in regard to the defalcation of a Collector of Customs which occurred a few years ago? He desired to know what steps had been taken to get that money refunded?

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said the defalcation had occurred during the administration of the late Government, but the present Government had received promises of the payment of the money which they had not yet investigated.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said in relation to the complaint of the hon. member for Cumberland of his (Mr. Mackenzie's) remarks at Pembroke, he had only to say he thought he was exceedingly moderate in those remarks. Now, between the 13th of August and November, the late Government made 100 appointments which they had no right to make, in view of the fact that a motion of want of confidence in the Government was pending. At that time he had no hesitation in moving the cancellation of a large number of those appointments, some of which were entirely new. He thought the Government had acted with singular moderation in the cancelling of those appointments, when they allowed one-half of them to remain, though the men were known to be politically opposed to the Government. He was surprised that the hon. gentleman should provoke any reference to those famous days in December. When it was supposed that the whole talent of the Government was devoted to

the debate then going on, they were writing out Orders in Council and making appointments. A very considerable number of these appointments were made even after their resignation. These facts were not creditable to the hon. gentlemen, when they knew they had lost the confidence of the people. There were circumstances under which an outgoing Administration might make appointments, but to proceed to a wholesale creation of offices in that way was not only highly improper, but in his opinion highly unconstitutional. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had pointed out they had done nothing of the kind. The offices filled under the Insolvent Act could not be called Government appointments. It was in fact a matter forced on the Government by the public opinion of the House and country, and a task they would gladly have given over to some other persons or bodies. The character of the appointments made by the late Government in the last days they held office was entirely different. The Hon. Ministers of Customs and Finance had shown that instead of an increase having been made in proportion to the growth of the business and population of the country during the two years and a half, there was a positive decrease relatively to what they found when they assumed office, and they should continue, he hoped, to show that relative proportion in a more favourable degree when they could get rid of some of the officials appointed by the late Administration in the last days they held office.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) said he had ventured in his election address to make the statement that the Government had by their legislation of last Session secured to themselves some 300 additional appointments. He had made that statement advisedly, and he thought the Hon. Leader of the Government at a public meeting acknowledged the accuracy of that statement.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not.

Mr. WHITE said the Government had at all events taken the appointments out of the hands of the Boards of Trade, and to that extent had increased their patronage. In criticising that portion of his address, the Prem-

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

ier had charged the late Government with making some 200 appointments, of which the present Administration on taking office cancelled some 80 to 100. The impression left on the minds of the electors was that those appointments had been made, not in the interest of the country, but for political purposes. Now, if they were necessary, and only cancelled by the present Government for the purpose of re-appointing them or appointing others in their stead, the argument of the Premier to the electors of North Renfrew ought to have no effect. There was no denial of the statement that instead of having reduced the number of officials, the present Government had added to them, and it was plain the Premier was not quite ingenuous in the assertion he made to the electors.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the late Government had no apprehension they would be defeated; and while the Treasury Benches were assailed, they gave their whole time and energy generously and magnanimously devoting themselves to the public service. The Premier would give them credit for the patriotism they had displayed on that occasion. In making these appointments they had only exercised the right which retiring administrations in England had always enjoyed. They had merely bestowed the patronage which legitimately belonged to them.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE thought the hon. member for Renfrew was wrong in saying the Dominion Board of Trade recommended leaving the appointments as they were before, but if they did, it was the strongest evidence that the public opinion of the country was against the old system, because that body did not represent public opinion.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) thought it might fairly be assumed they represented that portion affected by the insolvent law.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not by any means.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said the Dominion Board of Trade and other public bodies throughout the

Dominion had petitioned Parliament to keep the law as it was before, but the Government wanted to have the patronage in their own hands. In the face of such manifestations of public opinion, the law was changed to accomplish this end.

The items were passed.

INLAND REVENUE.

On the items under the head "Excise," \$235,800,

Mr. BUNSTER called attention to the fact that it cost \$5,000 to collect \$4,223 derived from this source in British Columbia. He recommended the adoption of the United States system of licensing the brewers, requiring them to pay, say \$1,000 each per annum, and let the trade take care of itself, doing away with the excise officers altogether.

He suggested the advisability of taxing each of the brewers \$1,000; there were five in the City of Victoria, and this would give a revenue of \$5,000 per annum. He held that the present system was not suitable to the Province of British Columbia.

Mr. ORTON thought that the suggestion of the hon. member for Vancouver was worthy of serious consideration, because the levy of duties was undoubtedly vexatious for the brewers of this country.

Mr. HAGGART asked if the salaries mentioned were paid? The Collector of Customs at Perth had not received the \$1,000 set down to his credit.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that he would look into the matter.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER called the attention of the House to the fact that the expenditure in the Excise Department was the most extravagant that they ever had in the department up to that time, yet the Committee were now asked to vote \$29,865 of an increase for this service, although it did not include the cost of bringing into operation the law respecting weights and measures.

A gentlemen, who had been in the employ of the Government, complained that he had been very badly treated. He averred that he had an office in the

Inland Revenue Department at Moncton, in the Province of New Brunswick, for several years; that he had undergone a very rigorous and passed a first-class examination, and that he was so reported to the Government; also, that parties living outside of this country altogether, and animated by hostile feelings towards him personally, were determining to have him displaced from his office; that they had applied for this, and in this relation he referred to the representative of the adjoining county; that the Minister of Inland Revenue, finding no ground for doing so, he having performed his duties efficiently, called upon him to go to the city of St. John to fill a position in connection with the Inland Revenue Department there; that there was no necessity for his transfer, the officials at St. John being fully equal to the performance of all the work, having moreover made no requisition for any further assistance; that one of them had a great deal of leisure on his hands, being not fully occupied, in fact; that he was given no increase of salary, and that, though a first-class officer, having passed a first-class examination, he was placed under second and third-class officers who had been unable to pass a first-class examination.

He (Mr. Tupper) did not wish to press the matter, because the Minister of Inland Revenue was prevented by an unfortunate illness from being in his place; but he desired to draw the attention of the Finance Minister, who dealt with those questions in that hon. gentleman's absence, to the matter, in the hope that he would enquire into the correctness of these statements; because if they were correct they disclosed a case of great injustice. It was just as well to dismiss a man from his office—indeed this course was much the more preferable—than to compel an officer in receipt of a small salary to remove him to a place where it was altogether inadequate for his support. What would be sufficient at Moncton, would be utterly inadequate at St. John; and if he were so transferred without any addition to his salary it was simply another mode of depriving him of it.

Of course this officer had been unable to comply with his instructions,

and he was notified in consequence that his name would be omitted from the pay list. These circumstances might or might not be within the knowledge of the Minister of Customs; if they were not he hoped that the hon. gentleman would enquire into them.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Does the hon. gentleman make the statement on his own authority?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I make it on the authority of a letter addressed to me by the officer himself. I will place this letter in the hands of the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The hon. gentleman is aware of the English practice, I presume. No attention is paid to complaints except they are made to the Head of the Department by the party himself.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought that his hon friend would admit that if the officer was unable to secure redress from the Government and found himself deprived of his office, then he had no other recourse.

He (Mr. Tupper) did not doubt that this gentleman had exhausted every means of obtaining justice before he had taken his present course.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT doubted very much the accuracy of these representations; though he would make enquiry into the matter.

Respecting the complaints as to the increase or decrease of revenue and expenditure, he might state that in 1873-4, a vote of \$218,000 appeared to have been asked for in the Estimates, and by Orders in Council the hon. gentleman would see that a total sum of \$26,885 had been added to the expenditures on the previous estimates, and these being added together, the hon. gentleman would perceive that whereas by Order in Council they had proposed to expend the sum of about \$245,000, the Government only asked for a rate of \$235,000.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That does not touch my statement.

Hon Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It does touch your statement.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—These were the Estimates brought down by

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

the hon. gentleman in 1873, increased by expenditures made through Orders in Council; the whole being \$10,000 more than the Government now demanded; and this was a very important statement showing, very clearly on which side economy was exhibited.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It does not touch my statement, that you are asking the Committee to vote \$39,000 more than the expenditure of 1873-4, the largest that ever was made.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The estimates respectively asked for, and not the ordinary expenditure, were in question. With respect to the matter generally, every hon. gentleman must know that if 15 or 16 per cent. were added to the taxes on the main articles of excise, it would become undoubtedly necessary to exercise special diligence in collecting this revenue. It was quite clear that the temptation to smuggle spirits at 75 cents per gallon was considerably larger than if the duty was only 63 cents per gallon, and anxious as they were to save money in every possible way, it would be a most disastrous saving to the public if they in anywise impaired the efficiency of the excise, from which they collected a revenue of nearly six millions of dollars per annum.

The large amount received during the year 1873-4 was, as the hon. gentleman knew, and as had been conclusively shown at the time, to a very large extent anticipated by the action of the various distillers in stripping their storehouses, or bonded warehouses, of every gallon then manufactured; and if the hon. gentleman turned to the report of Mr. Brunel for that year he would perceive that no less than \$600,000 or \$700,000 at all events, a very considerable sum had been anticipated.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—We admit that.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—This being the case, he now stated, as he had already represented, that the revenue for the present year far exceeded any revenue yet received. They could not as yet, having three months still to run, speak with absolute certainty on this point, but judging from so much as had been received, he expected

that the revenue would decidedly exceed, very largely exceed, the revenue of last year, and certainly that of the year 1873-4.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Then I am afraid that I gave my hon. friend too much credit in discounting to such an extent as we did, the receipts of 1873 and 1874.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT — No ; you did not.

Mr. BOWELL—The Finance Minister has stated that the estimates of 1873-4 amounted to \$218,000.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT — Precisely.

Mr. BOWELL—The estimates I hold in my hand, for that year amount to \$298,300, making a difference of only \$10,000.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—What estimates has the hon. gentleman got ?

Mr. BOWELL—I had the estimates of 1874-5, which contain the amount asked and voted for 1873-4.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said with reference to the salary of this official at Moncton—\$600 a year—there were a great many officers in the service at that salary, and some at a great deal less. At St. John there were only two officers in the Excise Office, and they had sufficient work to keep them employed.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked if it was true, as rumored, that the Collector of Excise at Kingston was superannuated, and if so had the appointment of his successor yet been made ?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he believed that officer had not yet been superannuated.

The item passed.

CULLING OF TIMBER.

On item \$81,500, salaries, culler's fees and contingent expenses,

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) said the expenses of culling timber were defrayed by the timber trade. The fees collected were divided between the cullers and the office expenses. The trade had no objection to the amount of fees paid to the cullers, as they did not think these were too highly remunerated, but he thought a

large reduction might be made in the number employed in the Quebec office, as the office expenses were very much larger than were required. The revenue derived from the cullers' office at Quebec for 1872-3 and 1874 was \$82,341, while the expenditure was only \$31,190, leaving \$41,150 of a revenue in excess of expenditure. It was an anomaly that one industry—under a free-trade Government—should pay a special tax of \$10,000 a year, or about 15 per cent. over the amount required to defray the expenses of the office. He would ask the Government to exercise the power conferred on them by the Act of last Session, and lower the fees so that the amount would not be in excess of the requirements of the office.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the actual receipts last year were very little in excess of the expenditures of the office. However, the Minister of Inland Revenue had under his consideration several important reforms in that direction, which would have to remain in abeyance until the hon. gentleman recovered sufficiently from his illness to attend to the duties of his office. When he returned he would endeavour to comply as far as he could with the wishes expressed on both sides of this House, and reduce the expenses of this service to the lowest possible point.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) suggested that the cullers' office should be thrown open, the rotation system abolished, and the cullers allowed free-trade in their business.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said he understood before he became a member of the Government that there was a rule passed by which the fees were to be decreased. He did not know whether it had been done. As the number of cullers decreased by death or superannuation, the vacancies were not to be filled.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said cullers were not well paid, especially measurers of square timber. The highest made about \$978, and the average was about \$400 to \$500 a year, which was insufficient for a man to live on. It would be wise to put the cullers in a better position and the lumber interest would not suffer by it.

Mr. WHITE said the time occupied by the cullers in the performance of their services was very small—from 10 to 12 days in the season—and many of them were employed in other ways than culling. What he wanted to point out was that the expenditure for the maintenance of the office and the payment of the supervision was larger than was required, and that during the last two years \$23,000 had been taken from the lumber trade in this way to go into the consolidated revenue of the country.

Mr. COOK said he hoped the Government would carry out the recommendation of the Committee of this House made two years ago, and it would be a great advantage to the lumber trade of the Dominion.

Mr. ROCHESTER objected to the cullers' office being thrown open to competition. He believed that as long as the present deputy head of the Excise Department occupied his present position no office under that Department would be satisfactorily managed. He thought the Ministry in framing any measure respecting the cullers' office should take a certain number of practical lumbermen into their confidence, it would be better for all parties concerned.

POST OFFICE.

On item, \$1,732,500 for Post Office,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked for explanation of the increase of \$345,230 over the estimates for 1874.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he could only repeat the explanation given last year, that it was due to the addition of Prince Edward Island to the Dominion, increased postal facilities and an increase of railway mileage by some 1,600 miles. Moreover, a great many of the contracts made in former years at cheap rates for mail service had expired, and the Post Office Department had found it impossible to renew them without an increase. A large amount of the increase was from the better facilities given for postal delivery in the cities, &c.

In Quebec and Ontario, stage and ordinary land conveyance cost \$340,000; in New Brunswick, \$48,000;

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET.

in Nova Scotia, \$98,000, and in British Columbia, \$46,000. The cost in outlying Provinces had been necessarily increasing in a great ratio, and he was afraid if they had to be served at all, it was scarcely possible to hope for any reduction in the expenditure. Several alterations were made in the mode of keeping accounts. Formerly large sums were allowed to be received by postmasters without going into the books of the department at all; but that system had been modified, and might possibly be totally abolished in a short time. The demands for accommodation would increase as the country grows, and the Postmaster General was obliged constantly to refuse applications from all parts of the Dominion for extension and improvement of mail services.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said in 1872-3 the entire cost was \$858,000, whereas in 1873-4 it was \$1,331,000, or an increase of \$500,000 in these two years. It was quite impossible to prevent post office expenditure. The service was paid by commission, except in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The charges are all for carrying mails, and as these were competed for, there was no possibility of avoiding the increase.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) called the attention of the hon. gentleman to the fact that the contracts were not always given out by competition. One in the county of Renfrew had not been competed for.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said it was true that while the country grows the expenses will increase; but at the same time the revenue ought to increase.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not if you reduce the postage.

Mr. WHITE said in the year 1873 the loss on the Post Office was \$234,000, and in 1875 it was \$365,000. This was what wanted explanation.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the falling off in the revenue and the increased facilities granted the public explained this.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought the Hon. Minister of Public Works had drawn a very erroneous deduction from

the figures he quoted. The fact that the expenditure had largely increased between the dates mentioned appeared to establish that such thorough provision was made for the service as to render it unnecessary for the expenditure to be still further increased. He always understood that one of the strongest arguments in favour of compulsory prepayment of postage was that it was going to diminish the work done at the post offices very materially, and that consequently the expenditure would be reduced. But that measure was followed by an increase of no less than \$345,000 in 1873-4, a fact which deserved very careful consideration. The Hon. Finance Minister stated the increase of railway mileage had contributed in this same direction. In his opinion mails ought to be carried much cheaper by railways than by horses and carriages. If it was dearer it was an argument against utilising the railways at all for this purpose.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the railways in many instances complained that they actually lost money through being compelled to put on a clerk. On the road from St. John to Bangor the Government supplied a carriage to the boundary and paid from 7 to 8 cents a mile for the service. On the other side, however, the United States were paying 12 cents, and the company were complaining that they were carrying the Canadian mails at a loss. The hon. gentleman mentioned similar facts to show that cheapness was not effected by using railways, but the public derived an immense benefit from the rapidity of communication.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER thought a disposition should be evinced to cut down where over-charges were made. All the elements which entered into this service had been reduced, and the price for carrying mails ought to be correspondingly reduced. But the real difficulty, it appeared, was the great pressure brought to bear on the Postmaster-General for accommodation. In his own county a striking illustration of this had taken place. When the railway was established from Truro to New Brunswick, it involved a change in the service, and provision was made by allowing the contractor to have the side service, from Grenville station to

Wallace, at the same rate as under his own contract. This party, a strong supporter of his own, pressed the Government to have this service changed from the Wentworth station, near his own residence, to Wallace. The request was refused on the ground of inconvenience, but a general election came, and he immediately made application to the new Government. He was then informed that the service could not be taken away and given to him without competition, and he brought sufficient pressure to bear to have the contract put up for competition.

He tendered below the other party, and secured the contract for himself. Having secured the contract, he asked for a change of location, which was refused by the present Postmaster General's predecessor. The gentleman who at the present time occupied the office, however, was more susceptible of pressure, and finding that the possessor of the office was able to render valuable political aid, he made the required change in the service. This contract was given without any tender being made, and the people were making an outcry against being deprived of the mail communication they required. Whilst the people were suffering from the change, the Treasury was being depleted by money being paid out to remunerate an enthusiastic politician for changing his politics. He would give another instance in which the Government had been susceptible of pressure when they could secure political support. In his own Province he found that the cost of the printing done in Halifax under the administration of the late Government was \$5,550.99 in 1872; for money order office, \$1,199.28. The total expenditure, in 1873 including the money order office, was \$7,486.90, and in 1874 it was \$8,428. Under the present economical Administration the sum expended in 1875 was \$11,326.63. This money was paid to a paper in which a prominent member of the Administration was supposed to be interested. The increased expenditure in this respect during the first year of the present Administration was \$3,839. He was prepared to support any appropriation for

the postal service that would be in the interest of the country, but when they found the expenditure on this service was enormously increased by transactions such as these, he felt it his duty to draw the attention of the House to the manner in which the money of the people was being expended.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said he was very glad the hon. member for Cumberland had brought this subject before the House, because it had formed the subject of comment elsewhere. A great many of the hon. gentleman's statements were of an exaggerated character. When the late Postmaster General went into office he deemed it his duty in carrying out the policy of the Department to convert what they called in Nova Scotia way-offices, into post offices. But there were a great many places where the people keeping these way-houses were not willing to keep post offices and correspond directly with the Department at Ottawa. When the first notification of the change was made the Postmaster-General was remonstrated with, and an understanding was come to that the existing way-offices should not be interfered with and that he might act as he thought best in regard to the establishment of new offices. Owing to the inspector in Nova Scotia misinterpreting his orders he had \$5,000 or \$6,000 worth of printing done which was not required. Now the printing last year cost \$10,194, and taking away \$5,000 for extraordinary expenditure, the amount expended by the present Government was with an additional number of way and post offices, only a few hundred dollars in excess of that expended by the late government in 1872-3.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said there was no doubt that in consequence of the increased postal convenience to the public there had been a larger expenditure. The Prince Edward Island item made up \$50,000, and the addition to postal conveniences, authorized last year, some fifty or sixty thousand dollars more. There was no doubt these improvements had been well received by the public.

The present was an experimental year, however, and more experience would be necessary before the Govern-

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ment could decide as to whether the tendency to increased expenses should be encouraged or checked. With reference to the mail service in Cumberland, he had not been in that county, but he had acted on the recommendation of gentlemen who knew what was most needed in the public interest, and thus saved some \$400 a year. With regard to the other difficulty referred to by the hon. member for Cumberland it was undoubtedly embarrassing, but it was a legacy left the present Government by their predecessors. It cost fifty per cent. more to do the work in Halifax than in Ottawa, but by new arrangements, hereafter the printing will be done here under contract. As to the cost of carrying the mails, the railway companies were complaining the present rates, which were established in 1864, were not high enough. It was very easy to say, explain this increase of \$100,000, but everybody knew the expenses under the improved system would be greater. The public had the matter in their own hands. They paid their money and took their choice. The increase in the cost of the land service was due to the fact that the railways had diverted the current of travel from the old stage routes, and consequently the owners of the stages had to charge more for carrying the mails. In conclusion, he would say that no pressure was brought to bear on him by his friends. They came to him saying they would be glad to have post offices in certain localities, but did not press him in these hard times. How different must have been the experience of the late Government!

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said the announcement that all the printing would be done in future by contract would hardly please the hon. member for Cumberland. When the Government of Nova Scotia decided to adopt that system, the only opposition to it came from the newspaper representing the views of that hon. gentleman, and in which he had an interest.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had never in his life been interested to the extent of one dollar in any newspaper in Nova Scotia.

Mr. JONES—Not in the *Colonist*?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Neither in the *Colonist* nor any other newspaper. He was not surprised that the Postmaster General had decided to have all the printing done by contract when it had increased in one year from \$7,486 to \$11,326. The House would be surprised at the failure of the hon. gentleman to explain why he gave out contracts to his political friends and supporters without tender. By that illegal act a whole section of Cumberland County had been placed in a most disagreeable position, and the change was exceedingly inconvenient to the public.

Hon. Mr. VAIL stated that on the opening of the railway in 1872 or 1873, a mail route was opened between Grenville and Wallace, on the lake shore, a distance of about eighteen miles. Before proceeding further he would refer to the clause of the Act, which would prove that what the hon. member for Cumberland said regarding the giving of mail contracts was quite correct. It stated that before acceding such a contract, involving a cost of over \$200, at least eight weeks previous notice should be given by advertisement, but what had the hon. member done? When he represented that county, and was a member of the Government, he gave the contract to a man without putting it up to tender for the sum of \$800. Was the hon. gentleman prepared to deny this? Subsequently a petition was signed, requesting a change to be made in the route to Wentworth, which was about nine miles beyond Grenville; it was refused, and he believed that application was then made to the Post Office Department to have the service put out to tender. The party who made this request, moreover, offered to carry the mail over this route for some two or three hundred dollars. This was also refused. After this Government came into power, the same person called the attention of the Postmaster General to the fact that some \$800 were being paid for the conveyance of the mail over these eighteen miles, when it could be done for one-half of this amount. The Postmaster General referred it for enquiry to the Inspector at Halifax, who recommended that the service be put up for contract. This was done, and the result was that it

was taken for \$250. Was the hon. gentleman prepared to deny this? The hon. gentleman had only one ground for complaint in this connection. Last year a change had been made from Grenville to the other station on this route, (Wentworth), which was made the point of departure instead of Grenville. This necessitated an increased expenditure of some \$70; and if he was correctly informed the service now cost \$287 instead of \$800. He considered that if the hon. member had waited until these papers were placed on the table, he would have been the last man in the House to make complaint.

He would show to the House that the printing account had increased rapidly from year to year under the hon. gentleman's Administration. To one paper had been paid in 1868, \$2,522; in 1869, \$3,114; in 1870, \$3,207; in 1871, \$3,324; in 1872, \$4,325, and in 1873, \$6,569.87. The next was a broken year, and he was unable to give the figures.

He would allude to another matter:—The railway station at Halifax was about 200 yards from the post office, and for performing the mail service between these points his hon. friend had given \$200 a year. This contractor sublet it for \$80; but he made so much that he had broken off this arrangement and now carried it himself for the \$20.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER replied that the hon. gentleman had made no statement with reference to the former mail contract, as to its being accorded without tender, which he had not given to the Committee. The Department having done away with the service performed by the contractor, it was changed to a service at the same rate per mile, under a rule which had invariably been followed in Nova Scotia, when a contract was interfered with, through the opening of a line of railway; and this was the arrangement which had been effected. What he complained of was this—not that this service was put up to competition and taken at \$250, but because it had been obtained by a person who, relying on his influence with the Government, had never performed the service at all.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—It is done, and done satisfactorily.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—This person, immediately on receiving it, appealed to the late Postmaster General to get an entirely different route and different service, but he appealed to him in vain. An entire change had, however, been made in this relation, the public incommoded, and the service given to this party without tender and without contract.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON understood the hon. gentleman to be in some difficulty on account of a corrupt and illegal act. The hon. gentleman had said that the contract was given to a person without advertisement, and he (Mr. Tupper) now admitted that the contract had been advertised.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER explained that what he complained of was this:—that during an election a corrupt arrangement had been effected, by which a person had been allowed to forward his own interests to the detriment of an entire community. The Government had not only carried out this arrangement, but they had also subsequently transferred to this person a contract for an entirely different route, without any tender whatever. This had the effect of alienating a strong political partisan of his own, and making of him a strong political opponent, hence he had reason to charge that this was a corrupt transaction. As far as the post-office printing at Halifax was concerned, the hon. gentleman had not mentioned that the first year the present Administration had the opportunity of handing it over to the *Citizen Publishing Company* the account went up to \$10,000; but he was glad to find that the Postmaster General had discontinued this contract on discovering that these parties could not be trusted with the performance of the work.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON stated that it now appeared, after all, that the Postmaster General had advertised the matter, and that this corrupt act which had occasioned the hon. gentleman such distress had resolved itself to this, that the late Postmaster General for good and sufficient reason had taken the contract from a partisan of the hon.

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gentleman's, who was enjoying \$800 a year for doing this simple service which another partisan of the hon. gentleman's—who the hon. gentleman said had deserted his party—did for \$250; and for saving the difference the hon. gentleman now rose and made of it a grievance against the Government.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER stated that he had not made a charge of corruption against, but on the contrary had defended the late Postmaster General. When this person who had abandoned his political principles applied to the late Postmaster General for his pound of flesh it was refused; but when he made application to the hon. gentleman who now filled that office it was done. And this person was therefore performing postal service as a contractor to-day for the Government without tender.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—It was the late Postmaster General who rescinded the contract.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—Yes, it was; and it was the late Postmaster General who advertised it.

Mr. BOWELL said he had asked when the vote was taken on the Civil Service in this Department if any information could be given as to the expense which was incurred at present by having all unclaimed letters returned from the Dead Letter Office, as compared with having them advertised as under the old system, and the Finance Minister promised to give the information.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said while the actual payment of extra clerks would appear to be larger, yet the saving in other ways, which would appear in the Public Accounts, would be equal to it, and the one was about equal to the other.

Mr. BOWELL called attention to payments of \$10,000 last year to the *Citizen Publishing Company* of Halifax, for departmental printing, of which company the Hon. Minister of Militia and the member for Halifax were charged with being partners, and they had not denied it. At any rate they appeared to be so familiar with the business that the House

would accept their silence as an admission that the Minister had used his influence to put printing in the way of this company and pocketed his share of the profits. He found also the St. John *Freeman* had received \$9,000 for similar work, but as the name of the party who owned the paper was not put down, they could not say whether he was a member of this House or not. He wondered if the receipts for the money were signed "Freeman?"

In 1874 the same paper received \$8,126, and the Halifax *Citizen* \$10,247, so that it was quite evident the gentlemen on the Treasury Benches had adopted the policy—"to the victors belong the spoils," and they had not forgotten themselves. Had they given it to their friends outside it would only be what might be expected, but they had adopted another plan and only gave the spoils to the papers in which they were interested themselves. He called attention also to the fact that a post office in his constituency had become vacant and no appointment had been made. He supposed it was because there did not happen to be in that locality a single supporter of the Government. He supposed it required political influence to get an appointment made, as no attention had been paid to the recommendations which he had sent in.

Mr. HIGINBOTHAM said as proof that appointments were not made through political influence, he would state that he had made applications for three new offices in his county and had not been able to get one.

Mr. WHITE (North Renfrew) said, he had made application some time ago for a post office in a certain part of his constituency, which was refused, as the Government could not see the necessity for it; but after he had lost his seat and a Ministerial supporter was returned, the post office was established, and it was used as an argument against him (Mr. White) in his last election by his opponent why the electors should not give him their support.

Mr. KIRK said the question with respect to the printing done in Halifax and St. John was not who was

it done by, but was the sum paid too large for the work performed. He found that in Nova Scotia last year they had 144 post-offices and 733 way offices, and the Post Office Department concluded to convert these way offices into post offices. This change necessitated a large amount of printing for account books and necessary forms. He remembered a few years ago—in 1872, he believed—advertisements were published, calling for tenders for a mail contract; tenders were received, but before the day for opening them arrived, it was known that a certain firm who had tendered for \$400 more than others, had got the contract, and were entering into arrangements to perform the work.

Mr. ROBITAILLE said the hon. gentleman ought to bring down papers to substantiate this statement.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER hoped he would put a notice on the paper to move for the production of the papers; he would be surprised if the charge could be sustained.

Mr. SCATCHERD said the hon. member for North Hastings, who seemed a little exercised about the illegality of those newspapers having received money for Government printing, should look a little further, and he would find the *Mail* had received such work. It was possible, too, that the paper with which the hon. gentleman was connected might have inserted Government advertisements. A little broader view of the thing should be taken, and all classes included, and then some satisfactory conclusion might be reached.

Mr. BOWELL said the hon. gentleman ought to be capable of drawing a distinction between the ordinary advertisement sent to a newspaper without, in all probability, the proprietor's knowledge until it was published, and Ministers of the Crown and prominent members owning establishments and doing job work for the Government to the tune of \$11,000 and \$12,000.

Mr. SCATCHERD did not see the difference, and knew very well there was no difference. But perhaps the hon. gentleman, when he published such advertisements, took the ground that it was a small amount which would not be noticed, and therefore he was safe in taking it.

Mr. BOWELL said it was not a question of amount at all, and that there was an important difference in the two cases.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE was bound to admit that there was a difference between advertisements and job printing, because one advertisement paid a great deal better than the same amount of printing. He knew which his hon. friend would take if he had his choice.

Mr. BOWELL—But suppose a man got a large quantity of job work and had no job office, and had to farm it out?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Suppose the moon was green, cheese?

Mr. DESJARDINS urged that the postal service for the town forming the western suburb of Montreal, and containing from sixteen to eighteen thousand people, should be improved. Further, the municipality of Notre Dame de Grace, about three miles from Montreal, lacked a post office; its residents could obtain their letters at present only at Montreal, or at St. Henri, or at Cote des Neiges. Hoche-laga, a very important village, which was progressing very rapidly, was also exposed to serious inconveniences in this relation; the line which carried postal matter to it ran in such a manner that papers and letters leaving Montreal in the evening, reached their destination about three o'clock on the day following, about the same time that these were delivered in parishes at five, six, or seven leagues from the city. Coteau St. Denis, St. Jean Baptiste village, and other municipalities about Montreal had sent petitions praying for the improvement of their postal service, and he hoped that the Postmaster General would see that they were placed on a more satisfactory footing than at present. The village of Outremont and the Tanneries de Belair also required consideration in this regard.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—I have only to say in regard to what has fallen from the hon. member, that there is, no doubt, much force in what he has stated with reference to the necessity for increased postal communication; but how far the censures which the hon. gentle-

man's friends are disposed to pass on the Department over which I have the honour to preside, will interfere with my opportunities to fulfil their wishes, I am not at this moment able to say.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL stated that he had listened with patience to the duel which had taken place with reference to post offices; he had, however, as much cause for complaining as any other hon. member who had been compelled to give to it his attention. He could bear testimony to the general efficiency of the Department; he had made only one application to it so far as he recollected, during the past twelve months, and this had been for the establishment of a way office in a settlement in his county of some twenty-five years standing, which contained some five and twenty settlers. It was situated twelve miles from any post office. Judging from the tone of the remarks of the Postmaster General, he did not think that there was much likelihood of securing any assurance that the matter would receive any ready attention, nevertheless he would submit with patience, and trust to the tender mercies of the Department. If despite all the present depression in trade, the hardness of the times, and the falling off which was likely to occur in the receipts during the year, he could obtain the appropriation of \$80 or a \$100—he was very moderate in his demands—to secure the object he had in view, he would return to the Department his most grateful thanks.

Mr. KIRK, with reference to a statement he had made, informed the House that in 1873 a tender had been accepted to carry the mail between Shubenacadie and Melrose, a distance of 88 miles; the party who received it was prepared to perform the service on the day when the tenders were to be opened, without waiting for this to be done. The price was \$1,625; and another tender, which he knew had been sent in, was drawn for \$1,400.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER again recommended his hon. friend to move for the papers, as a very grave charge was made against the Post Office Depart-

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ment. He had no hesitation in saying that this statement ought to be substantiated, if it were possible; but it was entirely contrary to the whole course of procedure with relation to these matters, and he was quite certain that the hon. gentlemen laboured under some very serious misapprehension. If the hon. gentleman would move for the papers, the correspondence with the Post Office Department would show that the late Postmaster General had not been so recreant to his duty as the hon. gentleman seemed to think.

Mr. KIRK—I know it to be the fact.

Mr. PLUMB drew attention to the receipts and expenditures of the Department for 1873, 1874 and 1875, showing that the ratio of revenue had not kept pace with that of expenditure, based upon the following figures taken from the public accounts for those years. In 1873 the entire receipts were \$1,308,154, and the entire expenditure \$1,553,000, the deficiency being \$245,450; in 1874 the receipts amounted to \$1,407,068, and the expenditure to \$1,695,480, the deficiency being \$288,312, and in 1875 the receipts were \$1,473,436, and the expenditure reached \$1,873,24, showing a deficiency of \$397,877, only an increase of \$72,000 in the receipts and of \$200,000 in the cost of collection.

The item was carried.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

On the item No. 190, appropriating \$72,000 for salaries and expenses of 72 Inspectors of Weights and Measures.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said he was of opinion that these inspectors should be paid by fees. If this were done he was satisfied that a better inspection would be made.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that the Statute passed three years ago provided the inspectors shall be paid by salary.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) asked whether the Government intended to make any change in the present law.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT thought it was better to give the law a fair trial, and he did not consider it would be right to propose alterations before

they had had experience of the working of the Bill. He also said that as far as possible they would employ inland revenue officers.

The item was carried.

The item \$3,000 for inspection of staples passed without discussion.

MISCELLANEOUS ESTIMATES.

On the item \$10,000 to meet expenses under the Adulteration of Food Act,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked what steps had been taken to carry out that Act?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the Government were now appointing analysts in some of the leading cities.

The item was passed.

On the item \$18,475 for collection of slide and boom dues,

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) called attention to the inadequacy of salaries paid to the slide masters of the Ottawa, who were most faithful and efficient officers. The slide master at the Rocher Capitaine, who had no duties to discharge, actually received the largest salary of all.

After some further discussion the item was passed.

On the item \$200,000 for Prince Edward Island Railway,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained this sum was required for working expenses. The revenue, it was thought, would amount to about three-fourths of that.

The item was passed.

On the item \$32,200 for telegraph lines in British Columbia,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked for explanations.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said \$26,700 was required to pay the staff in the telegraph offices of British Columbia; the sum of \$1,500 was required for repairs, and \$4,000 for subsidy to the Western Union Company.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—What revenue is expected for this large expenditure?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The net receipts last year were \$9,849.18.

The item was passed.

On the item \$1,946.66 for telegraph line between Prince Edward Island and

the mainland. In reply to Hon. Mr. Tupper,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said an arrangement had been made with the Telegraph Company who held a monopoly on the Island. He had no doubt himself but the Government might run a line along their railway, but they preferred making an arrangement with them by which for a certain amount they had the use of their lines without erecting a telegraph line. The Company had the use of some of the Government offices to do the ordinary work of the neighbourhood. All the Government messages connected with the working of the railway had to be transmitted by this line to Moncton to the head office and thence to Ottawa.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said it was necessary that all such contracts should be laid on the table of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had a different opinion; he did not pretend to lay every contract upon the table.

The item was carried.

Items \$4,000, agents and contingencies, British Columbia; \$60,000, surveys of land, North-West (including commissions and staff), and \$10,000 for minor revenues, passed without debate.

The Committee then rose and reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

SATURDAY SITTINGS.

In reply to a question as to whether the House would sit on Saturday, it being a Roman Catholic *Fête d'Obligation*.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said in a matter of this kind the Government were entirely in the hand of the House, but where there was even one member whose conscience would feel offended at sitting on that day they should not compel him to attend. At all events it was tolerably evident that there was quite a number who, although not opposed to sitting in an emergency, would prefer not to sit to-morrow, and he thought the Government would be consulting the interests of the whole in not asking them to sit to-morrow.

INFORMAL QUESTIONS.

Hon. Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked if the Government intended to bring

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down any reports of the engineers of the Pacific Railway this year.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied these were in the Public Works Report, which was laid on the table a month ago.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired if there was any information with reference to the Vancouver Island road?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the matter had not come before him yet, and indeed had no connection with the subject at all. It was not a part of the Pacific Railway, and would be a separate question entirely from the discussion which would arise on the estimates. The matters which would come up on the estimates in connection with the construction of the road, building of telegraph lines, and purchasing of rails and everything of that sort it is usual to discuss; but the mere question of policy involved in the correspondence with the British Columbia Government was an entirely separate thing and could be better discussed by itself.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) asked whether any information would be given with respect to the result of the surveys that had been lately completed on the line of the Georgian Bay branch before that item was discussed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Oh, certainly?

Mr. BLANCHET—And about the cancellation of the contract?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—These papers have been brought down, and were printed in the newspapers.

In answer to a further question by Mr. Wright of Pontiac, Mr. Mackenzie said the Government would give all the information they possibly could. But they had no report from the Chief Engineer relative to the Georgian Bay branch, because he had not undertaken the survey at all.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) said the Hon. Minister of Public Works promised some time ago to announce what steps would be taken with reference to the construction of the Georgian Bay branch, and he asked if that information would be given when the item came up?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Are we to vote the item blindly?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—If the hon. gentleman chooses to vote blindly I should be very happy.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Is that what the Hon. First Minister asks us to do?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am not asking hon. gentlemen to do anything. We are going to discuss the matter fully and give every information in our power.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said if the Hon. First Minister did not choose to give the information the country demanded, it would be proper for the House not to vote the item.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—If my hon. friend does not vote, he will be wanting in his usual astuteness.

The subject then dropped, and the House adjourned at Thirty-five minutes past Twelve o'clock, a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 27, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. ROBINSON (Toronto) introduced a Bill to amend the Criminal Law of Canada, so as to admit of the utilization of the labour of convicts beyond the walls or limits of jails in the Dominion.

PRIVATE AND LOCAL BILLS.

Bill to incorporate the "National Exchange Company," passed through Committee of the Whole.

The following Bills were agreed to in Committee, read the third time and passed:—

To incorporate "The Scottish Canadian Loan Co."

To incorporate "The Trust Company of Canada."

To amend the Act incorporating the *Mail* Printing and Publishing Co.

To amend the Act incorporating the Canadian Gas Lighting Co.

To enable the Welland Vale Manufacturing Co. to obtain an extension of

a patent known as the "Rodden's Improved Capped Ferule and Sockets."

Bill to further amend the Act to incorporate the "London and Canada Bank," and to amend to amend the Act amending the same.

DORCHESTER ELECTION.

Mr. ROULEAU asked what are the reasons why the writ of Election for Dorchester was not issued until several months after the judgment annulling the election which took place in 1874?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am not able to state what the reasons were. The then Attorney General being absent from the city at present, I have not had an opportunity of making an enquiry.

The question was allowed to stand.

HARBOUR IMPROVEMENTS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

Mr. CHURCH asked whether it is the intention of the Government to send an engineer to Petite Rivière, Lunenburg County, N.S., to make a survey and report if the erection of a breakwater is necessary?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—An engineer of the Department, I presume, will be in that neighbourhood during the course of the summer, and will make some investigation as to the necessities of the case.

Mr. CHURCH asked whether it is the intention of the Government to make arrangements so that the Dredge *Canada* shall return to the Harbour of Lunenburg, N.S., during the present year to complete the work commenced there last autumn?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I expect to be able to send the dredge there in the course of the summer. I am not able to say at what precise time.

Mr. CHURCH asked whether the Dredge *Cape Breton* will be sent to Mahone Bay, N.S., to deepen the channel of that harbour after her present engagements are completed; and if so, when?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is impossible to say when her present engagements will be completed. I am afraid her time is promised for the whole season. I am not able, there-

fore, to give a definite answer to the question. We will do the best we can and put the dredge in the most necessitous places.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked how many steam tug boats did the Government contract for in St. John, N.B., last year? Who were the contracting parties? Are they yet built, and will they be ready for use this coming summer?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — There were no steam tugs contracted for; there were no contracting parties; they are not yet built, and they won't be ready this summer.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

Mr. GORDON, with reference to his motion concerning the observance of the Lord's Day, stated that it was a subject in which he believed a widespread interest was taken, apart from anything of a political nature, in every section of the Christian community, and by all well-wishers of our great country. He would endeavour to do all that lay within his power to place this matter fairly before the House, and in order to deal with it intelligently, he proposed to divide the subject into several branches. Previously, however, he proposed to lay before the House his reason for taking up this question. In the year 1874, a most glaring act of Sabbath desecration had occurred within the bounds of the Dominion, to which his attention had been drawn, causing him great pain—he alluded to the Boundary Survey. He discovered that some 259 men had been employed for the space of five months on this work, settling the boundary line between the United States and Canada, the Sabbaths, however, not being observed. He thought that this gave cause for deep feelings of shame to every one who wished well to his country; this was the case with himself, and accordingly he was exceedingly glad to learn that this work was not under the surveillance or control of the Administration, the survey being made jointly by the British and American Governments, which alone were responsible for it.

He desired to deal with this question with respect to the post offices, canals, and railways of the Dominion. The

House would bear in mind that no serious attempt had been made at legislation in this relation since Confederation; previously a variety of Acts were passed, and some of them were partially successful in preventing the employment of persons on the Sabbath on public works.

Such legislation began as early as 1844; and with successful results in 1853, when the Hon. George Brown obtained a Committee, with power to send for persons and papers. A vast amount of useful information was collected on this occasion, and an exceedingly valuable report, which did equal credit to the hon. gentleman's head and heart, was presented. Later in the year, 1857, the same gentleman brought the matter before the House, in the shape of a Bill so drawn as to forbid any labour being done on the Sabbath, in the post offices and on the canals of the two Provinces of Quebec and Upper Canada; but after a very keen debate it was lost by the casting vote of the Speaker, who supported the amendment.

No legislation restricting labour in the post offices was enacted until 1860, when a departmental order was passed permitting postmasters in Ontario, then the Province of Upper Canada, to close their offices on the Government days; no mention was made at the time of Quebec, and matters continued in this state in this connection until 1868, the year after Confederation took place, when the Postmaster-General, the Hon. Sydney Smith, promulgated a departmental order, which, besides confirming the right of Ontario postmasters to keep their offices closed, enjoined postmasters in Quebec to keep their offices open for one hour on this day. The order issued in 1860 ran as follows:—"Referring to Article 9 of "the regulations of this Department, "postmasters in Canada West are informed that they are relieved from "the obligation of their office for the "delivery of letters, &c., on Sundays;" and the order sent out in 1868 read after this manner:—"Postmasters in "Canada, except in the Province of "Quebec, are at liberty to close their "offices to the public on Sundays; and "in the Province of Quebec postmasters should keep their offices open

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“for at least one hour either before or after divine service, as may be most convenient to the public generally.”

With regard to the other Provinces, he would very briefly glance at the state of the law in order to place the question fully before the House. In New Brunswick no work whatever was done in post offices on the Sabbath, and in Nova Scotia they were closed by law on this day; in Prince Edward's Island, the office in Charlottetown alone, was allowed to be open for one hour; and in Manitoba this was the rule solely with regard to the office in Winnipeg. In British Columbia, all these offices were closed on the Sabbath. In the Province of Quebec, there were 980 post offices; and in the course of his evidence given before the Committee in 1853, the Postmaster General, the Hon. Mr. Morris, estimated that two persons on the average were employed in each office, giving a total for Quebec of 1,960 who were engaged in work on that day.

He had mentioned that these offices could be closed in Ontario on the Sabbath; but this statement required some qualification, as those situated on the line of the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways were required to be open while mail trains were passing, mails being made up and delivered. He had no means of making a correct calculation as to the number of persons thus employed; but his estimate was that there were some two hundred offices on these lines, requiring the services of some four hundred employees, besides at least an equal number in the conveyance of the mails, and the men engaged in driving omnibuses to and from the trains, occasioning a very considerable amount of Sabbath desecration, which in his opinion was very much to be lamented. So far as he could secure credible information, the number so employed in Quebec and Ontario could not be placed at a less figure than three thousand, a matter which merited very serious consideration. This anomaly was also to be observed—while some offices were permitted to be closed others were enjoined to be kept open; while some had no work to do, others

were enjoined to do work on this day, on pain of losing their positions if they refused to comply. This disclosed a lamentable state of affairs, and he saw no just reason why, when post offices were closed in the Maritime Provinces, in Manitoba, British Columbia and in the greatest portion of Ontario, the iron arm of the law should require the offices in Quebec and along the great lines of railway to be kept open, and he deemed it extremely desirable that a uniform Act should be passed applying to the entire Dominion in this relation, making the strict observance of the Sabbath obligatory.

He wished to notice another point in this connection. Even where the offices were closed, with the exception of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island, the law was permissive, and any postmaster could open his office if he chose in defiance of public sentiment; and he desired it to be so amended as to make closing on the Sabbath obligatory.

He now came to the question of the canals; and as in the case of the post offices, he found that in this relation there existed a wide divergence of practice throughout the Dominion.

He found that the Lachine and Welland Canals, upon which there was a larger traffic than on any other canals in the Dominion, were entirely closed on the Sabbath. The Beauharnois Canal, St. Anne's Lock, St. Ours Lock and Williamsburg Canals are open without restriction. When the largest canals are closed on the Sabbath, there was no just reason why work should be permitted on the others. The experience of the men living in the vicinity went to show that this service led to great desecration of the Lord's Day. Among the witnesses examined at Mr. Brown's Committee in 1852 was the Rev. Mr. Cannon, a Roman Catholic priest, who resided in the vicinity of the Cornwall Canal. When he was examined by the Committee, 5th October, 1852, to the following questions put by the Committee he gave the following answers:—

“Do you consider the effect of the traffic injurious? Yes; the men on the canal feel it to be a great hardship to be obliged to work on Sunday. What is its effect on the population? It causes a great deal of dissi-

pation; young peop'e and others are led away to the canal to see the boats passing, and it is incongruous to hear the church bell and that of the steamboat ringing together on Sundays." * * * "What is the feeling in your neighbourhood with regard to this Sunday traffic? The people all ask why those employed by Government are required to work on the Sunday, while there is a law fining all persons who are found doing so. It is looked upon as a great nuisance, being productive of fighting, drinking, card-playing and various other sources of annoyance. The closing of the canals would be a most popular measure."

The Rev. Hugh Campbell, residing in the same neighbourhood, expressed himself in similar terms on the subject, and pointed out the great satisfaction with which the men engaged on the canals would receive a law prohibiting Sunday traffic. With regard to the change expected on the morals of the traders passing through the Welland Canal before and after closing on Sabbath, the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Bone is as follows:—

"I have taken particular pains to make enquiries from men engaged in various departments of our lake trade, as to their views on the Sabbath question—from the workmen who feel it to be a privilege to be on the Welland Canal on the Lord's Day, as it affords them rest of body, time to read or go to a place of worship; from captains who have tried both working and not working on the Lord's Day and their uniform testimony is, that the Sabbath labour does not forward them ultimately—*i. e.*, were they to continue passing through the canal on the Lord's Day as on other days, they would not make any more trips through the season, besides losing the temporal, moral and spiritual benefit flowing from Sabbath observance; from lock-tenders, who state that when the canal was open on Sabbath there was a great deal more intemperance, profanity and disturbance of the public peace; then, a female would scarcely be safe to walk alone on the foot-path on Sabbath; now, they may be seen walking along quietly to Church or Sabbath School, none making them afraid. Also, the moral character of the lock-tenders has very much improved since the canal was closed; yea, some are exemplary Christian men. One, for example, takes an active part in our Bethel services, and I believe would rather leave his situation than work on Sabbath. So that if our canals were opened on the Lord's Day it would at once open the floodgates of vice, demoralize all engaged in the business, besides annoying those who sacredly keep the Lord's Day, and open a new source of temptation to the young to desecrate the Sabbath."

The opinions of those gentlemen, continued the speaker, could not be too

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calmly considered, especially in view of the fact that six or seven petitions had been presented to the House praying for the re-opening of the canal, from American Boards of Trade and owners of Steamboat Companies. It had now been closed for a quarter of a century with the utmost good to the employes, and no harm to those engaged in the trade. Seeing that the system had worked so well in this instance, there was great encouragement for the Government passing a law applying to every canal in the country.

He now came to the last part of the subject, and one which was perhaps the most difficult to deal with; he referred to the railways. In the year 1873 this question was taken up by the church to which he had the honour to belong, and the following circular was sent out to the companies in Ontario, by authority of the General Assembly:—

"It is a very grievous hardship on Christian men to be deprived of the public means of grace, and compelled either to do violence to their consciences by labouring on the Sabbath, or resigning their situations, and a very large number of the employes on railways are anxious for and would hail as a precious boon the Sabbath rest; nor is it for the interest of either the company or the public that conscientious men should be driven from your service, and their places filled by men morally reckless.

"But, passing from considerations such as these, however important, we ask the serious attention of the Board to the large number of congregations in which the public worship of God is painfully disturbed by the noise and commotion of passing trains Sabbath after Sabbath, and that, too, in violation both of the law of God and the public law of the Dominion. And we very earnestly and respectfully submit to the members of the Board that they are personally responsible to God for what in their official capacity they command or permit. Moreover, the systematic carrying on of any form of labour on the Sabbath exerts a very deadening influence on the moral and religious sensibilities of the people at large under whose observation such labour is performed; and were the bad example of railway companies in this particular followed by the representatives of other industries, the effect would be the practical subversion and abandonment of Christianity throughout our land; for, without the preservation of the Sabbath, history proves religion cannot survive.

"Remember the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour and do all

thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, thy God: *in it thou shalt not do any work.*"

This was endorsed by nine churches as follows:—

"We do hereby, on behalf of the respective religious bodies which we represent, cordially endorse the sentiments of the said memorial, and earnestly desire to see its objects accomplished, regarding as we do the present system of Sabbath traffic as injurious to the best interests of our country and the cause of religion.

"TORONTO, Ont., Dec., 1872.

"(Signed), WM. MORLEY PUNSHON, LL.D.,

President of Conference.

" Wesleyan Methodist Church.

"WILLIAM STEWART, B. A.

Secretary and Superintendent of Missions,

" Baptist Missionary Convention of Canada.

"JAMES RICHARDSON, D.D.,

Bishop and General Superintendent of the

" Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada.

"WILLIAM BEE,

Secretary of Primitive Methodist Church in

" Canada.

"WILLIAM F. CLARKE,

Secretary of Congregational Union of

" British North America.

"S. B. GUNDEY,

Secretary of the Executive Committee,

" Methodist New Connexion Church.

"JAMES W. RICE,

Secretary of Conference,

" Bible Christian Church."

He found that this memorial represented the opinion of nine Protestant Christian bodies in the Province of Ontario. He might add that although this memorial was not endorsed by the Bishops connected with the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches, he found that letters sympathizing with the movement were distributed by Bishop Bethune of Toronto and the Bishop of Huron. The Manager of the Great Western Railway, Mr. Price, in reply to the circular addressed to that company said:—

"I am instructed to inform you in reply, that the Directors have given this subject their serious attention, and desire to curtail the running of trains on the Sabbath Day to the very smallest limit, but there are reasons which render it utterly impossible to stop entirely the train service on Sundays. Since the establishment of the Union Pacific Railroad, there have been two passenger trains running between the Pacific Ocean at the West, New York, Boston, and the Atlantic Ocean at the East; these trains, called the Pacific and Atlantic expresses, are the only passenger trains run by this Company on Sunday, and it would be as unreasonable for us to stop the through passengers on these

trains in Canada, as it would be to stop an Atlantic steamer in the middle of the Atlantic. During a part of the journey other lines have also to perform Sunday service. Lines on the American side by the Pennsylvania Central, and Lake Shore and Michigan Southern also perform this continuous service the same as the Great Western Railway and its connecting lines. With regard to the freight business there is this difficulty (which is, of course, very much magnified in the winter), that the connecting lines, East and West on all through lines, give contracts for what is called 'time freight,' to be delivered under a penalty as to time, between Chicago and New York, in so many days. Unless the Great Western Railway Company and its connections adopted the same rules and time as the competing lines in the States for through freight, we might as well close the railway altogether, as traders and merchants would not ship by this route.

"I would point out to you that, so far as the subject is within the power of the Directors of this Company, every exertion is used to curtail the operations of the line on Sabbath Day to the narrowest possible limits, and no trains are run for local service.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOSEPH PRICE,

" Secretary Canada Board."

The following was the reply from Mr. Brydges of the Grand Trunk.

"MANAGING DIRECTOR'S OFFICE, }
"MONTREAL, Feb. 1, 1873. }

"DEAR SIR,—I am duly in receipt of your letter of the 28th ult, which I will put before the Directors of this Company at their first meeting. We desire as much as possible to diminish Sunday work upon the railway, but I doubt whether it will be possible to do it entirely. Our intention and object, however, is to reduce it within the smallest possible compass, and this object we shall steadily keep in view.

"I am, yours truly,

"C. J. BRYDGES."

The following was the reply of Mr. Moberly, Manager of the Northern Railway:—

"MANAGING DIRECTOR'S OFFICE, }
"TORONTO, Feb. 3, 1873 }

"DEAR SIR,—I am duly in receipt of your letter of the 28th inst., enclosing circular relating to the running of trains on the Sabbath. I have to state that we decidedly object to run trains, or allow our men to work on the Sabbath, except in cases of unavoidable necessity. We do not make it a rule. I shall be glad to present your letter and circular to our next Board meeting.

"Yours truly,

"J. W. MOBERLY,

" Managing Director."

The following is the reply from the Managing Director of the Brockville and Ottawa Railway:—

"PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, }
"BROCKVILLE, Feb. 3, 1873. }

"DEAR SIR,—The circular sent me from your Association has been duly received.

"In reply, I have to inform you that there is no work done on this railway on Sunday, except in cases of absolute necessity.

"Your circular, therefore, does not apply to this road

"Yours truly,

"H. ABBOTT,
"Managing Director."

The Managing Director of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway replied as follows:—

"MANAGING DIRECTOR'S OFFICE, }
"OTTAWA, Feb. 11, 1873. }

"MY [DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 28th ult., covering copies of a memorial on the subject of Sabbath observance. It is my desire to limit work, in this company's service, on the Sabbath as much as possible."

The House would observe that the only serious objection which was made to do away with Sabbath work upon railways came from the Great Western Railway Company. The Managing Director of that railway was the only one who condescended to assign reasons why they had to run trains on Sunday, and a perfect examination of these reasons might be desirable. The House would observe that that gentleman said it would be as unreasonable to stop through passenger trains on Sunday as it would be to stop a vessel at sea. He thought this argument was absurd. A vessel at sea had no port to run into and it was bound to prosecute its voyage, while on board all passenger vessels Divine service was as much recognized by passengers on Sabbath Days as on shore. This could not be the case with regard to railways, and when a train left for a destination that it could not reach without trespassing on the Sabbath, he could not see why it could not be compelled to halt at some station where the passengers would be allowed to rest on the Lord's Day. Reasons were given that through trains on the Pacific Railway—the Atlantic and Pacific Expresses—should not be stopped on Sunday, but he thought that passengers from the

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Pacific Coast if they were overtaken on the Lord's Day should rest. He was sure the workmen would desire rest as well as the passengers. Another reason was with regard to time freight, that unless they carried it through continuously, traffic would be seriously impeded. This brings the question down to one of expediency in carrying on traffic on the Lord's Day, human expediency placed above divine law. He was sure that no one who held to the divine obligation of the Sabbath would feel that the reasons here put forward were powerful enough to justify any railway company in carrying out the course they had pursued. He had quoted the opinion of these Railway Companies. He found on the Northern Railway, where a very large amount of through traffic was done between Toronto and Collingwood, they were uniform in their rest. If the steamboat arrived at Collingwood on Saturday night or Sunday, the passengers were compelled to remain over until Monday. This was not the case with the Great Western R.R. The Divine law was entirely obligatory and above human expediency, or it was not. No individual was allowed by law to violate the sanctity of the Sabbath; then why should companies claim special privileges which individuals had not? He did not see why individuals should be permitted to combine together and set a cause at defiance which they could not individually do with impunity.

It being six o'clock the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. GORDON in resuming said that one of the most important points in regard to the Sunday railroad traffic was the keeping of the employes at work during the Sabbath day. A friend of his had written to him to the effect that he had approached some of the employes engaged on the Grand Trunk Railway on the subject, and although they earnestly desired a change which would allow them to rest on the Seventh Day, they declined to sign a petition to the House of Commons, stating that they would be immediately dismissed

if they did so. To whom were these helpless ones to look for aid? They could not look to the railroad company or endeavour to obtain redress without losing their situations. It was the duty of the State in regard to the post office employes, and those engaged on the canals and by grasping monopolies, to step in and see that they shall not be permitted to do such a thing; moreover he maintained and believed that statesmen and the Government were entirely responsible for exercising that oversight on behalf of those who were helpless and who could not otherwise receive protection under the law. He maintained likewise that the position taken by the Great Western Railway Company was not borne out by the statements of other railway companies. In the year 1872 a very powerful association banded itself together to look after the observance of the Sabbath, and were particularly charged with influencing the railway companies of the United States. They issued circulars asking the railroad companies of the United States to co-operate with them in endeavouring to stop as far as possible the traffic on railways within the bounds of the Union. The following was a part of the circular on the subject:

"The New York Sabbath Committee, in 1858, collected much valuable information in regard to Sunday trains and Sunday work on the railroads diverging from the city of New York.

"The officers addressed upon the subject, appreciating the design of the Committee, furnished with promptness and courtesy important statistics and statements in regard to their respective roads. The information then obtained was published in a pamphlet, and was received by the managers of railroads and the public generally with much interest.

"The Committee now desire to extend their investigations to the leading railroads throughout the country, and they take the liberty of respectfully soliciting information upon the points named on another page, which please return with your answer in regard to the road with which you are connected.

"The Committee feel less hesitation in asking for this information from those officially connected with the management of the roads; for they have almost invariably found on their part an earnest desire to reduce Sunday trains and abridge Sunday work.

"The general order of President Lincoln to the army and navy, during the late war, commanding that 'Sunday labour in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict

necessity,' fairly presents the general sentiment of the nation in regard to unnecessary labour on the Lord's Day.

"It is in the spirit of kindness, and with the desire to aid the managers of railroads in efforts to prevent unnecessary work on the Sabbath, and thereby to promote the welfare of the community, that the Committee ask for this information."

The following questions were appended to the circular:—

"1. What is the number of passenger-trains which pass over your road on Sundays?"

"2. What is the number of Sunday freight and cattle trains?"

"3. What number of men have to work a part or the whole of that day in consequence of Sunday trains?"

"4. What number of men work on Sunday, either in the machine-shops or repairing the road?"

"5. Are Sunday trains a source of profit to your company?"

"6. Any additional information and suggestions on this general subject which you may be kind enough to communicate will be gratefully received."

The circular was promptly answered by a hundred and twenty-four companies and it appeared that the condition of Sunday traffic was as follows:—

THE EXTENT OF SUNDAY TRAVEL AND SUNDAY WORK ON 124 RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES.

"Number of companies which run no Sunday passenger freight or cattle-trains...	65
"Number of companies which run Sunday passenger or freight and cattle-trains...	59
"Number of Sunday passenger-trains run by these 59 Companies.....	177
"Number of Sunday freight and cattle-trains run by the above Companies.....	42
"Number of men employed on Sundays..	1,106

This estimate of the number of men employed on Sundays is far below the actual fact, since many companies left this question unanswered, or stated that they could not answer it with any degree of accuracy.

To the question whether Sunday trains are a source of profit the following answers were returned:—

"The General Superintendent of the Morris and Essex Railroad (N. J.) writes: 'I can only suggest that Sunday work, as a rule, does not pay.'

"The Boston and Providence Railroad: 'Secular work on Sunday is profitable to nobody—corporations or individuals.'

"The Indianapolis, Peru, and Chicago Railroad: 'They would not be a source of profit on the road of this company.'

"The Northern Railroad, Boston: 'Do not think it profitable for the company nor good for the community or the employes to work or run trains on Sundays'

"The Nashville and Decatur Railroad: 'Regard them as unprofitable to the company and demoralizing to the employes.'

"The Rome, Watertown and Ogdensburg Railroad: 'Never can be to any road, for both men and machinery need a day of rest.'

"Col. Geo. A. Merrill, Supt. of Rutland, Burlington and Vermont Valley Railroad, writes: 'Many years' experience and observation more and more convince me, as a railroad man, that even in an economic view there is no more profitable rule for us to follow than 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.'

"J. P. Farley, Superintendent of Dubuque and Sioux City and Dubuque South-Western Railroad: 'From experience I know that labourers, mechanics, managers, &c., will do more work, and do it better, in six days than in seven. Further, if we habitually ask our men to break God's law by a desecration of the Sabbath, it will not be long before they will break his law in other respects by defrauding, &c.'

"S. Ruth, Superintendent of Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad: 'I have long been of the opinion that it is to the interest of the railroad and steamboat companies to suspend operations on the Sabbath, as it demoralizes the men and makes them reckless, and is the cause of many accidents. I believe railroad companies would be much more prosperous if Sunday running was entirely suspended, as I believe there is a Providence for good in the observance of the Sabbath. I suppose there are employed on the railroads in the United States, in whole or in part, on the Sabbath 30,000 men.'

"R. B. Dunn, President of Maine Central Railroad: 'I am pleased to learn that you are doing so much good, as I know you must be, while engaged in this noble work of abridging the labour of employes on the railroads on the Sabbath. Heaven bless you in this great work.'

"E. G. Barney, Superintendent of Selma, Rome and Dalton Railroad: 'In nearly thirty years' experience on Western and Southern railroads, I have never found it necessary to run Sunday trains except where connecting or competing lines rendered it so. I think men perform more work in six days, resting every seventh, than when they are worked every day. I also think men are more reliable and trustworthy on roads where the Sabbath is observed than where the day of rest is ignored.'

"F. McLeod, President of Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Railroad: 'I feel that an individual cannot violate the Sabbath with impunity, neither can a corporation; and nations alike are responsible for a wanton desecration of the Sabbath.'

"Hon. Abraham Murdock, President of Mobile and Ohio Railroad: 'There is no question relating to the management of railroads in which a greater interest is taken by me, and I am free to confess that I do not believe

the running of Sunday trains is profitable to the company, and that it is a positive violation of divine law none can doubt.'

"L. J. Fleming, the Superintendent and Chief Engineer of the same road, adds: 'My experience, extending through a third of a century, in the management of railroads, is that cessation of labour on Sunday produces a good moral effect upon the employes and laborers.'

"W. W. Card, Superintendent of Pittsburg, Cincinnati and St. Louis Railroad: 'In my opinion, Sunday trains and Sunday work of all kinds should be discouraged. It is demoralizing, and men engaged six days of the week need Sunday for rest.'

"E. B. Phillips, President of Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad: 'We are satisfied that (leaving all moral considerations out of the question) it is for the interest of the company to allow our employes the rest of the Sabbath.'

"J. Durand, General Superintendent of Little Miami, Columbus and Xenia Railroads: 'It is, in my judgment, gravely to be feared that the want of cessation from labour on the canals, railroads and steamboat lines of the country on the Sabbath has a tendency to degrade the tone of morals in the community; yet less censure can attach to those men who are compelled to labour for their daily bread than to owners and employers who require the service to be performed.'

"E. F. Drake, President of Minnesota Valley Railroad: 'As a general rule, men of good morals, and particularly men of any religious character, who would take employment which would require the habitual violation of the Sabbath, would prove unfaithful and unreliable servants. Those who may disregard the Sabbath as a divine institution will admit that in all business matters and employments the rest of the seventh day is needful for the mental, moral and physical necessities of man.'

"Frederick Watts, President of Cumberland Valley Railroad: 'Several years ago, under a contract with the Government to carry the mails, our company ran passenger-trains on Sunday. For the last ten years all work on our road and in our shops has been prohibited; and my experience is, that nothing more highly conduces to the health and working powers of the employes than their rest from labour on Sunday. And, in my judgment, there is a corresponding advantage to the Company itself.'

"W. Byth, Superintendent of Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire Railroad, Va.: 'We take pleasure in answering that this company has never run a Sunday train. Our people have no desire for them, nor can we see any advantage in or any necessity for running them. There is not one in ten thousand of those who would travel on the Lord's Day who could not as well arrange to go on Saturday or Monday.'

"Robert Harris, General Superintendent of Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad: 'Apart from the religious view of avoiding work on Sunday, we are convinced that a re-

rief from the necessity of working and watching lengthens our lives and makes them more useful and valuable, and that it is no hardship upon any one to force them to tarry on their journey that day.' "

Such was the opinion of a large number of men who had great experience in railroad work. He hoped it was of such a nature as would go far to counterbalance the view expressed by those who were directly interested, simply because they made money by it, in violating the Sabbath and disturbing the peace of the community. Apart from the moral aspect of the question he maintained the right of the people to demand that the Sabbath should be observed on the leading railways of the country. In the first place, the men employed on such lines were entitled to a day of rest. It was a God-given right which no company should have the power to take away from them. It was to the interest of those corporations that they should have a faithful class of servants. How could they expect, when they asked their employés to violate the fourth commandment, they would long observe the eighth? He also maintained that the security of property throughout which railroads pass, demanded that trains should not run on the Sabbath Day. If any company was permitted to set at naught the law, he asked on what grounds can they justly complain if they themselves suffered from violations of the law? Railroad property would be worthless if we had not a law abiding population. Again he asked how many accidents take place because of the weariness of those employés who have not had a seventh day of rest? There had been many accidents from this cause. Then, with regard to the large number of classes who were disturbed by Sunday traffic, it must be remembered not only railroad employés themselves, but large numbers along the line were prevented from enjoying the rest of the Sabbath. For instance, drivers of omnibuses and carriages, hotel keepers and post office employés had to take part in the violation of the Lord's Day. This was a question which interested all classes, and was not advocated merely by straight-laced individuals. In all the leading countries of the

word, the Sabbath has been held in high esteem, and its observance has been advocated not only by clergymen and professedly religious people, but by men holding high positions in every calling.

He found that Lord Macaulay, a man against whom a charge of being a fanatic or enthusiast could not at all lie, said:—"If the Sunday had not been observed as a day of rest, during the last three centuries, I have not the smallest doubt that we should have been at this moment a poorer and less civilized people than we are." He would also read the following opinions, which were worthy of consideration:—

"Count Montalembert: 'There is no religion without worship, and no worship without the Sabbath.'

"Sir Matthew Hale: 'The more faithfully he applied himself to the duties of the Lord's Day the more happy and successful was his business during the week.'

"Blackstone: 'A corruption of morals usually follows the profanation of the Sabbath.'

"Adam Smith: 'The Sabbath, as a political institution, is of inestimable value, independently of its claim to Divine authority.'

"Lord Kames: 'Sunday is a day of account, and a candid account every seventh day is the best preparation for the great day of account.'

"William Wilberforce: 'I can truly declare, that to me the Sabbath has been invaluable.'

"Sir Walter Scott: 'Give to the world one half of Sunday, and you will find that religion has no stronghold on the other. Pass the morning at church, and the evening, according to your taste or rank, in the cricket-field or the opera, and you will soon find thoughts of the evening hazards and bets intrude themselves on the sermon, and the recollections of the popular melody interfere with the Psalms.'

"S. T. Coleridge: 'I feel as if God had, by giving the Sabbath, given fifty-two springs in the year.'

"Isaac Taylor: 'A Sunday given to the soul, is the best of all means of refreshment to the mere intellect.'

"Justice McLean: 'Where there is no Christian Sabbath there is no morality: and without this free institutions cannot long be sustained.'

"Attorney-General Bates: 'The religious character of an institution so ancient, so sacred, so lawful and so necessary to the peace, the comfort and the respectability of society, ought alone be sufficient for its protection: but, that failing, surely the laws of the land, made for its account, ought to be as strictly enforced as the laws for the protection of persons and property. If the Sunday laws be neglected and despised, the laws of person and property will soon share their fate, and be equally disregarded.'

"Willard Parker, M.D., New York City: 'The Sabbath must be observed as a day of rest.'

This I do not state as an *opinion*, but knowing it has its foundation upon a law in man's nature as *fixed* as that he must take food or die.'

"John Richard Farre, M. D., of London: 'As a day of rest I view the Sabbath as a day of compensation for the inadequate restorative power of the body under continued labour and excitement. One day in seven, by the bounty of Providence, is thrown in as a day of compensation, to perfect by its repose the animal system.'

"John C. Warren, M.D., Professor in the Medical College of Harvard University: 'So far as my observation extends, those who are in the habit of avoiding worldly cares on the Sabbath are those most remarkable for the perfect performance of their duties during the week. I have a firm belief that such persons are able to do more work and to do it in a better manner, in six days, than if they worked the whole seven.'

Looking back on what he had advanced, he would briefly draw attention to these points:—In the first place he had established throughout the Provinces constituting the Dominion, as regarded post-office work, that a great divergence of practice obtained, some post offices being entirely closed by permission, while others were kept open by command, the strong arm of the law being brought to bear upon employès compelling them to violate a certain portion of the Lord's Day. Also as far as canals were concerned, that many of them were kept open, occasioning a vast amount of desecration, to the detriment of the men so engaged, and of all good morals in the vicinity; and with reference to railways, he hoped that he had made out a case, giving not only his own opinions, which were of very small weight, but putting against the doctrine advanced by the Great Western Railway the views of many prominent men of long experience, who had been engaged in the same traffic, and who certified in the most positive manner that the running of railways on Sunday was not necessary, while the abstention from it was of great benefit to the companies and employès, and the more profitable in the long run.

One word in conclusion. He desired that the Government which directed the affairs of this vast Dominion would seriously lay this matter to heart, and ensure, as far as lay in their power, the strict observance of the Lord's Day throughout the length and breadth of the land; for this all the right-thinking people, and of the various religious

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communities of this country, would demand of them and insist upon it until they had attained their object.

He was quite aware that a considerable diversity of opinion existed with regard to our Roman Catholic friends, as to their mode of observing the Sabbath, and hon. members would observe that his remarks had entirely related to public works, having no relation to private observance. He believed that this latter was a matter wholly within the jurisdiction of individuals as between them and their God, in which no legislature could properly interfere; but this he did maintain, that so far as the protecting power of the State could extend to the helpless, the down-trodden and the oppressed, who were under the heel of grasping, greedy and money-making monopolies, it was its duty to step in and afford that protection which such persons had a right to demand. So far as our Roman Catholic citizens were concerned, he held that while Protestants were ready to admit their claim to tenderness of conscience regarding certain days which Protestants did not observe, they should exercise the same mutual forbearance towards Protestants in this relation, bearing in mind that throughout the Dominion the latter had a most tender regard to the observance of the Sabbath Day, believing that it was a divine institution which no man had a right to wrest from the meanest subject in the Queen's Domains. This being the case, Protestants asked that no opposition should be made by these gentlemen or any others to their earnest desire in this regard. He knew that he had a difficult subject to advocate before the House; but he felt that this it was his duty to do, in view of the comparative youth of this great Dominion; for while we were seeking to lay the foundations of a great future, we should also endeavour to plant and imbed in our Constitution that which would bear good fruit. Such had been the result in the past, for people who had observed the Sabbath, being guided by reverence for God's Commandments, occupied a high position in the scale of nations.

In consequence he moved, seconded by Mr. Goudge, that the House do

resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolutions:

"1. That the interest of public morality and the physical well-being of all classes of the community alike render it desirable and necessary that there should be a strict and uniform observance of the Lord's Day on all public works which are under the control of the Dominion Government.

"2. That in the conduct of Government surveys and explorations, Government employes should be enjoined to abstain from the prosecution of labour on the Lord's Day.

"3. That in the opinion of this House there should be an entire closing and cessation of labour on all canals, railways and other public works which are under the control of the Dominion Government, during the twenty-four hours comprehended in the Lord's Day—save and except only such services as may be of absolute and unavoidable necessity."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that with the views expressed by his hon. friend from North Ontario, regarding the advisability of observing the Lord's Day as a day of rest and of worship, he was entirely agreed; but as to the power of this House, or of any Parliament, to enforce that observance in the manner that his hon. friend had mentioned, in accordance with the conscientious scruples of the hon. gentleman, and of many who thought with him, there might be room for serious divergence of opinion. Before, however, making any general remarks on the motion which the hon. gentleman had so ably submitted to the House, he must express his astonishment with reference to one of his statements that there had been a systematic and continued violation of the Sabbath Day by the force employed by Her Majesty's Government, in determining the boundary between the United States and North-West Territories. He had only to say that if this was correct he had heard nothing of it, no representations whatever had been made to the Administration on the subject, and it seemed to him incomprehensible why an officer of rank in Her Majesty's Army should have devoted himself to such labours upon the Sabbath, as it had not been required of him by this Government, nor he was sure, by any commands of the Imperial Cabinet. He felt, moreover, certain that his hon. friend had not been correctly informed on the subject.

So far as he knew no labour had been performed on Sunday by any of the parties engaged either in the Pacific Railroad surveys or in other public works under Government control, and he was not at all sure that many of the public servants were particularly anxious to work for seven days in the week, when they were allowed to get off with six. In his own experience, indeed, he had not found any particular anxiety on their part to labour, even during these six. No Minister, no Government and no public official having charge of others, would, he was certain, desire to be employed during the seven days. With regard to the great public highways, as his hon. friend had stated, the Lachine, Cornwall and Welland Canals were altogether closed on Sundays. On the Beauharnois, St. Ann's, St. Ours and Williamsburg Canals the locks were seldom used, however, on the Sabbath Day. Now, the closing of many of the canals was not a subject of legislation with us at all; the Government might require all their servants, of course, to abstain from opening the locks under any circumstances, but occasions have arisen when it became almost a necessity for vessels to pass through, as when they had perishable goods on board and the weather was very hot, making a detention of twenty-four hours a very serious matter. Then the question frequently arose—and it was before the Government at the present moment—whether vessels should be stopped in the course of a long journey. There were fully twenty-one steamers, for instance, plying regularly between the city of Montreal and the city of Chicago. Two days and a half's journey takes them to the Welland Canal. They reach there at eleven or half-past eleven Saturday and are detained until Monday perhaps at the mouth of the canal. Some of those vessels take a large number of passengers aboard, and at the places where they are required to stop there are probably no facilities for their attendance at church. Representations had been made to the Government that the detention of these passenger steamers had been a fruitful source of local disturbance from disorderly crews and passengers not so piously inclined as his friend from

North Ontario. Owners claim that their vessels are stopped at the middle of their voyage. The canal is the only means of navigation between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and when once they are fairly on their journey they reach the Detroit River at the end of the third day, and they pass up that river to River St. Clair. The passage of those steamers on the waters of the rivers was quite as offensive as the passage of railway trains on the banks, and perhaps if anything more annoying to worshippers in churches. In the church in which he worshipped at home the congregation were greatly annoyed by the whistles of passing steamers. They had no control over vessels navigating the rivers, while they, or some other parties, had control over the trains passing over land. It was held they should be required to anchor in the river or canal as the case may be. These representations were incessantly made to the Government, but it was a matter of great difficulty to regulate the observance of the Sabbath Day on the part of the commercial and travelling public. On one or two occasions, recently, vessels had been permitted to pass up the canal on the Lord's Day, but each time the captain and crew were arrested under the Local Law for breaking the Sabbath. This was a matter entirely in the hands of the Provincial Legislature, and therefore the hon. gentleman had wisely confined his resolutions to what the Government might fairly be held to control, namely, that there should be universal observance of the Lord's Day on the public works of the Dominion. The Government did enforce that now, and such had been the policy, he presumed, of all Administrations—to give the rest of the Sabbath to all their employes. The next resolution was :

"That in the conduct of Government surveys and explorations, Government employes should be enjoined to abstain from the prosecution of their labour on the Lord's Day."

If it was thought necessary to enjoin this upon them, there was not the slightest objection, but it appeared unnecessary. The third resolution was :

"That in the opinion of this House there should be an entire closing and cessation of labour on all Canals, Railways and other Public Works which are under the control of the

Dominion Government, during the twenty-four hours comprehended in the Lord's Day—save and except only such service as may be of absolute and unavoidable necessity."

So far as the Dominion railways are concerned, there was, for instance, a train that leaves St. John at six o'clock in the evening and arrives at Halifax about eight or nine next morning. It leaves Halifax on Saturday evening in the same way and reaches St. John early Sunday morning. The question arose whether this was, within a reasonable sense of the word, a violation of the observance of the Sabbath. His hon. friend thought the observance should commence and end at midnight; others regarded it not in that strictly literal sense, as only being required during daylight, so far as public manifestations were concerned, and that trains ought not to be stopped at points where it is impossible for passengers to get accommodation. Again, some looked upon the observance of the Lord's Day as one altogether of a personal nature—that everyone should satisfy himself—and the well-known words of our Saviour, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," a considerable number interpreted to mean that its observance in the sense of absolute cessation of labour for the twenty-four hours does not conform to the letter or spirit of the Divine author. The Dominion Government, however, had only to see that no unnecessary work was performed in the works under their own control. It would be remembered that the Municipal Act of Upper Canada or Ontario provided that the Council of every city and town might pass by-laws for enforcing the due observance of the Sabbath according to law, which was still the law under the new regime. The 22 Vic., passed in 1859, "An Act to prevent the profanation of the Lord's Day in Upper Canada," after providing that no business should be prosecuted, exempted steamers carrying Her Majesty's mails, from the penalty that might be imposed by any Legislatures. A large number of petitions had been presented to the Government from owners of vessels in the United States ports complaining of the closing of the Welland Canal

on Sunday and praying that it should be opened, or if closed it should only be during the hours of divine worship. These matters occasioned a very great deal of difficulty. It was desirable that vessels passing from one port 200 or 300 miles east of the canal to ports several hundred miles west, should not be stopped on their way, and it was equally important to us that while there should be no unnecessary stoppage, that all employés engaged on these works should have the opportunity of gaining that rest which is requisite, and of worshipping on the Sabbath Day as they ought. On the other hand it was known, that while the canal was opened it imposed no additional labour on the part of the employés, as that was provided in addition. It was the public policy of the Government and Parliament that those works should be shut except in cases of necessity, such as indicated when vessels might be required to pass through to avoid serious loss not contemplated at the beginning of the journey. He did not see what the hon. member had to gain by going into Committee and passing those resolutions, which no one seriously objected to, but which after all merely affirmed a truism and a policy already in existence. All he had to say with regard to special abuses was that the Government would endeavour when their attention was called to any to have them rectified. He expressed his hope and belief that his hon. friend would give some authority for the statement with reference to the Boundry Survey, or else it might be presumed that he must have been misinformed on the subject, as it was scarcely creditable to any large bodies of employés that they should be accused of having deliberately and systematically violated the sanctity of the Lord's Day when they were not required to do so by the Government employing them. He hoped also, having obtained this discussion and having elicited as far as the Government was concerned an expression of opinion in favour of his own views, his hon. friend would not find it necessary to prosecute the matter further by asking the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider this resolution.

Mr. CHRISTIE said he wished to express his hearty approval of the resolution before the House. The county which he represented had long complained of the desecration of the Lord's Day by the opening of the canals, and they had petitioned frequently against it. The hon. gentleman who then represented the county succeeded in getting the canals closed during a portion of the Sabbath, which was a step in the right direction and a partial remedy of the evil complained of. But it was desirable that the sanctity of the Lord's Day should be observed as closely as possible. He did not think it would at all interfere with trade; on the contrary it would be a benefit to it, and would contribute to the prosperity of the Dominion. He considered that the due observance of the Sabbath was essential to the physical well-being of the people, and those who observed the Lord's Day and abstained from work would live longer and accomplish more labour than those who worked every day of the week. He quoted from a medical authority to prove that a strict observance of the Sabbath added seven years to a man's life. He would express an earnest hope that the Ministers and members of this House would give the matter their serious consideration that the necessary steps might be taken to secure a strict and uniform observance of the Lord's Day throughout the public works of the Dominion.

Mr. BROUSE said it appeared to him that if vessels going up lake Ontario and through the Welland Canal were tied up in that canal during the Sabbath, where the men were allowed to leave the boat and frequent grogeries and hotels and get drunk, it would be far better to allow vessels to pass along and have their crews under the control of their captains. He argued that the Sabbath should be properly observed; but let any person pass through the canals on the Lord's Day on one of the Northern Transportation Company's vessels and they would find that if the vessel were tied up at Port Dalhousie or Port Colborne, it would be almost impossible to get her in operation again so that she could pass on her voyage on Monday forenoon. Instead of 24 hours' delay they would find that 30

hours were lost, and the men would not be in a fit condition, from the many temptations along the shore, to perform their work. He thought this was a strong argument in favour of permitting vessels to continue their voyage. Another point was the fact that the Welland Canal was only a small link in the navigation of the lakes, and when vessels were detained for 24 hours it was not only a great drawback to the trade, but it increased the cost of transporting grain. The canals in the United States that compete with the Welland Canal were open every Sabbath, and men who had invested large sums of money in carrying grain between Chicago and Montreal would lose a great deal of money if vessels were not permitted to pass along on the Sabbath day, under the control of their respective commanders. The loss from a sailing vessel being tied up was from \$35 to \$40 per day, while that of a steamer was from \$120 to \$200 per day; and when they would be detained 48 hours, owing to the carousing of their crews over Sunday, he thought they should not be prevented from continuing their voyage by the closing of the canals on the Sabbath day.

Mr. DEVLIN said the question under discussion was no doubt of considerable importance; and as he concurred in many of the remarks of the mover of the resolution, it had occurred to him it would be well to point out to this hon. House that while they were attempting to deal with the observance of the Sabbath on public works at a distance, they might perhaps look nearer home. He believed some two or three years ago Parliament prohibited, as far as it could prohibit, the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Commons portion of these buildings, although they did not pass a prohibitory liquor law, in order to meet the views of their temperance friends. If the canals should be closed on Sunday and the public works suspended, why not close this Chamber on the Sabbath? Why not pass a law to close the club on Sunday? He sometimes came to this House on Sunday, not to do work, but just to see who were at work on Sabbath, and see how many saints were here writing business letters and

correspondence. During the very hours that service was going on they could be seen writing business letters in this House. If they went in for strict observance of the Sabbath, why not close this Chamber on Sunday, so that there would be no temptation to prevent the members from attending divine service, and close the club also. He contended that any strict observer of the Sabbath would be shocked to see the number of members who came here to work on Sunday; therefore, concurring in the motion of the hon. gentleman, he contended that if they were sincere in this matter let the order go forth that these doors be closed on Sunday so that the messengers and clerks could go to church. Close the Library and every other room in the building, except those allowed to the Speaker.

An Hon. Gentleman—Where would we spend Sunday?

Mr. DEVLIN said in church of course. He thought it as well, too, it should go abroad to the country that while they had three or four pious gentlemen in this Chamber, the constituencies should also know that there are representatives among them who were really hard working men on the Sabbath day.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Inverness) said he felt astonished at the revelations of the hon. member who had just sat down. He asked if any hon. gentleman belonging to this House actually came here to perform work, the work of the country, or any other work on the Sabbath Day. He hoped the hon. gentleman was only joking.

Mr. OLIVER said he desired to correct a statement of the hon. gentleman who moved the resolution. It was stated by the hon. gentleman that the post offices along the line of the Great Western Railway were compelled to deliver and receive mails on Sunday. He thought that this was a mistake as there were no mails carried on that road on Sunday. The last mail of the week was delivered on Saturday going to the West, and a last mail to the East passed through to its destination and out of the Province before Sunday morning. He would state, however, that the amount of traffic upon that

road was almost as great on Sunday as on any other day of the week. There were two passenger trains every day, one from the East and one from the West, and he had seen in the course of an hour four or five different freight trains pass from the East to the West conveying empty cars to be ready for Monday. He knew that the people living along the line were very much annoyed by the traffic that was conducted on it on Sunday, and if it were possible to put a stop to it it would be a satisfaction to them. But he did not know that it was in the power of this Government or of the Local Government to put a stop to such traffic. He would remark that the statement of his hon. friend from Montreal Centre should not be allowed to go abroad unexplained. He knew that there were a great many gentlemen here who had families in distant parts of the country, and they came here, in all probability, after service in the afternoon, to write letters to home, and when the hon. gentleman from Montreal Centre saw them engaged at their desks they were engaged in corresponding with their families. The recommendation that the Library of the House should be closed he objected to. Where would the members spend their Sabbath afternoons? Would the hon. gentleman have them loafing about hotels and in their bed rooms when they could obtain books with which to improve their minds? It would be intolerable to live in a city of this kind during Session if they were shut out from the Library on Sabbath.

Mr. SMITH (Peel) said the injurious effect of the stoppage of vessels from going through the Welland Canal had been referred to, and he supposed in carrying out the same argument that the stoppage of the the rail-ways would have the same effect. He had no doubt that if the Government consented to allow the Welland Canal to be open on Sunday that double the number of vessels would go through it. He considered that the thanks of the House were due to the hon. gentleman for bringing this motion before them. They wanted to know really where the authority in this matter lay, whether it was with the Local or the Federal

Parliament. They were told by the Premier that the Local Governments had control of this matter. He wished to state that in Ontario the Local Government had endeavoured to enforce the local statute and had been unable to do it. Again and again Grand Trunk employes had been fined, but the company had paid the fines, and the men were put to work again immediately. The company had in other ways violated that statute, and there was no doubt a very large portion of the public desired to know with whom the jurisdiction lay.

Mr. GORDON said the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government had expressed surprise that he should have made the statement he had made as regarded the carrying out of the Boundary Survey, and had wished him to state his authority, or else withdraw it. He was sure he would not have made the charge had he not believed it to be true. His authority was a nephew of his own who accompanied the survey, who said that from the first no Sabbath or religious observances were regarded, that the work was carried on continuously throughout the seven days. That was his authority for that statement. As to the statement of his hon. friend, the member for Grenville, in regard to the undesirability of detaining vessels at the mouth of the Welland Canal, and the evils that flowed out of that practice, he denied that such would be the case. He thought he had adduced sufficient testimony to prove that the contrary was the result, and he desired to know whether mere opinions were to be put against the experience of practical men. It was the first time he had even heard that harm could result from giving the men on these boats an opportunity to hear the gospel preached. It was well known that the Young Mens' Christian Association in Ontario had made ample provision for the spiritual requirements of those men, and he trusted they would continue to have an opportunity of enjoying those advantages on the Sabbath. With reference to the statement of the hon. member for Oxford, he was glad to find he was not in error. He stated that the Great Western Railroad did not deliver mails on the Sabbath, and

that was an additional reason why the law should apply to the Grand Trunk. With regard to the request of the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government that he should withdraw the resolution, he would say that he believed that the religious people throughout the Dominion would not be content with the answer the hon. gentleman had given. He had received no promises from the hon. gentleman to set matters right, either in regard to the post offices or the canals. He could not see how any serious loss would follow the observance of the divine laws. The hon. gentleman's explanation—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It was not an explanation; it was a correction.

Mr. GORDON said he thought the remark made by the hon. gentleman in this particular was uncalled for. He had endeavoured to avoid personalities and personal affairs, and to deal with the subject on broad principles. He would reiterate that the large religious community of the Dominion had this matter at heart, and he was not satisfied, as mover of the resolutions, to withdraw unless the Government was prepared to accept the entire responsibility of this course.

Mr. CURRIER hoped the Government would not be induced to give the terms demanded of them. He regarded it as more advisable to let the boats go through the canals than to detain them, and give the boatmen an opportunity of visiting the groggeries along the shore. In regard to the remarks of the hon. member for Argenteuil respecting the Carillon and Grenville Canal, great inconvenience resulted from the adoption of the resolution of his predecessor preventing the vessels from going through the canal on Sunday; and if that were done now boats would accumulate at each end, and it would take all Monday and Tuesday before the canal would be clear at both ends. He was sure there was no one more desirous to see the Sabbath day kept holy than himself, but he could recognize the inconvenience and loss it would be to the public to adopt such a resolution as this.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) thought it would be a very great ca-

lamity for this House to divide on a question of this kind and decide in the negative. He had listened carefully to the explanations of the Premier, and they were satisfactory to his mind. The hon. mover of this resolution having put his views so clearly before the House and brought out so many points that were excellent in themselves, should, after the assurance given by the Premier, withdraw his motion for the present. It was quite too late in our day to discuss the benefits arising from the Sabbath Day. Nations become great only in proportion as they observe it. Scotland is what she is to-day, chiefly because of the manner in which the Sabbath day is observed, and her sons wherever found are what they are chiefly from the way in which they have been taught to regard that day. There were many objections raised to this resolution, however, which he would hesitate to say were wrong. With regard to perishable goods passing through canals, he thought it would not be a sound thing to detain a cargo with the consciousness that detention might eventuate in loss. The mover of the resolution had spoken about the 3,000 employes of the post office that were kept away from places of worship on the Sabbath day. That should be rectified. He understood the Premier to say that any representations that might be made to the Government would be entertained. As one doing a large business—and he could speak for other business men—he had never taken a letter out of the post office on the Sabbath day, and he was sure he had lost nothing by it. He declared, and could prove it, that the man who devoted himself to secular matters on the Lord's Day was a fool and would live to find it out.

Mr. YOUNG joined in the hope that this motion would not be pressed to a division. From what the Premier had said, he took it the amount of work done on our public works was comparatively little, but he was aware that on many lines of railway a strong disposition had been manifested of late to pay no respect to the Sabbath Day. The Great Western of late had run a large number of freight trains on Sundays, and on the Wellington, Grey

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and Bruce, on which formerly it was a rare thing to see a train run the Seventh Day, there was now an average of four every Sabbath. However, he was satisfied with the Premier's explanations and assurances, and hoped the motion would be withdrawn.

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) sympathized very much indeed with the position of the hon. member for North Ontario, who was actuated by the best motives. After the assurances of the Premier, however, that the influence of the Government would be used to secure a better observance of the Sabbath, he ought to be satisfied and withdraw the resolution.

Mr. GORDON said that in view of the general promise given by the Premier that the Government would do whatever was in their power to better this question, he would withdraw his motion for this time. In the event of this promise not being fulfilled, he would renew the agitation at a future Session.

The motion was withdrawn.

ST. CHARLES AND ST. JOSEPH DE LEVIS RAILROAD.

Mr. BLANCHET moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of any communication, report of engineers or other parties, relating to the construction of a Brunel Line of Railway from St. Charles, County of Bellechasse, to St. Joseph de Lévis. He said this was not the first time this question had been brought before the House. It had been discussed some years ago at the beginning of Confederation, when the Act was passed for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. The terminus of the latter road had been fixed at Riviere du Loup, but it was because the Grand Trunk had a branch to that place. Some years ago the engineers of the Grand Trunk Company surveyed and reported favourably upon the branch line from St. Charles to St. Joseph de Lévis. The cost was estimated at \$200,000. The Grand Trunk would be ready to come to some arrangement with the Government for that part of their road from Riviere du Loup to Quebec, without which the Intercolonial Railway would be incom-

plete. In reply to the hon. member for Rimouski some time ago, the Premier had stated the Government had no fixed policy on the subject at the moment. He was sure when the Intercolonial was completed, the Government would see the necessity of doing something to secure for it the large traffic which would follow the construction of that branch, and which would save a distance of 25 miles. It was very important that the Government should take this matter into consideration. When the North Shore Railroad would be completed this branch would be a necessity.

Mr. FRECHETTE said he had also given a notice on this subject, but this of the hon. member from Bellechasse had precedence. The motion now before the House brought up a matter entirely beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Parliament.

His (Mr. Fréchette's) motives were to ascertain whether any step had been taken, or suggestion made by the hon. member for Bellechasse to induce the late Government to make this projected line of railway a continuation of the Intercolonial, and thus secure to Point Lévis the advantage of the terminus of this important road. In consequence of what he had heard on the hustings, the hon. gentleman would admit that his curiosity was quite natural. Viewed in that light, this line became national in lieu of a local enterprise, and fell within the purview of the House. He hoped that sooner or later, and the sooner the better, the Government would adopt this course, and that the Intercolonial would never be considered complete until it connected Quebec with the Maritime Provinces. He trusted that this would be done as soon as the financial position of the country would admit.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that there was little use in adopting the motion, inasmuch as there were no such reports, he believed, to be presented. He was not aware of any survey of that kind having been effected by the late Government. They were quite conscious of the importance of securing a short cut to the river from the Riviere du Loup Branch of the Grand Trunk, but at the

same time other means at present existed of reaching the river, although by a route some nine or ten miles longer than that which the hon. gentleman proposed. This would probably have to be done, but they were not now desirous of expending more money than they could help on public works. They wished to avoid any expense not absolutely necessary, and therefore they did not propose to take any steps in building the branch line to which reference was made. While he freely admitted its desirability in the trade interests of the Lower Provinces, he would remark in the meantime a provisional arrangement with the Grand Trunk prevailed in this relation, advantageous and occasioning them no loss. He supposed that the hon. gentleman would drop the motion, as there were really no papers which could be brought down.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that four or five years ago the hon. member for Bellechasse had spoken to him about this matter, and he had caused enquiry to be made. He entered into communication with the then Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, Mr. Brydges, and it was understood that a survey should be secured, and an exploration take place on this branch. Mr. Brydges thought that this would be important, as was also admitted by the Minister of Public Works. It took place, and plans were prepared. He did not know whether the latter and the report of the engineer of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were now in the office of the Public Works Department, but they had existed, and some six or eight months ago the late Manager of the Grand Trunk had written to him to learn whether the plans or reports were in his possession, as they could not be found. He had answered that they were not, and that they must be in the Public Works Department. They might have been, however, destroyed when a portion of the Grand Trunk workshad been burned at Montreal. He assured the hon. gentleman that the motion was brought before and taken into consideration by the late Government. Of course the report and plans were not acted upon—they were made in 1873 if he was not mistaken—but the late Administration had been deeply

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impressed with the desirability of having the work in question performed.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Perhaps the Premier will allow my motion to be carried. In the meantime the papers may be discovered.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Oh! certainly.

The motion was carried.

THE SLATE INDUSTRY.

Mr. AYLMER moved for an Order of House for a return of roofing slate and other manufactured slate imported into Canada during the present year from the United States.

He thought that an explanation was due to the House; and at the same he trusted that he would succeed in enlisting their sympathy in favour of one of our struggling industries. As hon. members were probably aware we had large deposits of slate in almost every Province of the Dominion, though he was not aware that any of them, save in the Eastern Townships, and more particularly in his own constituency, had been developed to any extent. The band of slate in his constituency stretched from one portion of it to the boundary line; and for both quality and quantity, he presumed that it was unsurpassed by any in any part of the world. A large amount of capital, over \$500,000 or \$600,000, had been invested in this industry within the last few years, and a large number of men skilled in such work had been employed, the districts in the vicinity of the quarries being in consequence greatly benefitted. At present he was sorry to say this industry was almost strangled. At one time they hoped to make of this part of the Township a second Wales, but last year, probably owing to the great depression of trade, especially in the United States, American manufacturers of slate had turned their attention to Canada in order to rid themselves of their surplus stocks. As hon. members probably knew, we had a duty of 35 per cent. against our exportations of slate to the United States, while theirs entered our market free of duty. Until within the last few

years our neighbours had probably a sufficient demand for their productions in this respect in their own country, for they had not interfered with our market; and our quarries obtained a ready sale for all they produced. The increase in the supply was gradual in proportion to the demand, and we had every prospect of doing well in this regard; but owing to the circumstance he had named, this was no longer the case, and our slate quarries were almost closed. The cost of slates would not be increased if the protection required was granted; and it was worthy of remark that the American slate was not as good as our own. This industry deserved encouragement at the hands of the Government, and he hoped the present condition of affairs would be completely rectified. The loss sustained was not represented wholly by the amount of capital lying idle, for the portion of the slate exposed to the action of the weather, while the works were closed, would become so deteriorated, that when they were reopened, it would have to be removed as waste material, at great loss and expense. Moreover, the question of labour was to be considered. Those engaged in the manufacture of slates were skilled workmen, and if kept long out of employment, would emigrate to secure work in the Vermont quarries, so that again we should, as in other instances, turn ourselves into immigration agents for the United States.

This industry was not like many of the interests for which protection was demanded. Coal was used as raw material by manufacturers of Ontario; the Maritime Provinces were opposed to the duty it was urged should be levied on salt, and a large portion of the population was desirous of seeing the protection of coal oil reduced; but a duty on slates would not conflict in any way whatever with the interests of the whole country. One other article on the free list he would place in the same category with slate—this was marble.

In the past year the importation of unmanufactured marble was \$95,000, of unwrought stone and slate \$101,000, of manufactured marble \$82,000. The duty paid on this was some

\$14,000; and if the same amount of duty had been collected upon our slate and marble as was collected upon the manufactured marble, we would have had an addition to the revenue of \$35,000. The Minister of the Interior in his late report had the following in regard to the exhibition of our natural productions at the Centennial Exhibition:—

“Amongst the specimens, which include samples of every useful mineral or mining product hitherto discovered or manufactured in Canada, the polished marbles, the building stones, the gold, silver, copper and iron with their ores may be mentioned as especially deserving notice. The marbles are represented by 60 polished slabs of 12 x 18 inches; the building stones by 70 six-inch cubes having one face polished, one rough and the others dressed to show four different styles of working; roofing slates and slabs, lithographic stone, refractory materials, grinding and polishing materials, mineral paints and manure, limes, cements, plasters, clays, bricks, pottery, petroleum, coal, lignite and peat are all well represented; also ornamental stones, mineral waters and salts.”

With natural productions such as these at our doors, some encouragement ought to be given for the working of the quarries. With regard to his principles he might say he was neither a Free-Trader nor a Protectionist, but the following passage from the speech of the Finance Minister defined his (Mr. Aylmer's) views on the tariff question:—

“We know that we must have a Customs tariff, and that it is impossible to have it without more or less granting protection to manufacturers; and although I do not believe in incidental protection, still I am willing that the tariff should be so distributed as to give an advantage to the particular classes of industry which will naturally grow up in the country.”

He thought slate was one of those natural industries which would grow up if the same protection was extended to it as to all other manufacturing interests of the country.

It might appear to hon. gentlemen as though he had been inconsistent by, at the present moment, making what would appear a protection speech, and having on previous occasions voted against the amendments of the hon. member for Montreal West and the right hon. member for Kingston; but he had been consistent as he could not vote want of confidence in a Ministry of whose general policy he approved, and from whose Customs tariff he considered the protection required for

the country was derivable, as well as feeling that the agricultural community, especially in this part of the county, do not require any protection. In his own constituency they imported a large quantity of coarse grains for feeding purposes and did not advocate any tax being placed upon this their raw material, which, when turned into beef and dairy produce, and under which system their farms are improving and their farmers prospering. For such reasons he voted against both amendments, and the only protection he asked for was that the same measure shall be extended to our State industry as is already given to all the other manufacturing industries of the country. This was really fair, this was only just.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said there was no objection to the resolution passing, but the hon. gentleman would see from the return that there was no line indicating slate particularly, it was included with stone and marble. He would send for the returns from the principal ports, and try and give him the information as soon as possible.

Mr. AYLMER did not wish any great expense to be incurred. He would be satisfied if for the future the two items were kept separate.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said that had been done this year, and would appear in the next report.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman might be interested to know that until within the last few months a particular class of slates could not be obtained in Canada, and had to be imported for the better class of buildings. That was the quality used making various figures on the roof. He doubted if it was known now throughout the Dominion that slates of all qualities can be obtained at our own quarries. With regard to marble, he found on examination nearly \$50,000 was brought from Italy—a kind which could not be obtained on this continent—and the balance, between \$60,000 and \$70,000, was procured from the United States, a great portion being superior in its working qualities to what has been found in Canada. Although we have a great variety in this country it had not been worked to

such an extent as to fairly develop the best qualities to be obtained, but he thought in a few years we would be able to produce marble quite as good and cheaper than any now obtained in Connecticut.

The motion was carried.

THE JESUIT BARRACKS.

Mr. MASSON moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a copy of all correspondence between the Dominion Government and the Government of the Province of Quebec, relating to the Jesuit Barracks in the City of Quebec, together with all memorandums and Orders in Council relating to the same. He said those who had visited Quebec would have observed an immense block in the upper part of the town, which looked like an old prison, was delapidated, gloomy and an eye-sore to all observers. The building had been condemned, but owing to a want of agreement between the Local and Federal Governments, nothing had been done in relation thereto. It had formerly been the Jesuits' College, formed part of the estate of the Society of Jesus, and had been for many years devoted to the higher branches of education. Ever since the dissolution of the Order in 1774 the building had been occupied by the Imperial troops under Royal instructions, and the whole of the Jesuits' Estate devoted to any purpose the Crown might think fit. It was known to every member in the House that the greater part of the property had been appropriated for educational purposes in the Province of Quebec. Up to 1831 numerous complaints were made that some part of the estate had been diverted from the purpose for which it was designed. In 1832 the circumstances culminated. The Legislature of Lower Canada sent a petition to England setting forth these facts. The answer was a dispatch from the Imperial Government appropriating all the estates belonging to the Jesuites at the time of the conquest, to the purposes of education.

The barracks alone were reserved, but they were reserved only temporarily. The Minister of Justice would bear him out that according to the dispatch

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the whole of the Jesuits' estates should go to educational purposes in Lower Canada, and that the barracks were reserved only temporarily, because they were occupied by Her Majesty's troops, as they would not put them to any inconvenience by taking them from them. This implied that as soon as the troops were withdrawn from Quebec this property would revert to Quebec for educational purposes. The rights of the Province of Quebec to these buildings had never been contested; they had been admitted under the old regime before 1841. It would be very easy to prove that since then under the Union by different resolutions of the House and by Acts of the Legislature these buildings were recognised as belonging to the educational fund, exclusively for the Province of Quebec. Since Confederation had been established it was easy to prove by Orders in Council and otherwise that it had been admitted that the change in our constitution did not take away from the Province of Quebec the rights which they had in these buildings. The despatch of Lord Goderich in 1832, stating that they were occupied only temporarily for the convenience of the troops, stood good at the present moment. In 1870 the troops were withdrawn from this country. In consequence of the withdrawal of these troops it was found necessary to transfer to the Dominion authorities, not the proprietary rights of the Imperial Government which did not exist, but the possession of those barracks. The transfer was made at the time at the request of the Imperial Parliament on the condition that the Dominion Government should provide barrack accommodation for the troops should they ever have to return to this country, thus implying that they were dispossessed of this barrack property. The buildings had been examined by engineers lately, and they were found to be little better than a ruin. Since the transfer of these properties to the Dominion Government there was a feeling in the Province of Quebec that as the buildings were no longer required for barrack purposes, they should be transferred to the Local Government. They made application for them several times, asking to be put in posses-

sion of the property. In answer to this application there was an Order in Council, passed in 1873, giving to the Local Government the possession and occupation of the barracks, the only condition being that they should be kept in repair until the formal question of title should be decided. Moreover, if he was rightly informed, that Order in Council requested that the Minister of Justice and the Attorney General should prepare a memorandum on the question, and interview each other on the point. The Local Government did do what they were required to do by the Order in Council; and finding that it was absolutely necessary for them to construct departmental buildings in Quebec, they renewed their application to this Government. It was not surprising that they were anxious on the subject, as they had had no place for the safe keeping of the valuable documents in their possession, and they did all in their power to obtain speedy possession of the building. Under the conviction that the barracks property would be transferred, plans were made for the new buildings, and tenders were called for. Notification was given to the Federal Government; but the answer was that nothing could be done, and no further action could be taken by the Local Government. The people felt that there was a denial of their rights, and the Local Government were accused of being negligent of their duty—that they were not doing all in their power to secure the construction of the buildings. They were embarrassed, and that embarrassment came from the Federal Government. Some political capital had been made out of it; they had tried to ruin the Local Government in Quebec by making it appear that they had been recreant to their duty, and some went so far as to say if a better Government existed in the Province the claims of Québec would have a better chance of redress. He did not believe this, but if it ever entered into the minds of the friends of this Government that there would be a change in the Administration in Quebec they might abandon that hope as they were finally established. He would be answered that the difficulty was the title. He could not understand how a question of title

to the Jesuit's Barracks could have caused delay from the fall of 1873 up to the present moment. If it was a property acquired from a private individual and the title deeds were lost he could understand the delay, but this title came from the proclamation of the Imperial Government and it did not take two years to confirm such a title. This was a question of vital importance to the people of the Province of Quebec, who were expecting the transfer of these buildings, which were useless to the Imperial Government and did not belong to the Federal Government. He thought if there were any guilty parties in this matter it was time the country should know it. That was the reason why he had moved this motion, and he hoped the papers would show the reasons why these buildings were not transferred to the Local Government, and why it was that the Local Government were not able to take possession of the Government property and erect new buildings in the Province.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there was no objection to the motion passing. His hon. friend from Terrebonne had chosen to assume, with his usual charity, that the only object the Government of the Dominion had in not at once making over this property to the Local Government, was with the hope that they might make some political capital out of it, and he appealed to them to-night, now that the Local Government were so firmly established that there was no hope of overthrowing them by anything that this Government could do, that they should now do them justice. He was sorry that the hon. member should be so uncharitable in his remarks towards them. He assured the hon. gentleman that this Government would from no consideration whatever abstain from doing an act of justice merely because the Local Government happened to be at variance with them. They had nothing to do with the Local Government; they had never interfered with the Local Government, and they had no reason to interfere with them; but there was a question in connection with the title to the property, and the question must necessarily have to be investigated before a decision could be arrived at. On the occasion of the

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calamity by fire at Quebec all the public buildings in the city had been placed at their disposal, and they had been occupied by the Local Government to this day. So instead of making any complaint the Government of Quebec ought to feel that the Government had endeavoured to act in the most friendly manner to them, and had done their best to expedite the public business in that Province in that and all other matters. With regard to the papers, he was not sure that they all could be brought down, but such as it was in the public interest to bring down would be, and the hon. gentleman would find that he was entirely mistaken in attributing evil motives to the Government in relation to that property.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN hoped that when these papers were brought down they would see the matter had been so advanced that the Federal Government would be in a position to transfer that property to the Quebec Government. It was very important that that property should be transferred, and surely the title between the Imperial Government and the Federal Government could not be in the way of the transfer. It would be a great boon to the Province of Quebec if that transfer took place without any long delay. The Quebec Government were ready to erect the new Parliamentary and Departmental Buildings. They were only awaiting for the transfer of the property to give contracts and then proceed with an important work, the construction of which would be a great boon to the labouring classes in Quebec. We might add that the Minister of Public Works was in error in stating that the hon. member for Terrebonne had said that this matter had been used by the Federal Government to make political capital out of it. His hon. friend had only stated that the Liberal candidates had used that question as a weapon against their opponents, which was the fact.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said if any capital was made out of this subject it had been made by the local candidates. He thought that if the Local Government desired to give any work to the artisans of Quebec, they might do so by the erection of the Court House which

was burned down a few years ago. They had transferred the Court House to the Hospital, and those who had occasion to attend the Courts were exposed to the risk of diseases from the Hospital. The money had been voted for a Court House, and if the local authorities were desirous of giving the people work they could do so. With regard to the question of title to this property they had nothing to do—it was a question of law. The question as to whether these Parliament Buildings should be built there or further west of the St. Louis Gate was one for the Quebec authorities to settle. He was of opinion that this site was a more valuable one than that which was now occupied by the old barracks, and he was satisfied that it would give better satisfaction to the public.

Mr. BABY did not consider that the site of the new Parliament Buildings was a matter for the consideration of this Parliament. The question for them to consider was, should they give that property to the Local Government which belonged to the Local Government? That was the question, and he hoped the hon. gentleman would look into it, as he believed it would be better for the Local Government to build their Parliamentary Buildings on that lot.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said that it was now three years ago since the Court of Justice was transferred to the building where it then was; and there were a good many members of the House who practiced in that Court, but he could not see in what way they are now the worse for the change. As far as the site for the construction of the Provincial Buildings was concerned, it had nothing to do with the question before the House. The question was were the Federal Government ready to render justice to the Local Government? It was now one year since the former Government had made application for this building and as yet no decision had been arrived at. He could not see why it should take long to come to a decision in regard to this matter. The fault did not lie with the Local Government, but with the Federal Government, which was not always disposed to render justice to Quebec.

Mr. MASSON said he had received no kind of answer or encouragement from the Hon. Premier. The hon. gentleman had not told them why this property had not yet been transferred, and he did not say whether he would be able to bring down the whole correspondence. He thought the House was entitled to hear something from the Government with regard to this important question.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was sorry that the hon. gentleman was so difficult to satisfy, and also that his hon. friend the member for Bellechasse had spoken as he had. He seemed unable to say anything without attributing to the Government a desire not to do justice to Quebec. Anyone who knew anything of the facts in this matter, knew there had been nothing like a desire to do injustice to Quebec or any other Province.

On the contrary, they had avoided the very appearance of doing anything that could by implication be understood as interfering in any way whatever in the affairs of any Local Government. With regard to the particular matter in hand, he would not give an opinion, and if the hon. gentleman's idea was to elicit a legal opinion from him (Mr. Mackenzie) on a matter of this sort, he made a great mistake. Even if the Government of the Dominion held absolutely this or any other property, they would be bound to consider any representation made to them by the Quebec Government in regard to the location of public buildings and that Government would be equally bound in the same honourable way to consider any representations made by the Dominion Ministry if they desired to obtain some property held by the Province in order to accomplish some federal purpose. In that spirit this Government had sought to conduct the affairs of the country; in that spirit they would deal with every other matter with the Province of Quebec as with other Provinces, and he hoped they would do it in such a way as to convince the public, if not the hon. gentleman, that they were not actuated by the motives attributed to them.

Mr. MASSON said he did not ask for a legal decision, but the Hon. Pre-

mier had not even said there was a legal question.

Mr. CASGRAIN said the title to that property might not be quite so clear as the hon. member for Terrebonne seemed to think it was. If he would look over the long and elaborate memorandum of Baron Mazerés he would see how far the Local, or even the Imperial Government, had a just title to these properties. There were some parts of these properties which had been given by private donors for purposes of education. He did not think when these properties became vested in the Crown, such parts of them as had been given to the Jesuits by private donors could be held in the same way as the rest. When the last of these Jesuits died, he made a will in favour of the then Bishop of Quebec, and as far as the title of the property could be thus transferred, a question of law might arise as to how far it affected the right of the Crown to the property. It was true when the Commissioners were appointed to regulate and settle the Jesuits estates, they notified the heirs of original donors of the property, but how far this had been done he could not say. It was also a question how far under our Municipal Law the Crown inherited the estates of the Jesuits. All these points he supposed would have to be submitted to the Minister of Justice when the property was to be transferred to the Government of Quebec, if ever a transfer was made.

The motion was carried.

THE PLIMSOLL MOVEMENT.

Mr. PALMER moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:— That in the opinion of this House the right of Legislation to affect Canadian ships and the rights and liabilities of the owners thereof belong exclusively to the Parliament of Canada, and that any Legislation on those subjects by the Imperial Parliament (except so far as may equally affect Canadian ships with the ships of all other countries in ports of Great Britain, and such as may affect Imperial interests) would be inconsistent with such exclusive right of the Canadian Parliament, and a violation of responsible Government

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as conceded to Canada. He said it could not be denied that recent Imperial Legislation in England had materially injured the interests of Canadian ship-owners. It could not be denied that it was immensely in the interest of Canada that the largest amount of capital should be invested in the shipping trade, which was so important to a nation. It would ill become persons who were descendants of the British race to deny that the mother country rose to its present eminence almost entirely because it was mistress of the seas. He believed Canada stood in a much more favourable position to become the great ship-owning country of the world than ever Great Britain did. In fact Canada to-day exceeds every other country in comparison with the number of its inhabitants in the extent of her shipping interest. Representing, as he did, the largest ship-owning community in the Dominion, he felt bound to assist as far as he could the forwarding of that great industry. The proposition before the House denied the right of the Imperial Parliament to deal with subjects they have legislated upon. It was entirely inconsistent that two bodies should have power to legislate on the same subject. It would be very much better to have the jurisdiction vested in one, because with two, inconsistent provisions necessarily follow. What might be declared the law under one system might be declared not to be the law under the other. If he could prove that the Imperial Parliament had given Canada the right to legislate on certain subjects, it would show that they had deprived themselves by that Act of the power of legislating on the same subject. He did not deny, so long as we were a portion of the empire, that in mere point of law the Imperial Parliament had the power to pass a law affecting our shipping. He did not deny the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate with reference to our ships in their own ports. He had never argued that they had not that right. On the contrary, he claimed the right of Canada to legislate as did England in her own ports, affecting not only her own shipping, but that of her own colonies and of every foreign country. His resolutions on this point

stated clearly that the prerogative of the Imperial Government was, and ought to be, confined to the general legislation. He would not go over the argument he adduced the other evening, but simply state his proposition that this Parliament had the exclusive right of legislation with reference to Canadian shipping; and this right had been distinctly recognized by England. A Canadian ship on the high seas was exclusively under Canadian jurisdiction; this he contended was a simple rule of international law, which must apply to the different limits of legislation between England and her colonies, and entirely consistent with the dependence of the latter on the former. It was of course regulated by the terms of the British North America Act and of despatches that might have passed. It had been objected, that if we did not allow the Imperial Government to legislate respecting Canadian ships outside the ports of Great Britain, we would be obliged to send Consuls and vice-Consuls and agents to the ports of all countries to protect Canadian industries; but in this difficulty he did not see the slightest weight. The Canadian, under such circumstances, would not less be a British subject; and he would enjoy the same rights as if the Dominion was a Crown colony. The regulation in question would only exist as between England and her colonies, with which foreign nations would have nothing to do; we would still have the privilege of flying the Old Flag, and rather than lose this dearly prized right, he was sure that many a man would rather revert to the condition of a Crown colony. He thought that England would be glad to get rid of the trouble of governing us in this relation; the people of Great Britain had no other desire than to see us prosper in every way; they could not tell what was for our own good, and would prefer to let us work out our own destiny. No distinction could properly be drawn between a ship, any other piece of property, or a person with regard to the right of nationality. He hoped that this would always be so, and that we would ever possess the glorious rights of Britons and British subjects. The Consuls appointed by the Imperial Government represented Brit-

ish interests wherever they were stationed, and consequently he could not perceive the slightest foundation for the difficulty in question, which was by some suggested. It did not matter to foreign countries whether regulations which concerned us were made by England or ourselves, and consequently the presumed obstacle to freedom of action on our part was merely a bugbear. If we were allowed to govern ourselves—or, as a celebrated statesman had remarked, to misgovern ourselves—he held that we should be able to do so regarding our shipping interests; and the moment that this right was fully recognized, that moment an impetus would be given to ship-building in Canada, which would surprise, he believed, many foreign countries. He was satisfied that this was not retarded so much by any legislation on the part of England, or by anything it threatened to do in this respect as by the fear of what might be done. No man was willing to put money in property when he did not know what would become of it; and this uncertainty prevented such investment. Then this protection was afforded by the Act of 1854:—The owner not himself in default, was not liable for any damage done to any further extent than £15 per ton; and this sum, by amendment introduced in 1862, was reduced to £8. What was now proposed? To make this liability under certain circumstances unlimited. And what would be the result? No person would dare to invest his money in a ship unless he himself took charge of it, since those having control of it might wilfully commit some injury that might utterly ruin such owner, himself innocent of any complicity whatever in the matter. Would this not affect the right of Canadian ship-owners? It would certainly do so, for if such legislation did not concern Canadian interests he could not imagine what could. It might be good policy, but it was a matter in connection with which the ship-owners of this country ought to have a voice.

He had carefully excepted in his resolution the rights of the Imperial Parliament in legislating with regard to the ports of Great Britain and legislation that might affect Imperial in-

terests, but he did not know that this was necessary, because it was probably amply secured through the right of veto.

The privileges in question once secured, we would enter into the struggle for supremacy and to obtain the carrying trade of the world, with just such restrictions as we chose to place on our tonnage. Under such conditions he did not hesitate to affirm that we would be able to outstrip all other nations in this particular industry, if not in connection with anything else. He did not cast the slightest reflections on the Government. He thought that they had done all they could in this relation, being actuated by a sincere desire to benefit the country as far as was in their power, his sole object being to assist them in attaining this desirable end; and he felt that until such privileges as he had mentioned were obtained, their efforts in this direction would be impeded. If it could be pointed out to him that what he proposed would in any way at all injure, instead of helping them in this relation, they would find him most willing to take any course to aid them in any possible direction which had in view the accomplishment of what was desirable in the interests of all parts of the country, and what the people of the section from which he came felt was absolutely necessary to ensure the prosperity of the Maritime Provinces.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had listened to the hon. gentleman's remarks on this subject with great pleasure. He did not suppose there was a very serious difference between the hon. gentleman's views and his own as to the desire to assert and maintain the right this Parliament had to legislate on certain subjects. He did not think it desirable that the question now before the House should at the present time be discussed at any length, or that it was wise for this House to pass strong resolutions asserting a principle upon which there might be some difference of opinion with the Imperial Government. The British Parliament had the Shipping Bill under consideration at present, and the Canadian Government were in correspondence with the Imperial authori-

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ties on the subject. He put it to the hon. gentleman if he did not think it was wiser to avoid pressing the matter upon the attention of the House. He might depend upon it the views he had enunciated now and on previous occasions would be thoroughly represented, and every effort made to have the Shipping Bill placed on such a footing as would be satisfactory to this country and other parts of the empire. We must remember that the British Agents look after our shipping in foreign ports, and we must take care in asserting our independence of Imperial legislation we do not throw ourselves outside the pale of that protection it must have in foreign countries. We are not in a position to defend our own shipping. That is done by the Mother Country, and we must not seek to put our own shipping in a more favourable position than that of the Mother Country. As far as we could accomplish the placing of our own shipping on the best possible footing, and maintain that intimate relationship with the Imperial Government that was absolutely natural from a moral as well as a business point of view, this Government would do it, and he asked the hon. gentleman to withdraw his resolution and leave the matter in the hands of the Administration.

Mr. PALMER thanked the First Minister for the manner in which he had treated the question; he was quite willing to be guided by what the hon. gentleman had said, as he would be advocating his own cause very badly if he did not do exactly as the hon. gentleman suggested. He would like the hon. gentleman to state, however, if he did not think that it was the duty of the British Government to protect all Canadians.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Certainly.

Mr. PALMER stated that the Imperial Government protected our shipping, and that we were quite willing, if necessary, to sacrifice ourselves on behalf of the Mother Country at any moment.

Mr. MILLS wished to call the attention of the House to the fact that a vessel upon the lakes, where the Canadian Government exercised the sole right of legislation, when she sailed

from a Canadian to an American port, was as much in a foreign country as if she had sailed from St. John or Halifax to Lisbon, or some other foreign port. There was no greater impropriety in asserting the right of legislating for ships sailing on the sea, than for those sailing on the lakes.

Mr. GOUDGE, as a representative of a constituency largely engaged in shipbuilding, desired to thank the Premier for the statement which the hon. gentleman had made that night, as it would go very far towards reassuring the ship-owning and ship-building community of the Maritime Provinces, perceiving that the Government had this matter so thoroughly and so completely under their consideration. He assured the House that the subject of taking the matter of legislation with regard to shipping into their own hands, had engaged the attention of some of their largest ship-owners; and while this might involve some difficulties, and although certain benefits were to be derived from connection with the Empire, particularly when our ships went abroad, nevertheless, the difficulties connected with the legislation of the Imperial Government under the Plimsoll Bill, so-called, became a matter of such serious importance to our ship-owners that they were even willing rather to sacrifice these benefits rather than suffer to the extent which might yet become inevitable under existing circumstances. He was happy to observe that the Government were in communication with the British Government touching this subject, and to learn that the rights of Colonial ship-owners would be so thoroughly considered that they would not suffer in any respect in this relation.

The motion was withdrawn.

The House adjourned at Thirty five minutes past Eleven o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 28, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

THE CASE OF JUDGE LORANGER.

On the motion to receive the petition against Judge Loranger,

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) said there could be no doubt unless the petitioners withdrew it or the House decided unanimously not to hear it, the petition must be read, unless it contained something of a character which rendered that course improper. In the case of Chief Justice Duval the petition contained expressions which should not be read, and it was withdrawn. A similar course was pursued in the cases of Justices Drummond and Badgley. He merely mentioned these as analogous to the case before the House. There were, however, schedules to this petition against Judge Loranger which would prevent its reception independent of any other cause.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said his attention had not been directed to the technical point with reference to the schedules. On the general question as to whether the petition could be read and received, of course the hon. member had practically conceded there could be no objection. The hon. gentleman had referred to other petitions which, having been withdrawn, the House was not possessed of. There was, however, one petition which had been received and acted upon at two Sessions, having been referred to a Committee of which the hon. member for Cardwell was Chairman. The prayer of that petition was practically the same as this. There had been a recent discussion in the Imperial House of Commons on a petition against the Lord Chief Justice and two other Judges, which contained the strongest possible charges against them and prayed for their removal. It also contained, however, references to language used in the House of Commons, and on that ground, and that alone, was rejected. It seemed to him it was impossible for this House to do otherwise than receive this petition, apart from the technical objection with regard to the schedules.

Mr. SPEAKER said he did not know whether it was his official duty to examine the schedules attached to the petition or not.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD remarked that the practice in England was exceptional, as examiners there looked over petitions, which duty was supposed to be done here by the

Speaker, who was responsible as far as knowing what was in the petition was concerned.

Mr. SPEAKER observed that there was a difference between reading and receiving petitions; this was the point at issue. The ordinary reading merely comprised the recital of the prayer of the petition and the name of the petitioner by the Clerk; and when he declared that a petition could not be received, he or somebody was supposed to have read it. Whether at this stage it was within his competence to do so, he was really not prepared to say.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—The reading is the necessary preliminary to the reception. We must know what is in it before we determine whether we will receive it.

Mr. SPEAKER—The question being altogether technical, I am bound to consider technicalities.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) stated that the authorities clearly ruled that a petition with affidavits, appendices or any other documents, attached, could not be received.

Mr. SPEAKER—The only question that arises, is whether I should not have knowledge or cognizance of the fact that there is anything attached to it.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell)—I leave that altogether to yourself.

Mr. SPEAKER—None of the ordinary rules make the Speaker examine the petition, that I am aware of.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Let it be taken as read.

Mr. SPEAKER—This should not be the case unless its reading is moved.

The petition, which charged Mr. Justice Loranger with gross partiality and injustice, being read

Mr. SPEAKER stated that it was now for the House to determine whether, in a matter of such gravity, the petitioner should not be allowed to detach from the petition what seemed to be appendices within the meaning of the law; he thought that cases existed where such permission had been given.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) doubted whether this could be done;

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he considered that the schedule was one of the most material parts of the petition.

Mr. SPEAKER observed that this was a matter resting entirely with the House.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell)—The petition is either regular or irregular.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The petitioner, it appears, states in the body of the petition that he desires to establish his charges against Mr. Justice Loranger by certain schedules attached.

Mr. SPEAKER—The schedules contain the details of the case, the charge is substantially in the body of the petition.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Then the petition must fall to the ground?

Mr. SPEAKER—The details are specified in the statement, A. B., annexed.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I think it important that the ground for your ruling should appear.

Mr. SPEAKER—The reception of the petition is refused on the ground that appendices are attached to it.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. McDONALD (Cape Breton), previous to the Order of the Day being called, rose to make a personal explanation connected with a statement which had appeared in a newspaper over the signature of a member of the House. It was to this effect, touching the transfer of the Pictou and Truro Branch of the Intercolonial Railway to the Local Government, with a view to the extension of the line eastward:—

"I have done all that could be done, and have stood alone for the extension. Had it not been for me even its name would not have been mentioned.

(Signed), "N. L. MACKAY."

His explanation was this:—When this question was before the House he stated distinctly from his place that he was opposed to the transfer of this road by the Administration to the Local Government, unless with the condition that the road should be extended all the way to Louisburg; that it would be unjust, particularly to

the county of Cape Breton, which he represented, if the transfer were made with the view of having the road merely extended to the Strait of Canso; that the impression prevailed in his county that the Hon. Premier had during the past year resisted a good deal of pressure intended to induce him to consent to such limited extension, and that the hon. gentleman had obtained more credit for this in Cape Breton than for any other of his acts since his accession to office; that the transfer would be unjust to his constituency, particularly because it at present owned a large portion of the road the Dominion Government proposed so to be transferred, and that if it was only extended to the Strait of Canso this would be of slight importance to the county he represented. He might also state that if his hon. colleague had not placed a notice on the paper asking for the correspondence touching this matter, he would have done so himself.

Mr. MACKAY—I was about to speak when the Speaker said I was out of order.

THE SUPREME AND EXCHEQUER COURT OF CANADA.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the third reading of the Bill to make further provision in regard to the Supreme Court and the Exchequer Court of Canada. He said he had considered the suggestion of the hon. member for Montmagny, but had not thought it advisable to make any alteration in the Bill in regard to the quorum or the appointment of *ad hoc* Judges.

The Bill was read the third time, and passed.

THE INLAND REVENUE.

On motion of Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT, the House went into Committee on the Bill from the Senate to amend the Act respecting the Inland Revenue.

The Committee reported the Bill without amendment, and the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

INDIAN LEGISLATION.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD moved the House in to Committee of the Whole on the

Bill to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians.

The first and second clauses were adopted without amendment.

On clause 3,

Mr. PATERSON suggested that the word "male" be struck out.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said it made no difference, because when an Indian man married a white woman she became a member of the band, but when an Indian woman married a white man, her children did not share in the lands.

Mr. PATERSON doubted if it was wise to impose a penalty on an Indian woman for marrying a white man. He contended it would be a benefit to the country to encourage such intermarriages.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said there was a great deal of force in the remarks of the hon. member, and an endeavour was made in another sub-section to meet the objection. It was proposed to allow an Indian woman who married a white man to retain her annuity moneys during her life time, and if she wished to receive the capital sum, she could do so by drawing ten years' purchase of annuity money. Of course she and her husband would then cease to have any connection with the band, and their children would not be considered.

The sub-section was passed.

On sub-section B, which was as follows:—Provided that any Indian having for five years resided principally in a foreign country, or having for a like period very rarely resided with or visited the band to which he or she belonged, shall cease to be a member thereof, and shall not be permitted to become again a member thereof, or of any other band, unless the consent of the band with the approval of the Superintendent General or his agent, be first had and obtained; but this provision shall not apply to any missionary, teacher or interpreter, while discharging his or her duty as such.

Mr. SCRIVER objected to any member of a band being thus deprived of his annuity.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained in some cases Indians went to the United

States and shared the annuities there, only returning to Canada long enough to draw their annuities here.

Sir JOHN MACDONALD objected to this proposition, which would have the effect of dealing with the Indians as serfs of the soil.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said they should belong to one country or the other.

Mr. BORRON contended that it would be an arbitrary exercise of power to deprive Indians of their birth-right because they spent a portion of their time in another country, where, perhaps, they found it most convenient and profitable to reside and work.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD quite understood that it would be convenient for the department to have such an arrangement as this; and that the Indians would approve of it, because the fewer there were in a band the more its members would receive; still, it was their birth-right, and they should not be deprived of it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE reminded the House that many of our Indians were adopted into United States tribes, while Indians from that country were adopted into bands in this country. There was a sort of reciprocity among the tribes in this respect.

Mr. PATERSON said our Indians had a perfect right to adopt any number of outsiders they pleased. Their money was their own, and they could do what they pleased with it. Every inducement should be offered to the Indians to leave their reserves and mix with the whites. He suggested, therefore, this sub-section should be dropped out altogether.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said in the North-West, the Blackfeet Indians roam on both sides of the boundary line, and it was very possible some of them would have to be received into our treaties, and some into the treaties of the United States. He did not think any Indian entitled to receive annuities on the other side of the line should have the same right here. The clause was therefore necessary.

Mr. PATERSON remarked that it was not a question of dealing with our money. If it did, there might be some reason for directing that if an Indian

went into a foreign country he should not share in it; but on the contrary, this legislation would deprive such Indians of the enjoyment of their own money. This money, at all events, belonged to the Indians in his (Mr. P's.) own country, who had never received a cent from us. Their affairs were administered by the Government, and he could not really see the justice, under the circumstances, of taking from them their own money.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—We do not let them use their money as they wish.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—But you have not the right to take it away from them.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—We do not take it away.

Mr. FLEMING thought it strange that Indians should be prohibited from obtaining land in the North-West, when the most ignorant and illiterate immigrant could enjoy that pre-emption right.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It will be more convenient to discuss that matter when we come to the clause in question.

Mr. FLEMING—I allude to this clause.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) stated that the wording of the clause was perfectly clear. Indians were precluded from the enjoyment of such a right after an absence of five years, but yet not entirely, as it could be restored with the consent of the Superintendent and of the band as well.

Sir. JOHN A. MACDONALD—They will not consent to give up their own money.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—After an absence of five years an Indian is not reputed to belong to a band, but in our experience, when an Indian returns and really wishes to live with the band again, he is generally received with open arms.

Mr. BOWELL—I understand that this clause is to stand.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—Yes.

Mr. BOWELL—I also understand that the words "professional man" are to be added after the word "interpreter."

Hon. Mr. LAIRD.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—Yes; that will be one amendment.

The clause was allowed to stand.

Clause D,—Provided that any Indian woman marrying any other than an Indian or a non-treaty Indian shall cease to be an Indian in any respect within the meaning of this Act, except that she shall be entitled to share equally with the members of the Band to which she formerly belonged in the annual or semi-annual distribution of their annuities, interest moneys and rents; but this income may be commuted to her at any time at ten years' purchase, with the consent of the Band, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN enquired if this was at present the law?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied that it was not at present. Any Indian woman marrying a white man was entirely cut off from her former rights. This amendment was added at the request of the Indians, who were greatly pleased with it.

The clause was then adopted.

Clause E provided also that no half-breed in Manitoba who has shared in the distribution of half-breed lands shall be accounted an Indian; and that no half-breed head of a family (except the widow of an Indian, or a half-breed who has already been admitted into a treaty), shall, unless under very special circumstances, to be determined by the Superintendent General or his agent, be accounted an Indian, or entitled to be admitted into any Indian treaty, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained, in reply to the Hon. Mr. Langevin, that the reason for introducing this provision was this:—Persons of mixed blood had desired to join in the benefits of treaties made, and had attained their object, receiving their annuities annually. Lands had been given to the half-breeds in order to extinguish their titles.

Sub-sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, and section 4 were adopted without discussion.

Section 5—“The Superintendent General may authorize surveys, plans and reports to be made of any reserve for Indians, showing and distinguishing the improved lands, the

forests and lands fit for settlement, and such other information as may be required; and may authorize that the whole or any portion of a reserve be sub-divided into lots,” being taken up,

In reply to Mr. Paterson, the Hon. Mr. LAIRD stated they would be only too ready to authorize surveys, when these were desired by the Indians.

Mr. PATERSON remarked that a large minority might be opposed to this proceeding, and the Superintendent General might feel a delicacy about doing so, under such circumstances, whereas if the latter had simply to carry out provisions of law, he would relieve himself of any possible odium.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—We might, however, require surveys for central locations, and disputes might arise between Indians on the reserves, necessitating the ordering of surveys being made on our part.

Mr. FLEMING said he was of opinion that before any steps were taken towards the enfranchisement of the Indians, that the clause should be amended as follows:—“That whenever the majority of the male members of a band, of the full age of twenty-one years, assembled at a meeting or council thereof, summoned for that purpose according to their rules, and held in the presence of the Superintendent General or his agent, shall decide upon having the whole or any portion of their reserves subdivided into lots and held by them in severalty, the Superintendent General may authorize surveys, plans and reports to be made, showing and distinguishing the improved lands, the forests and lands fit for settlement, and such other information as may be required.”

Mr. PATERSON was unable to agree with his worthy friend in this matter. He had no objection to the clause being added, but to take the power from the Superintendent General and rest it in the band alone he did not think was desirable.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD objected to the amendment on the ground that what the hon. gentleman asked for was in the enfranchisement clauses.

Mr. BANNATYNE said that some Indians in Manitoba had sold land to settlers in good faith, and there seemed to be a difficulty as to the titles of the land on which no improvements had been made. He thought something ought to be done in regard to the matter before the clause was passed.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) thought it was only fair that something should be done to legalize these sales.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said this would be opening up a wide field. If they admitted the right of giving titles to the Indians, they would probably find the whole North-West in the hands of other persons. He found in an old proclamation of the British Government that purchases of lands from Indians were strictly forbidden. It was understood that Indians could not dispose of land except by treaty to the Crown. If an Indian occupied a piece of land outside a reserve, although he was allowed to enjoy the results of his improvements he had no right to sell the property.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said this land had been given to these Indians by Lord Selkirk for services rendered. The lands were situated below Sugar Point, and permission was granted the chief at the time the lands were given to the band.

Mr. BANNATYNE reiterated the statement.

Mr. FLEMING was willing to withdraw the amendment, but he regarded it as an essential one.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD again called the attention to the fact, that what the hon. gentleman desired was provided for in the Enfranchisement Clauses.

The clause was adopted.

On Clause 6,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he thought it would be a great hardship to deprive some Indians of their acquired rights as would be the case by this clause. Some Indians had bought lands from others.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said that such a purchase was illegal.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN thought that they should do something more than merely pay those Indians for the im-

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provement of those lands in which they had acquired right.

The clause was adopted.

On the 10th clause,

Mr. SCHULTZ said there were some men in the North-West who were almost pure whites, who had taken treaty money under the belief that they would not thereby be placed in the position of Indians. He believed they should not be so classed.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD thought they were in a better position to have their lands as they were, protected by the Government.

Mr. SCHULTZ said these men were not Indians and it would be a hardship to give them no opportunity to withdraw from this treaty.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD reminded the hon. gentleman that they could have withdrawn under the Act of 1874. Those who did not choose to withdraw had to be treated as Indians. He did not see why half-breeds in Manitoba should be treated differently from half-breeds in other Provinces.

Mr. RYAN said there were some Indians of the North-West who cultivated lands and who were not allowed to participate in the treaty moneys. They were not very numerous and they should be encouraged. They should either be allowed to share in the treaty money or in the half-breed lands.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said Indians who were not half-breeds were always allowed to come into the treaties, and some who had lately come in were even given back pay. There was therefore no ground of complaint on that score.

Mr. RYAN expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the explanation.

The Committee rose and reported progress.

At Six o'clock the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved that the House go into Committee of supply.

Mr. DE COSMOS, in amendment, moved that the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be

"Resolved: That in 1871 the public faith and honour of Canada was pledged in the most solemn manner to British Columbia 'to secure the commencement, simultaneously, within two years from the date of Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as might be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of Union.'

"That owing to divers causes the construction of the said railway was not commenced in British Columbia or elsewhere at the time agreed upon.

"That in 1874 the Government of Canada applied for to British Columbia and afterward secured and accepted, through the intervention and upon the recommendation of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, an agreement for the relaxation of the railway clauses of the terms of Union; and the public faith and honour of Canada now stand pledged to carry the said agreement respecting the said relaxation of the Railway clause of the terms of Union, forthwith into operation.

"That notwithstanding the public faith and honour of Canada stand twice solemnly pledged to construct the said railway and commence the actual construction thereof in British Columbia and elsewhere, and notwithstanding nearly five years have passed since the date of Union, and nearly three years have elapsed from the date at which Canada agreed first that the actual construction should be commenced, and nearly eighteen months since she agreed the second time to commence the construction, yet the Government have not, up to the present moment, commenced the actual construction of the said railway in the said Province.

"That, therefore, this House is of the opinion that the Government should forthwith promptly commence and vigorously and continuously prosecute the work of the actual construction of the said railway within British Columbia in accordance with its solemn pledges to that Province."

He said he had no wish to discuss the question if the Government would let the resolution pass. He saw, however, they were unwilling to do so, and he would, therefore, proceed to address the House. On the 1st of April, 1871, an Address to Her Majesty passed this House providing for the Union of the Dominion of Canada with British Columbia, and on the 5th of the same month it passed the Senate, British Columbia having passed its Address sometime in January, 1871. The two Addresses were then beyond the control of this Parliament or the legislation of that Province. In accordance with the 146th section of the

Union Act, an Order of the Governor in Council was passed uniting British Columbia to the Dominion. It had been alleged by hon. gentlemen on both sides of this House that a certain resolution which passed the House of Commons on the 11th of April, 1871, must be considered part and parcel of the terms of Union with British Columbia. Now, if the House of Commons could by any possible action of its own import a new condition into the terms of Union without the assent of British Columbia or Her Majesty's Government, or even without notifying either of them, they could do the same to-day, and if Canada, as one of the contracting parties to the treaty, could so make new terms and conditions, the Legislature of British Columbia could upon its own motion and without the assent of any of the parties to the contract, do likewise and expect the Dominion to carry out the new terms. He wished to remove from the minds of the hon. gentlemen in this Parliament and throughout this country the idea that the resolution passed in the House on the 11th of April, 1871, could be construed to be of more vital force or effect than this—that it was a scheme prepared by the then existing Government to construct and operate a railroad from the Pacific Ocean to the railway system of Canada.

He defied the Minister of Justice, his (Mr. Blake's) leader, or any of his party, by any principle of logic or any sound rule of interpretation of Statutes, or by any rule of ordinary common sense, to import that resolution into the terms of Union. He threw down the challenge to the hon. gentlemen or to any one in this respect. Having said this he left the subject where it was, but if any one did affirm that the delegate from British Columbia, Gov. Trutch, assented to this resolution, he could inform him that he had the authority of that gentleman to state that in the first place he was not authorized to interfere with the terms of Union, and that in the next place his mission had no relation to any such interference. He would read from the despatches, to remove from the brain of the Minister of Justice a part of the vapour clouds

floating through it. Hon. members were to bear in mind that sometime in January, 1871, British Columbia passed the Address for the Union; on the 1st of April it was passed in this House; on the 5th of April it passed the Upper House; and on the 11th of April that resolution was adopted by this House. It was alleged that Gov. Trutch, then on a visit here, assented to the resolution as to be considered henceforth a part of the terms. He quoted from Volume 4, Sessional Paper No. 4, Paper 18, 1875.

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
BRITISH COLUMBIA, Jan. 23rd, 1871.

“MY LORD.—I have the honour to forward for the information of your Lordship's advisers, printed copies of the Address to the Queen, which has been passed by the unanimous vote of the Legislative Council, praying that Her Majesty will be pleased under the provisions of the 146 section of the British North America Act, to admit British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada on the basis of the terms and conditions offered to this colony by the Government of the Dominion of Canada therein set forth.”

This was not then on the basis of a resolution passed on the 11th of April, after the Address had been adopted by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia.

The despatch continued:—

“Gov. Trutch, who is already known to your Lordship as one of the delegates who conferred with them on this subject last year, will proceed to Ottawa next month for the purpose of affording any details or information which may be required during the passage of the corresponding Address through the Canada Parliament.”

It was not an Address then different from that of British Columbia, but a corresponding Address. Gov. Trutch was empowered merely to confer as to details, and not as to changing any condition of the terms of Union; and also to adjust such matters of arrangement between the two Governments as might have been necessary before the declaration of Union. He would state one of the details:—An Act was passed, he believed, in 1870, imposing fifty cents per gallon on spirits for one year, with the view of providing for the support of the telegraphic system of British Columbia. In conformity with the instructions given by the Legislative Assembly, those who belonged to the executive and official staff and the heads of Departments had expected pensions, and the

County Court Judges, who also expected pensions, were anxious to have the matter settled and the arrangements concluded here, as well as in England; and so Gov. Trutch was sent as a delegate to secure the final conclusion of the preliminaries to Union.

He thought that he had shown that the resolution referred to, and frequently mentioned in this House—and on some occasions he had already denied that it formed part of the terms—could not by any rule of construction, moral or otherwise, be included as part of the terms of Union. What was next found? That the Government of Canada on the 20th of July, 1871, when the Province was united with Canada, in accordance with the provision in the resolution, which he had copied verbatim from the Union Act, sent to British Columbia surveyors and surveying companies; for two years they continued to make exploratory surveys of the Province with the view of running the railway through it, and on the 20th of July, 1873, they expected that this line would be commenced. In the meantime Sir Hugh Allan and his associates had received the charter to build the road; subsequently, owing to divers causes this charter was surrendered, and then followed the resignation of the late Government.

The present Administration had not been long in power when they sent an agent to British Columbia to request its Government to consent to a relaxation of the terms of Union.

He would not occupy the attention of the House with an explanation as to the real causes for the breaking off of these negotiations; but one fact was very certain: they were broken off, and there ended the matter for the time. British Columbia then petitioned Her Majesty the Queen to urge the Dominion Government to carry out the terms of Union, and possibly six months were occupied in the negotiations between this Government, the agent of British Columbia at London and Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In November, 1874, he thought Lord Carnarvon made his recommendation; and in December of the same year—these facts might be easily verified—

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this Government agreed to carry out this recommendation, with which British Columbia was content.

An Hon. Gentleman—No!

Mr. DECOSMOS—Some hon. gentleman said, "No." Well, it was a very small gun that blew off "No."

He was willing to believe that the Premier intended to do so faithfully; but a split occurred at the time in the Ministerial party, and although the Bill necessary to make these conditions operative was carried yet, when it went to the Upper House, the friends of the Hon. Minister of Justice joined the Opposition, and by this means threw it out.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I have no friends.

Mr. DECOSMOS—The hon. gentleman said that he has no friends. If the hon. gentleman pursued his vacillating policy any longer he would not have many friends. If the hon. gentleman was prepared with his new departure and wished to get rid of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; if he was also prepared for minority representation, if he was ready for compulsory voting, besides supporting his hon. friend from Bothwell in his motion regarding the Senate, and to induce the Leader of the Government to concur in it so far as to say he would vote for it and then promise to take it into consideration and bring it down to the House, the hon. gentleman would have few friends.

The hon. gentleman's *bonâ fide* leader had not mentioned one iota of the vagaries of the hon. gentleman in the Speech from the Throne; and under these circumstances the hon. gentleman might well say that he had no friends.

Let them look at the friends of the hon. gentleman; the Hon. Mr. MacMaster and the Hon. Mr. Penny, both he believed life-long supporters of the Ministerial party, voted against the Bill introduced by the Leader of the Government. The next day Senator MacMaster, however, withdrew his vote, although it had then appeared printed on the Journals, but taking this view of the case, it still stood 22 to 21. If the friends of the Minister of Justice had then voted for the Bill it would have been carried, and the difficulties which now existed would not have occurred.

What more did they do? The Ministry induced the Government of British Columbia to pass an Act to enable them to take a certain belt of land for the construction of the Railway. But what did the Dominion Cabinet do? Why, nothing save that on the 20th of September they assented to a Minute in Council passed on the 14th, proposing to the Government of British Columbia to surrender their right to the building of a road between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, compensation to the amount of \$750,000 to be given, not for delays that had taken place, but for delays that might occur. Naturally enough the Government of that Province refused to accept this as an equivalent for the possible expenditure of two millions of dollars.

That Minute of Council was published in the Provincial Press, and then the *Globe*, the great organ and oracle of the Ministerial Party stated, evidently according to the information contained in the letter of Sir Alexander T. Galt, that it was on the one part a surrender by British Columbia, and by the Dominion Government on the other part, for some indefinite period for the construction of the Pacific Railway.

Now, having found the interpretation put upon the despatch in British Columbia corroborated by a review of that Minute in Council in the *Globe*, how could they by any possible means understand anything else than that the review of the *Globe* was a matter of inspiration sent to them by the Government at Ottawa? The Opposition papers having taken the matter up, they knew there was no escape from it; and so they said it meant so and so, but any one reading that Minute in Council could not put any other construction upon it than that to which he had referred. The Legislature of British Columbia met, and having considered the Minute in Council forwarded to Her Majesty's Government an Address asking her to urge the Dominion Government to carry out their pledge to British Columbia. There the matter rested. He had stated that the Government had done nothing except pass this Minute in Council. He would, however, tell them some things the Government did do. At the time when this

document was in the breeches pocket of the hon. gentleman at Ottawa they had ordered two survey parties out, one starting in Nanaimo and the other Esquimalt, to make a location survey on that road. In addition to that the Government ordered previously £5,000 worth of steel rails, which were landed in British Columbia at the very moment this Minute in Council was in the hands of the hon. members of the Executive. The Privy Council at that very moment showed a degree of duplicity that was quite astonishing. The people of British Columbia thought the railway was going to be built. There were the rails, there were the surveys and there was the despatch which was withheld for some six or seven days after it was agreed to in Council. Now, the Government of British Columbia having promptly refused the offer of \$70,000, that was supplemented by the Minute in Council, going at length, into the merits of the case, and that was forwarded here. That left British Columbia on Februry 2nd and would arrive in Ottawa on the 16th of the month. A month later a Minute in Council was passed here in reply, thus prohibiting the Parliament from having an opportunity of hearing the report of Her Majesty's principle Secretary of State for the Colonies on the two Minutes of Council of February 2nd, of British Columbia and that of the Dominion Government. Where the matter stood at the present moment was this. The people of British Columbia were dissatisfied and the Government of Canada was recalcitrant. The people of British Columbia were so much dissatisfied that in his latest letters from that Province he was told that if there was no *bonâ fide* work commenced within that Province immediately, an agitation would commence that would end in the secession of the Province from this Dominion.

Mr. RYMAL—They do not mean anything,

Mr. DECOSMOS said he sincerely hoped they did not mean anything, and that they would not carry their threats into execution; and if the Government were prepared to do the Province justice they would not.

Mr. DECOSMOS.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—They had better settle up first.

Mr. DECOSMOS desired to state in reply to the senior member for Halifax, that in looking into the public accounts he found that much abused Province called Nova Scotia, which that hon. gentleman had laboured hard to take over to annexation or anywhere else, had received up to July 30th, 1873, \$2,500,000 more out of the Treasury than they paid into it, and he would like to know whether the hon. gentleman, when he was moving at that time to go out of the Union, would have been prepared to pay over that \$2,500,000.

Mr. JONES—Of course.

Mr. DECOSMOS was very sorry that this duty had been imposed on him. It was a painful duty to him to have to call the attention of the Government and the House to a violation of the terms of Union. He was one of the first to move for Confederation with the Dominion, and had had in consequence to bear more abuse and experience more difficulties than any other man in his Province. He contended, right or wrong, in season or out of season, that the people of Canada were an honourable people and would carry out whatever they agreed to, and that they would not on any occasion be unfaithful to their pledge. But it was his lot again after the Union had been consummated, after they had been united for five years, to rise up in the House and say faith had not been kept with British Columbia. He would like to know whose fault it was that faith had not been kept with British Columbia? Was it the fault of the people of that Province? The hon. member for Bothwell said yes, but he could assure him that there were utterances even of members of Parliament that could not be believed, and he had not the slightest doubt that there were oaths of some members of Parliament that would not be believed, but he hoped they did not belong to this Parliament. Before he went any further he desired to call the attention of the House to its own acts. The resolution he had offered asked that the Government should forthwith cause this railway to be proceeded with. Now, what did the House and

the Government do last year? The Government recommended, and the House voted \$6,250,000 for works of construction. The funds having been placed at the disposal of the Government he could not for one moment conceive why the Government did not go ahead and commence the work of construction in British Columbia. The Government not having done so, he and the people of British Columbia regarded it as a legitimate grievance. The Minute of Council of September 12th said this:—"The proposed railway from Nanaimo to Esquamalt does not form a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway as defined by the Act." Now, it was within the knowledge of the House, and it was within the knowledge of the hon. member for Charlevoix, that in the Session of 1872, on the floor of this House, after the point had been settled respecting the eastern terminus of that road, that he put a question to the Government asking where they intended to make the western terminus of the road? The hon. member for Charlevoix, then Minister of Public Works, stated that the Government intended to make Esquamalt the terminus, and he afterwards learned the hon. gentleman had made that statement after consultation with his colleagues.

On the 7th of June, 1873, an Order in Council, on the recommendation of the chief engineer, was passed making Esquamalt the terminus. In addition to that a belt of land was reserved, and was still held, on the east coast of Vancouver Island at the request of the Dominion Government and to some extent in conformity with the Statute of Union. When Mr. Edgar was sent to British Columbia, authorized to make a proposition to that Province, he stated the Government would build that portion of the railway from Esquamalt to Nanaimo, and in another place he speaks of the whole line. Now the word "portion" implies being a part of the whole, and therefore the interpretation put upon this by the agent of the Dominion Government was simply carrying out the idea of the Hon. ex-Minister of Public Works. It would be unreasonable to end that railway on a bluff on the sea coast or on the top of a mountain, or where

there is not a harbour approachable at all hours of the day and all seasons of the year. The road on Vancouver terminates at the only port which can successfully compete with the rival railways in the United States, five of which are now in course of construction and one in actual operation. The Order in Council offering \$750,000 to British Columbia repudiated this branch of the trans-continental railway, and after the Government of that Province had refused it, the Dominion Government, instead of commencing the work of construction and prosecuting it vigorously, had done nothing, and in the estimates had put down *nil* instead of a million. It merely showed this Government had no intention whatever to commence the construction of the railway this year in British Columbia. The Minute in Council said this road on the Island was offered as compensation for the delay in constructing the railway. He denied this, and challenged the Minister of Justice or any of his colleagues to produce a solitary letter, telegram or communication showing that this Government had offered to build this portion of the road as a matter of compensation. In order to convince Her Majesty's Government they had done all they could and more than should be expected of them, a financial statement was attached to the Minute in Council. The Minister of Justice stated that British Columbia, with a population of 10,000, paid into the Dominion Treasury for the last six months of 1876 the sum of \$275,333, which would give for the financial year, if an equal amount should be paid in the next six months, \$550,000—equal to \$55 per head, according to the hon. gentleman's own figures. In 1871-2, British Columbia paid \$36.29 per head (according to the hon. gentleman's basis), in 1872-3, \$38.53; in 1873-4, \$39.11; in 1874-5, \$46.40; and in 1875, \$55.06.

Mr. MILLS—What is the population?

Mr. DECOSMOS said he took the Hon. Minister of Justice's own figures as they appeared in the Minute of Council sent to Her Majesty. In the heat of an election in West Toronto, the same hon. gentleman said the popu-

lation was one-third of that constituency, which would give 6,700 as the population of the Province. At Walkerton or Aurora, the hon. gentleman said there were not two thousand men in British Columbia. His last estimate was 10,000, and if the hon. gentleman kept on he would be able to form more statesmanlike opinions than he had apparently yet entertained.

In 1874 Ontario paid into the Treasury \$2.69 per head; Quebec, \$5.55; Nova Scotia, \$3.63; New Brunswick, \$4.89; Manitoba, \$5.69; British Columbia (according to the figures of the Minister of Justice), \$39.11. It appeared somewhat extraordinary that one tax payer in British Columbia was equal to 13 tax payers of the great Province of Ontario. British Columbia had paid into the Dominion Treasury since the Union \$1,879,226, and received from the Dominion \$1,204,338 more than that amount. This was advanced as a reason why that Province should not complain. That would be very good for a special plea to put before people who knew nothing about settling new countries and building up a nationality, but it would not deceive the people of this country who took large views of such matters. When British Columbia came into the Union her people had full faith in her future, but she was a young and struggling colony. They were prepared to barter her future for assistance in the present to construct public works and settle the country. For that assistance she would afterwards pay a hundred or even a thousand fold. To illustrate this, he showed that a gentleman purchases an estate and has money enough to pay for it, but not to improve it. He borrows money paying interest on it, and by-and-by receives not merely in rents his interest on the capital invested, but his estate is so increased in value that it gives him a profit on his outlay. Now this Government in looking at British Columbia, Manitoba and the North-West should take the same view and say: "We are real estate buyers. We intend to be real estate owners. We can buy this estate from the western boundary of Ontario to the Pacific by the payment of a small sum annually, and we will invest money in

"it from time to time by borrowing."

Now, coming back to British Columbia, instead of these moneys being charged against the Province as a sum of money paid out of the consolidated revenue or out of the income, it should be charged to the account of capital, and then it would show that the Dominion had paid \$1,200,000 more than was received from British Columbia, at 4 per cent. for interest and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for sinking fund; all British Columbia would have against her to-day would be \$54,000 per annum. Any statesman would take this view of the matter, that the money necessary to keep the Government of British Columbia moving under the Federal system should be considered as money paid out of capital instead of out of income. Still further he wished to draw the attention of this House to some simple facts, and he would leave the hon. gentlemen to draw their own conclusions. In 1872-3, the revenue paid to this Dominion by British Columbia, was \$385,330. By the statement brought down by the Hon. Minister of Justice for 1875, it was \$350,666 to the end of that year. Deduct the revenue of 1872-3 from that and they had an increase of revenue in that Province of \$165,336. Within a period of three years they had the revenue of that Province increasing nearly fifty per cent. According to the same ratio—taking the hon. gentleman's 10,000 as the population of that Province, which he need not say was incorrect, add 5,000 more to it and it would bring the annual revenue paid to the Dominion up to nearly \$800,000. It might be well for some hon. gentlemen to sneer at a Province that was increasing so rapidly in revenue, but they who drew their conclusions without prejudice would see that British Columbia was one of the most promising Provinces, and one that it was the duty of the Dominion by all possible means to sympathise with and support. Another item in these expenses charged to the Province was this: That Province did not require all the expenditure that the Federal Government had gone to, and which they would not have incurred if they were alone. But the federal system of Gov-

ernment entailed extra expenses on each of the Provinces that they would not have if they controlled their own legislation. These additional expenses he considered should not be charged to the Province. So far as the railway expenditure was concerned, British Columbia had no control over it; it was an expenditure entirely within the bounds of the Dominion Government, and in his opinion one-half the money was wasted in useless explorations. He believed they were wasting money in useless surveys there to-day. There were only two or three places where they could get through the Cascade range with a railway, and any one of sound judgment would see at once, if he were not an engineer, where that road ought to go. But what was the case? They had been now nearly five years exploring for a route, and up to the present time the hon. Minister said they had not found one, and the Minute in Council says they had not found a line. By some strange means or other they had no report brought down to this House of the surveys for 1874, although the last surveyors from British Columbia returned to headquarters in November, and the chief of that division came here early. Up to the present time five months had elapsed and no report had been brought in. He was prepared to say that these reports had been kept back designedly. When the reports were brought down in 1874 they were also kept to the last moment and it was now just as the House was about to close and when no one would have an opportunity to move a resolution or ask for information, this railway report would have to be brought down and they would be asked to act upon it. He regretted the course which the Government had taken to-day, as nothing more or less than using this House to register their decrees. He thought Parliament, whether under the control of a majority or not, ought to be a deliberative body, and they should not be compelled to sit there night and day simply to register the decrees of the Government without having an opportunity for fairly discussing every question that came before them. If he had supposed for a moment that any opportunity would have been al-

lowed him to bring forward this resolution during the present Session at any other time, he would not have taken advantage of the motion that Mr. Speaker leave the chair and that the House go into Committee of Supply to put it before the House. He hoped hon. gentlemen would give it the full and fair consideration which its importance deserved and prove to the people of this Dominion, to the people of British Columbia and to the people of Great Britain that the Parliament of Canada, or at least a large majority of Parliament, are men who are not prepared to tarnish their honour nor violate the public faith.

Mr. CHARLTON said the question was one of great importance to the Dominion of Canada; it was a question, the consideration of which ought to engage the grave attention of this House and country. As to the responsibility of the Government for the speedy construction of the road, he did not propose to enter into it; but he proposed to briefly look at the question upon its abstract merit, to look at it apart from any complication or any agreement that may surround it just as if we were upon the threshold of the negotiation and about entering into the construction of the Pacific Railway at this moment. If no elements entered into the discussion but the feasibility of the project, and the proper time to build the road, what would be the probable course this country would take in this matter? He thought it would be held to be an absurdity to agree within a stipulated time, without consideration of the resources or ability of the country or the difficulties of the route, to build that railroad through 2,700 miles of wilderness. He believed that the agreement to build a road 2,700 miles for the use of 22,000 inhabitants, or less than ten to the mile, would be looked upon as the height of absurdity. Of course it might be held that the railway would develop business and increase the population, but he apprehended that we should be guided in the celerity with which we prosecuted that project by the amount of business that might be developed on that road as it proceeded in its construction. Of course the projectors

and promoters of the enterprise would claim that after the road was opened from ocean to ocean a large amount of through business would be developed, but he thought there was a great deal of fallacy in the estimate of the probable amount of through freight. He believed that the estimate of Asiatic trade likely to be secured was greatly exaggerated. The popular impression that the Union Pacific Railway was largely supplied with freight from the China and Japan trade was erroneous. There was a line of steamers from San Francisco to China and Japan, sending a ship once a month each way, and the amount of business furnished by these steamers to the Union Pacific did not amount, in his belief, to one full train per week; and that was not all through business, but partly business for the Mississippi valley. The United States commenced canvassing the project of building a railway from the western limit of their railway system to the Pacific, not when the country had a population of four millions, but of twenty millions, and then they felt themselves unable to cope with such a gigantic undertaking. It was not until the United States had over 30,000,000 inhabitants, and a population of 750,000 on the Pacific slope and the Western Territories, that they ventured on the construction of the Pacific Railway. They did not commence that railway any too late; the time had come, but not more than come, for entering into such a project, and the line to be built was only about 1,700 miles in length instead of 2,700 as in Canada. The construction of the Northern Pacific Railway was not commenced and proceeded with until the rails had been laid from the head of Lake Superior to the Missouri River, and then the project failed, carrying down its promoters to ruin, demonstrating that the time for the construction of that road had not come. The portion of that line constructed had the business of Manitoba, the Upper Missouri and of Montana. It had not paid running expenses although it was infinitely more feasible than the Canada Pacific was to-day.

In 1872 a great panic swept over the United States; it prostrated the business of that country, and it was

felt by every commercial nation on the face of the globe. What was the immediate cause that led to that prostration? It was the building of railways in advance of the requirements of the country, through sparsely settled districts. It was the sinking of money and means in unproductive enterprises—capital that was practically lost and squandered, and that was what contributed more largely than any other cause to the panic in the United States. Without building the Canada Pacific Railway the Dominion was now verging upon the condition which the United States were in at that time, with regard to railway expenditures, when the panic overtook them. We had built railways now that were not required. The Government were operating railway lines that were an expense to the country, and they were about to open another railway that would be a tax upon our resources and a charge upon the revenue of the country for an indefinite period. The Dominion was perhaps on the verge of disaster from unproductive investments in public works, and the time had come to consider our position and go cautiously on in the course we had now taken. If we were on the threshold of this great enterprise, and were governed by the dictates of reason and by the extent of our ability and our resources, what would be the course we would take with regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway? At first, in his opinion, we would build a line of road from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, and there we would pause, as we would have afforded communication from the Winnipeg basin to the great lakes of America, and would have given to the entire valley of the Saskatchewan an outlet to the markets of the world. Then it would be natural for this country to wait until settlement had increased in the country and its resources were developed and until further communication was required for the people of the North-West. When that time arrived, if it were ten, twenty, thirty or fifty years, he would then proceed with the construction of that road to the interior of the continent, and not before.

It was a mistake, a fallacy, to suppose that the construction of railway

lines made a nation great or added to its wealth or prosperity unless they were constructed for a legitimate purpose to afford the population and produce of a country egress and ingress and the means of inter-communication; otherwise what was invested in a railway was money lost, until it began to make returns for the investment.

Although we had in the North-West, as he was proud to state, an extensive and fertile region, for certain reasons he believed that its settlement must necessarily proceed slowly. He did not believe that a great exodus of the inhabitants of Europe would pass to these plains, as had been the case with the Prairie States of the American Union. Quite a large proportion of European immigrants would avoid it; the Germans would naturally go further south; the residents of the British Isles, to a great extent, would follow this example. Though the Scandinavians would likely go there, still it would fill up slowly, and until a great influx came into that region it was folly to make provisions for their wants. He had often heard the grievances of British Columbia aired on the floor of this House. A stranger unacquainted with the circumstances might suppose that it had been grievously treated and that the policy of Canada toward it had been one of parsimony and severity; but this was not the case. Six members from that Province representing in all one-half of the population he represented, had seats here, and they made more noise than the delegates from any other Province. His hon. friend from Victoria admitted that British Columbia had received, since the Union, \$1,300,000 more from our revenues than it had contributed to them—or \$130 per head, counting men, women and children; and the Government had offered that Province \$750,000, or \$75 per head. Yet this had been spurned with contempt, though it was equivalent to \$300,000,000, if settled in the same proportion on the whole population of the Dominion. The Government were disposed to treat British Columbia with the utmost liberality, recognizing the fact that it was still young, with extensive but undeveloped

resources; they were indeed anxious to do so, looking upon it as a portion of the Dominion which should grow powerful, populous and great, and to any reasonable demands on its part they would cheerfully accede. But they did not hold that this was to be secured at the expense of the prosperity of the entire Dominion; the interests of 10,000 people on the west side of the Rocky Mountains were not of more importance than those of four millions on the east side. The Pacific Railway policy of the Government was as liberal as the people of Canada would sanction in connection with an enterprise likely to be barren in economic results, and if such a policy was adopted as would increase their burdens, the Government that did so would be overthrown in disaster and disgrace. The accumulation of a great debt, and the imposition of increased taxation in this relation would defeat the very object they had in view.

Some twenty years ago, in Iowa, there was a railway mania similar to that which at present afflicted the Dominion; every county and town of any consequence must have railway communication. To secure this the system of bonding counties, municipalities, cities and towns was entered into, taxation grew to 2, 3, 4, and 5 per cent. per annum, and the grass grew in many of their streets. The heavy burden of taxation kept away immigrants and the railways did no business. Liabilities had been incurred to the extent of \$15,000,000; and so it would be in our case if a similar policy were pursued. The proper policy of the Government was to build this road as fast as the means at its disposal would permit, without adding to the burdens of the people; and any Government that taxed too severely the resources of the country in the prosecution of this work would be recreant to their trust and would receive in due time the condemnation of the people for such an act of folly.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) was glad, for the sake of honesty and fair play, to see one of the supporters of the Government tear off the mask in this connection, and openly favour the repudiation of the solemn obli-

gations of Canada. When he read the precious Minutes of Council of the 20th of September and 13th of March,—especially the latter—he became convinced that although couched in the most enigmatical language, they naturally meant nothing save repudiation; and the hon. member for Norfolk had boldly come forward and stated that he was not in favour of preserving Canada's honour intact, proving to the world that Canadians could not be bound by treaties. He had hoped that this would never have occurred in the House; but he was glad to see it now, as it showed what they had to expect from the party in power. The people of British Columbia now clearly knew who were their friends and who their foes. His hon. friend had spoken about 10,000 people; but this kind of nonsense should be stopped. It was no business of that or of any other hon. gentlemen, whether the population of British Columbia was 10,000 or one million. An article of agreement, which they were called upon to ratify, was simply in question. They were not to decide whether 10,000 people should have six representatives or not; or whether these six possessed as much brass as the hon. member for Norfolk; he did not think, however, that they possessed as much. The hon. gentleman proposed to treat this question on its abstract merits; but this road was not intended to benefit 22,000 people, but the whole Dominion. The hon. gentleman said that the United States had not built a road 1,700 miles in length until they had thirty millions of people; but this railway was nearer 2,000 than 1,700 miles in length; and the hon. gentleman forgot to mention the connecting lines west from Chicago to Omaha, and the bridging of the Missouri in this connection. The Western States had been developed by means of railways, and this must also be the case in the North-West. The doctrines of the hon. gentleman would never serve to settle the country.

The Hon. Minister of Justice four years ago proclaimed that he was willing that the national faith should be kept, but since that date the hon. gentleman had adopted another course, coinciding in opinion with the hon.

member from Norfolk. The hon. gentleman had accepted office, and he understood from the hon. gentleman's utterances that the other Ministers had adopted, in a great measure, his doctrines in this connection.

The Cabinet had exhibited a want of energy—he would not say duplicity, as it would be unparliamentary—with regard to carrying on the surveys for the railway, and the people of British Columbia were disgusted. Many had there opposed the acceptance of the terms of Union on the ground that the Canadians would not keep their promises. He had fought for the Union, and he regretted that the predictions of its opponents had proved true. The people of British Columbia had taken up lands and made preparations for the building of the railway; but now all their hopes in this relation were blasted. The Premier had last year made a promise as to when the road would be commenced; but the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill had been afterwards defeated, and the hon. gentleman had then stated that he would proceed in a very short time with the construction of the main line.

In reply to a question asked by the hon. member for West Westminster as to whether the Government intended to lay before the House that season the report of the Pacific Survey in British Columbia during the past year, and whether they intended locating the proposed railway on the main land during the ensuing year, the hon. Premier made the following reply:

“The report for the last year up to 30th June is a ready before the House, the report of the latter half year is not prepared and therefore cannot be presented to the House. It is only a week, I think, since the last of the parties returned who were out on the last exploring survey, but I hope to be in a position within a fortnight to give a summary to the House of what has actually been done during the past season up to the first of January, which will practically lay the present position of the survey before the House as fully as it is possible to do before Parliament rises.” Again on March 5th, the Hon. Premier went in to a very full

discussion of the subject, and in the course of his remarks said:—

“A complete instrumental survey has been made from Tete Jaun Cache down the valley of the Fraser River, that is following the north bend of the Fraser by what is known as route No. 6, down to Fort George, where the Nechaco river falls into the Fraser. At that point it diverges somewhat west, but still following the valley of the Fraser, but ascending the Tete Jaun Cache. The distance from Yellowhead Pass to Fort George is 245 miles, with extremely favourable gradients and light works of construction. This result is obtained, as I remarked, by following the sinuosities of the Fraser river in a general way, and after leaving the Fraser the route is marked No. 7, although it is No. 6 down to a certain point called the Old Fort. A survey was projected from Fort George across the Chilcotin country to connect at Lake Tatla with the surveys made in 1873 to Bute Inlet. The whole distance from Fort George to Bute Inlet is about 305 miles, but a small portion of that route is still unsurveyed, being a portion of the country at the head of Nechaco River, a distance of fifty or sixty miles. Except over this small distance there is no practical difficulty whatever to be encountered in passing through the country, following the valley of the Fraser as I have stated, and this gap is being at present surveyed by a party on snow-shoes; the only reason for doing that is to enable the Government at once to determine whether this part of the route presents any formidable physical obstructions, for if it does not we shall then be able to locate at once the whole of the line through British Columbia, if we decide to adopt this route. We have no reason to believe there is any serious obstruction in those fifty or sixty miles of country; but as the engineers were formerly deceived by the loose reports of Indians about the Clear Water country, it was thought best not to assume that no difficulty existed, but to make ourselves certain as to the true facts we sent a party through the country to make surveys.”

Now, when they had such a statement made to the House a year ago by the Hon. Premier, it certainly was very strange that nothing should be known of the 50 or 60 miles being surveyed a year ago last winter. It seemed the Government were determined to indefinitely protract the surveys from season to season, and no doubt another year would be added before anything would be done. When he told the people of British Columbia that Parliament would proceed with the work as soon as they could, the people ridiculed the idea and asserted that the Government never intended to build the road. He considered that in passing this resolution the House would simply express the opinion that the Government had not done their duty in carrying on the surveys in British Columbia, and it called upon the Government to

proceed vigorously with those surveys. He thought if the Government would look to the future interests of the country they would proceed with the road at once. The hon. member for Norfolk had told the House that the Northern Pacific Railroad had been abandoned, and that it was a far more feasible undertaking than the Canadian Pacific. But that statement was not borne out by the facts. On the contrary it was known that the Canadian Pacific had far superior advantages, both as regards the building of the road and the opportunities for settlement on its route than the Northern Pacific, which had to pass through the great American desert; whereas the Canadian Pacific, for the great part, ran from Red River to the Rocky Mountains through a fertile country capable of settlement and the production of cereals to a high degree. If the Government would only follow the example of the neighbouring Republic they would see a way of building the road. There they were trying to reorganize the Northern Pacific, and if the Canadian road was not built before the Northern Pacific, Canada would be the loser. The Southern Pacific would probably be pushed along with vigour, and when they found a country able to build a road from the Missouri to the Pacific in 3½ years, encountering most serious obstacles in the Rocky Mountains, and then in the Sierr Nevada; and when they saw the immense traffic and freight going over the road, it should stimulate the Government to proceed with this at once. The hon. member for Norfolk had said that the trade with China was insignificant. The hon. gentleman ought to have known that beside the one steamer monthly, there were a very large number of sailing vessels from China, Australia, the Pacific Islands and other places, and the productions of California were sent over the road to the east. But he maintained that the road would create a traffic for itself. When they looked abroad they saw the Russian Empire pushing their road from the Baltic to the Pacific in one continuous line. It would be said that this Dominion was behind the age and an obscure settlement if it failed to construct this road. He hoped the Government

would see their way clear to go on energetically with this work. The hon. member for Norfolk had told them that any Ministry that launched into so wild a scheme would be false to the interests of the country, but he (Mr. Thompson) would say that if no Ministry could stand without violating the plighted faith of the country then the sooner such Ministry, or 10,000 such Ministries, were swept away the better. If the country was only to become great by repudiation and national bankruptcy, the sooner his Province retired from the Confederation the better it would be for itself.

Mr. RYMAL said he was well aware of the views he had always held on the question. He never did believe that the Canadian people were in a position to undertake the building of so gigantic a work without ruin to themselves, and the more he had studied over this matter the more confidently did he think he was correct. So far as his friends in British Columbia were concerned, he had the kindest feeling imaginable towards them. He wished them all the prosperity it was possible for them to enjoy, but he was not willing that all Canada and her interests should be sacrificed in order to please British Columbia in this respect.

Let us consider the position the people would stand in were the Government foolish or mad enough to undertake to build this great work. Our present debt is \$140,000,000. If our Canadian Pacific Railroad should cost at the same rate as the Union and Central Pacific railroad, it would involve an outlay of \$300,000,000. He was willing, however, to place it at \$200,000,000. Then we had entered into engagements in the way of canals and other public works that would add another \$60,000,000 to our debt, and if our railroad should be completed in ten or twelve years, our public debt would reach \$400,000,000. It was as easy to say \$400,000,000 as 400,000,000 cents, but not so easy to get it out of the pockets of the taxpayers. Let us see what that means. Interest on \$380,000,000 at five per cent. would be \$19,000,000 annually. Moreover, the First Minister when speaking on this subject two or three

Mr. THOMPSON.

years ago, said if the road were ever completed it would take a subsidy of \$6,000,000 annually to keep it in running order. This would make an annual charge on the people of Canada of \$25,000,000. He had made a calculation of the number of teams it would take to move the interest on our public debt. Suppose twenty silver dollars weigh a pound, and a team is able to draw a ton, it would take a string of teams $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, one team to every two rods, 160 to the mile, in all 600 teams. To move our entire debt would require 9,600 teams, forming a string of 60 miles. Fancy what a caravan it would be extending from this city beyond Prescott, drawing the public debt of 4,000,000 of people. He did not believe he had overdrawn this picture, and when people told him the 4,000,000 inhabiting this Dominion were able to bear such a burden of debt, he had come to the conclusion they were mad or crazy. He believed it would be utter madness for the Government at a time like this—yea, he was going to say, within the lifetime of anyone in this House—to attempt to build this entire line of railway. He was willing, nay, anxious if it could be shown to be in the public interest to go step by step with these improvements, but it was utter madness or worse to undertake to do so at the present time. He called upon the Government to beware if they wished to retain their seats. Everything surrounding the inception of the Pacific Railway had caused grief, ruin and shame to one great party, and if the Government ventured to follow in their footsteps they would meet the same results. Unless they made haste slowly they would find themselves, as Paddy said, “standing prostrate.” He approved of the economical policy of the Government and advised them to continue it until more prosperous times came. If he remained in this House he would give a parting kick to one Government after another until he could find one that would learn the secret of economy—the true success of a people. Extravagance was as disastrous to nations as to individuals. This resolution would have the effect of drawing the attention of the people

to what they had to expect, and British Columbia would know that while the Dominion was willing to treat them fairly, generously and justly, it was not willing that the entire interests of Canada should be sacrificed to their needs.

Mr. WORKMAN said he had opposed this scheme as strongly as he could when it was first brought up in this House, and the more he thought of the subject the more he was convinced of the wisdom of the course he then pursued. He was quite certain if this railway were carried out in the manner proposed by the late Government, our country would be sunk to a state almost of bankruptcy. This question ought to be met in a spirit of kindness and conciliation, because the people of British Columbia had some claims upon us. The hon. member for Wentworth had very clearly shown the amount of debt this undertaking would impose upon this country. Our debt was \$140,000,000 already. Were we prepared in order to construct a railway for some 9,000, or at most 12,000 people to double that debt? He could conceive of nothing more disastrous than the reckless spirit that seemed to take possession of some members of this House. They seemed to think so long as they could borrow money in England at a low rate of interest and spend it here recklessly the country would be the gainer. There never was a greater mistake, because if we wish to maintain the integrity, honour and credit of Canada abroad, we must guard with the strictest economy and care our public expenditures. Suppose this railway were constructed and in running order tomorrow, was there any company that would undertake to run two trains per day over it for less than \$5,000,000 a year bonus and all the earnings of the road in addition? He did not think there was. During this very month of March it would require over 1,000 men to keep that road in running order, and what would it be for? To keep up communication with some eight or ten thousand people on the other side of the continent. He approved of the opening of rail and water communication to Manitoba as quickly as our circumstances and credit would permit, and

when that great work was completed it would be time enough for the Government to look the other question fairly in the face. He had seen in his own experience young houses entering into business, raising money on paper and showing large balance sheets; but this past year, and the last three months especially, had shown to the commercial community the utter folly of such a course. Such would be the result of carrying out this great undertaking. The hon. member for Cariboo remarked that we were entering upon a state of bankruptcy. If we were not so now, it arose from the fact we had men at the head of the Government who would look carefully to the revenue of the country before undertaking to carry out this enterprise. He (Mr. Workman) was as loyal a British subject as any member of this House, but he thought it would have been very proper if the Government of this Dominion had told Lord Carnarvon when he interfered in this matter we were at all times prepared to receive kindly advice from the Mother Country and to act upon it whenever we found it in the interests of the country to do so, but we would refuse to allow Great Britain to interfere in our domestic matters. That was the policy he advocated here and which he hoped would be advocated hereafter. He had heard the grievances of British Columbia aired extensively, and one would almost suppose that Province formed the whole Dominion. The House had been told over and over again that the Customs revenue of that great country was about \$550,000. That much had been paid into the Customs in Montreal in a week, but there was no demand from that city for large expenditures on public works in consequence of it.

Mr. ROSCOE thought it would have been much better to have brought up this discussion in Committee of Supply. At all events, the hon. the senior member for Victoria should have waited until the Ministry had explained their policy before bringing forward any resolution. He would make a still greater mistake if he forced his resolution to a vote. He hoped the hon. gentleman could be persuaded to withdraw it after discussion, as he did not

see what good it would accomplish. He (Mr. Roscoe) would vote for it, however, for this reason, the Government were bound to commence the road at Esquimalt. They ought never to have undertaken to construct the island section except as part of the Pacific Railway. Although an attempt was made to represent it as a mere local road, it would be seen in the letters of instruction from the Premier to Mr. Edgar it was distinctly stated it was part of the Pacific Railroad. Lord Carnarvon also referred to it in the same manner. Thus: "That the section of the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo should be begun at once," meaning the Canadian Pacific Railway. He (Mr. Roscoe) maintained that the Government should not have offered to build the road from Esquimalt to Nanaimo except as part of the Pacific Railroad, and they should not have brought in a Special Act for the purpose. Even when that Bill was thrown out of the Senate the Government, he considered, were still bound to commence the road at Esquimalt under the Railway Act of 1873, and for that reason he would vote for this resolution.

He thought that the history of what had taken place with regard to British Columbia since the present Government came into power would be acknowledged to have been the history of a series of mistakes. The Hon. Premier in his speech at Halifax, after his return from England, called the Terms of Union with British Columbia, which he received from the late Government, an elephant, referring no doubt to the story of the man who, in a raffle, won an elephant which he did not know what to do with. They (British Columbia) were afraid at one time that the hon. gentleman was going to adopt an easy mode of disposing of that elephant by simply giving it a kick and letting it go. The hon. gentleman, however, had provided an apt illustration of the mode in which his Government had dealt with this question, which strongly resembled the mode of treatment adopted toward the elephant by the unfortunate speculator. If they went as far back as the first negotiations through Mr. Edgar, the House would admit the whole affair was most unfortunate, but

Mr. Roscoe.

he had less reason to blame the Dominion Government, as the then Provincial Government had behaved foolishly in the matter also. Then he thought it was a mistake to agree to the building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway unless they were certain of being able to carry it out. Then they subsequently made up their minds that they were not in a position to build that road, and they determined to offer some other compensation for the delays that were agreed upon. That proposition might have been made in a very few words, simply proposing instead of building the Esquimalt Railway to give a certain sum of money and clearly stating that the other terms of Lord Carnarvon's arrangement to expend two millions of dollars a year on the mainland should be strictly carried out. This would have prevented any misunderstanding. But instead of doing that a long rigmorole of a document was prepared, which finished up by offering a sum of \$750,000 for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway. The universal opinion throughout British Columbia was that it meant the abandonment of the whole of the Carnarvon terms.

To show how impossible it was to understand the exact meaning of this Order in Council, they found the newspaper that was the chief supporter of the Government took the same view of the matter as the people of British Columbia, that this offer was made as a veritable abandonment of the whole Carnarvon Arbitration. Then there was another great mistake, that was waiting for some months until this Minute in Council was written, for the Government made up their minds shortly after the prorogation of Parliament and they should have sent out their decision at once. There should have been no private negotiations between themselves and the Government of British Columbia. When he left the people of British Columbia knew nothing about any private communication, and he believed the Lieut. Governor himself knew nothing about it. There were several points in the Minute in Council which he wished to refer to. Reference was made to the resolution passed in this House regard-

ing the new increase of taxation—and which resolution they had constantly brought to their notice—and it is stated that this resolution was passed “contemporaneously” with the Terms of Union; but on reference to the Minutes of Proceedings he found that it was not passed until ten days after the Terms of Union had been adopted by the House and had in fact gone forth beyond the control of this Parliament. It was said, moreover, in the second Minute in Council:—

“The Committee would observe that the resolution in question was passed within a few days of the time at which the Terms of Union were assented to by the House of Commons; that it was well known that in order to secure the consent of a majority of the House to these ruinous terms the Government of that day were obliged to promise to their supporters the introduction of such a resolution; and that the then delegate, now the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, was present and aware of, and doubtless an assenting party to the arrangement.”

Well known to whom?

It was well known to the Government, no doubt, and to the members of this House, but he denied that it was known to the people of British Columbia when they went to the polls with the Terms of Union in their hands to vote for Union with Canada, and it was quite absurd to suppose that they should be bound by it. They were bound to a certain extent to consider the resolution, but they were not obliged to regard that resolution as legally binding. It need hardly, however, be considered, because if the terms of Lord Carnarvon are carried out there will probably be no necessity for increasing taxation in order to build the railway. The Minute of Council also argues that Mr. Trutch, the present Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, who happened to have been one of the delegates at the time the Terms of Union were arranged, was then in Ottawa, but the people of British Columbia could not be bound by that resolution because Mr. Trutch was at Ottawa and at that time he did not object to it. What could Mr. Trutch do? Was he to rise up in the gallery of this House and object to it and subject himself to being expelled by the Sergeant-at-Arms? He had Mr. Trutch's authority for stating that he was not in a position to object

or assent to that resolution, as he was not in the House at the time it was passed; and it was too ridiculous to think that the people of British Columbia should be in this way bound by it. It was absurd that the representatives of British Columbia should have to get up Session after Session and be obliged to discuss the question whether the railroad should be built at all. Hon. members seemed to overlook the fact that the people of British Columbia joined the Dominion on the agreement that the railroad should be built, and they treated the building of this railroad as if it had nothing to do with the Terms of Union. It was simply absurd to have any connection between Canada and British Columbia unless that railroad was built. British Columbia might as well be federated with Australia or New Zealand as with the Dominion without a railway. He could show that the construction of the road in British Columbia to the extent of two million dollars a year would pay for itself. It had been shown by his colleague that every white person in that Province was paying to the revenue something like \$30 a head. They had in British Columbia a chain of mountains extremely rich in mineral wealth, being a part of the chain extending from Central America almost to the North Pole. A railway through that country would open up mines and the country generally and would bring in population to a large extent. If they had an expenditure of two millions a year in the construction of that road it was all they expected. The interest on that amount at the low rate paid by the Finance Minister would be only \$80,000 a year, while the expenditure of the two millions a year would probably add to the population of British Columbia at the average rate of 2,000 a year, the additional revenue derived from which would pay the interest on the amount expended in construction. He would probably have some further remarks to make in Committee.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said the hon. gentleman who had just sat down had stated that since the Government came into power a series of blunders had been committed by them with regard to British Columbia. He quite

agreed with him. When the Government occupied seats on the other side of the House they took the position that the Terms of Union were incapable of fulfilment. The amendments which the party then moved, the objections which they urged and the mistakes which they pointed out had all received moral vindication and fulfilment. He thought therefore when the Government came into power it should have been their first duty to have repudiated that agreement. He thought the Government should have said to the people of British Columbia: "We were opposed to the policy of Union on these terms, and we are quite willing that you should go back as you were; we are determined to hold in power the opinion we held in opposition, and we are convinced that the country will maintain us in our views. But if you think you can do better without us unless we fulfil these terms you are quite at liberty to go." He thought the Government and the people of this country should be the judges of what was for the interest of the people of Canada in everything that concerned the Dominion, and that they should never have allowed Lord Carnarvon or the British Government to force them into a second arrangement, which he believed the people of this country did not approve of, and would not sustain the Government in carrying out. We should be quite willing to accept the advice of the British Government on matters where Imperial interests were concerned, but in questions of a peculiarly domestic character such as this, involving the question of burthens on our own people, we must claim to be the best judges of our own policy, and he thought the Government would have occupied a much stronger position had they taken the ground with reference to the arbitration of Lord Carnarvon which was suggested last year. On these two points he quite agreed with what the Government proposed, although they did not exactly accord with the views he would like to have seen adopted. The hon. gentleman had moved a resolution asking the House to express an opinion in favour of the immediate commencement of the railway. It was high time that

Mr. JONES.

hon. members should speak out freely, frankly and fully on the subject, regarding which there should be no misunderstanding; and the Ministry should have the benefit of the opinions and advice of the representatives of the various sections of the country.

When the Terms of Union with British Columbia were being decided upon, he had moved an amendment stating that they were too onerous; but though the Government voted it down, and subsequently also an amendment proposed by Sir Alexander T. Galt, it was only after they promised their supporters that if they did so, a provision would be introduced into the Pacific Railway Bill to the effect that the road would not be proceeded with if it increased the taxation of the country. This was done; a company was formed and an attempt was made to obtain the requisite capital; and they all well knew how disastrous was the failure, finally involving the downfall of the Administration.

The present Government had made a mistake in not repudiating, when they came into power, the whole arrangements; but brought in another Bill in order to carry out in a more gradual way such a policy. A proviso similar to the one he had mentioned was also included in this measure; but they knew that nevertheless the burdens of the country had been increased.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—But not on that account.

Mr. JONES—Yes, on that account. The hon. gentleman would surely not pretend to say that if expenditures had not been made in connection with this railway, we should not have had so much the more money in the Public Treasury; an additional burden had been imposed, and the stipulation of both the late and present Ministry had been violated, 10,000 people desiring the construction of this road.

An Hon. Gentleman—No!

Mr. JONES—An hon. gentleman said no; he would make the number 30,000 if the hon. gentleman wished it, but still they knew it was 10,000 people who asked them to expend from \$200,000,000 to \$250,000,000 in building this line, this could not be done without

ensuring our financial ruin. If the 4,000,000, residing on this side of the Pacific State, burden themselves forever in this matter and mortgaged our resources for all time in order to reach these 10,000 by rail, the policy would be found to be most ruinous. He wished, on the contrary, to make of this a cheap country to live in, in order to attract immigration; and we knew that our neighbours were endeavouring to reduce their expenditure and their taxation. He would communicate to the House the opinions of a gentleman better qualified than himself to speak on this subject—a gentleman who had passed through that country and who was possessed of great ability and a large amount of information regarding its agricultural and other resources—Rev. George M. Grant, of Halifax, the author of "From Ocean to Ocean," and the Secretary of the first railway engineering expedition that had crossed the Continent, accompanied moreover by the engineer-in-chief only last week. Rev. Mr. Grant in addressing an audience at Halifax, regarding the future of the North-West, said:—

"What is the true Canadian Pacific Railway policy? Two preliminary points are clear. First, that our views should be determined by our present and not by our past knowledge, still less by what this or that Government has said or done. The past and the present Governments deserve both praise and blame for what they have done in this matter, but we need not be anxious to apportion either praise or blame. I doubt if a Fisk or a Jay Gould would have been adventurous enough to agree to build the railway in 10 years; but the provision that it must be built without imposing additional burdens on the people of Canada was the act of a statesman in."

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD — Hear! hear!

Mr. JONES — The hon. gentleman said hear, hear, but the reverend gentleman stated, that provided no additional burdens were placed on the country, this would be the act of a statesman.

Rev. Mr. Grant thus continued:—

"Whether the Government or a company should build the Canada Pacific Railway is a fit subject for debate, but of this there can be no doubt. The best emigration and colonization policy is also the best railway policy of the Dominion. And therefore the proposal to build the railway in ten years seems to me unwise, if not chimerical. It should not be built at all, if population does not flow into our North-

West. Population is certain to flow there if right means are taken to attract the current, but at what rate who shall venture to predict? And the railway should keep ahead of the current only sufficiently to attract and direct its surging flow."

The Rev. gentleman pointed out that the railway should be built as the settlement of the country progressed. He (Mr. Grant) further said:—

"The first great step to be taken, therefore, in a true Canadian Pacific Railway policy, is to secure easy access by mail or steamer for emigrants, if possible, through our own territory, at least during the summer months, into this Great North-West of ours, and to work in connection with this a vigorous emigration and colonization policy. The Canada Pacific Railway should not be commenced from the Pacific side until at least one million of Canadians are settled west of the Red River of the North. On the basis of the debt allowed to each Province under Confederation, one million of people would be entitled to a debt of \$24,000,000; and the expense of providing access to, and of opening up the North-West would be fairly chargeable to the first colonists of the country."

It was the deliberate conviction of a gentleman who had travelled through the country that the road should not be commenced until at least 1,000,000 people were settled on the west side of the Rocky Mountains.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—What does he know about it?

Mr. JONES—He (Mr. Grant) has been there, where my hon. friend has never been; and he had a great reputation to sustain. He (Mr. Jones) hoped that the House would at once arrive at a conclusion on the subject, and instruct the Government perhaps more strongly than they desired. Hon. members should express their opinions frankly, and not allow either this or any other Government—because Governments were always disposed to spend money in order to meet the pressure brought to bear upon them by the representatives of a whole Province like British Columbia—to commit any act of folly. He did not wish to say anything disrespectful concerning the hon. members from that Province, but he could not abstain from observing that the pretensions of these hon. gentlemen were rather prominently placed before the House, considering the number of people the hon. members represented, and the distance they lived from these Provinces. These six hon. gentleman argued their

case, generally with great ability, but not always with great moderation, and he thought that the retorts they occasionally drew upon themselves were perhaps justifiable, if not allowable. We must, however, look to our future and not burden ourselves forever with debt. In Nova Scotia, national works of great public utility existed; there was for instance the proposed extension of the railway from Yarmouth, an important section of the Western country for which they had a short time ago asked for assistance. The Government could not help them, because they could not aid a local railway, and for this they had not blamed the Ministry. Many hon. members again thought that the Pictou and Truro Branch of the Intercolonial Railway, running through the coaling section of Nova Scotia, should be extended by the Government from New Glasgow and the Strait of Canso, and ultimately to Louisburg, holding that this would be a wise policy. He was of the same opinion, that this was a national work, but the Government could not undertake it. Doubtless other hon. members could make similar observations with regard to public works in their own Provinces. He had sufficient confidence in the good sense of hon. members to believe that they would not vote for such a monstrous proposition as was contained in the resolution—and if the people of the country believe that, the latter would sustain hon. members in recording such a vote. For these reasons, he was glad that the hon. member had brought up the subject, and he trusted that it would receive at the hands of hon. members the most emphatic condemnation.

Mr. McDUGALL (Elgin) stated that this was a matter of very great importance. It had occupied the attention of the country for several years, and it had been discussed in the House on numerous occasions. During the short period that he had had the honour of a seat in the House he had heard the name of British Columbia repeated beyond his power of enumeration. As he understood the question, that Province was a part of the Dominion, which was, of course, entitled to as much consideration at their hands as

any other portion of it. The original intention had been that the Pacific Railway should be built within ten years, but he thought that scarcely any person in this country expected at the time that this promise could be realized. When that proposition was made he was quite sure that the hon. member for Victoria did not anticipate such a culmination. We had, however, this question on our hands; and he was free to confess, as far as he was concerned, that it was a white elephant on the hands of the people of this country.

The building of the Pacific Railway was an immense undertaking in every respect, and a great national undertaking. He listened to the remarks of the hon. member for Halifax with a great deal of attention, when he said he thought the Government were to blame for not repudiating the arrangements entered into by the previous Government with respect to this railway. However unwise the policy of the previous Government might have been, they were supposed to represent the public feeling of the country. The faith of the country was in their hands and they had pledged that faith to the people of British Columbia and to the world that they would construct this road within a certain number of years. It was true that the present Government, when it came into power, very sensibly came to the conclusion that it was impossible to build the road in that time. He believed the policy of the present Government to be perfectly correct. Reference had been made to the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railroad and the action of the Government with regard to the building of that road. He knew there was a difference of opinion on the subject even between the First Minister and some of his supporters. But that difference was easily understood. It consisted, as was very distinctly stated by the present Minister of Justice, with respect to how far they should carry out the suggestions that were made by the Secretary for the Colonies. The proposed building of this road was not, as he understood it, a part of the Pacific Railway. Had it been a part of that road, he (the First Minister) would have stipulated for the construction of the

railway. Not receiving the authority of both branches of the Legislature, like practical men, the Government did what was the next best thing to do. He would appeal to the hon. member for Victoria to say as to what other course the Hon. the First Minister could possibly pursue in order to meet the claims of the people of British Columbia. The Administration had made a proposition to give them \$75,000 of the moneys of the other portion of Canada, for very little of that sum would be contributed by the people of British Columbia. But the people of this portion were not content with this offer. They were determined to demand a literal fulfilment of the Terms of Union and the building of the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, which under the circumstances they knew to be entirely impracticable. The demands of British Columbia were, forsooth, exceedingly modest in that respect. In every other part of the Dominion the people were denying themselves the expenditure of moneys for the purpose of carrying on public improvements on account of the stringency of the times. But British Columbia said "You must be burdened to a still greater extent for the purpose of carrying on public works in our section of the country or we will secede." The Nanaimo branch, he contended, was not a portion of the Pacific Railway proper, for if it were the Premier would have come down to the House with a Bill to enable him to build the road. Had the road been a portion of the Pacific Railroad the Act of 1874 would have been sufficient to enable him to construct it without further legislation. Now the hon. member for Victoria told them that the pledge given by the late Government should be carried out. As far as the House was concerned they had done all they possibly could to carry out the policy that was commenced by the late Ministry, but their efforts were repudiated in the other branch of the Legislature. Why was this proposition made? It was made for the purpose of the consideration for the relaxation of the terms originally entered into between Canada and British Columbia as to the time. He did not agree with the remarks of the hon. member for

Halifax with regard to Imperial interference. He thought as long as we remained a part of the British Empire that the Imperial Government had a right to make suggestions on the administration of our affairs, and the First Minister had a right to listen to those suggestions. He was happy to hear that the hon. gentleman had listened to the suggestions of the Imperial Government, and he (Mr. McDougall) had supported him for doing so in regard to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. He thought it would have been well for the hon. gentleman who introduced the resolution to have examined the Pacific Railway Act of 1874 before he came down with a resolution asking this House and the country to expend a large sum of money in British Columbia. He had introduced a resolution condemning the policy of the Government in terms expressing want of confidence in the Government. The first enquiry was how far the hon. gentleman was justified in doing so with the Statute of 1874 before him, the terms of which were that the building of the Canada Pacific Railway should be carried on as rapidly as possible and without increasing the burdens of the people? Was the hon. gentleman prepared to say the policy of the Government was not sustained by that portion of the Statute? He was quite surprised to hear the hon. member for Victoria say that unless the demands of British Columbia were met that there would be a disturbance in that Province which possibly might end in secession. He wished to tell the hon. gentleman that the whole people of Canada felt interested in British Columbia and she could not secede. She was now a part of the Dominion and would remain so as far as he was concerned. He deprecated the discussion of any subject from a purely sectional point of view. They were not there to represent sections or Provinces. Our system of Government was of such a character that they were interested in every part of the Dominion, and were sent to Parliament to legislate for the general benefit of the whole Union. One opinion which had gained ground in regard to this matter was that British

Columbia was anxious that a larger amount of money should be expended in order to have the money of the rest of the Dominion expended there, in order that those who were there might reap the advantage—that they might dance while the rest of the Dominion would have to pay the fiddler.

Mr. BUNSTER—No, no.

Mr. MACDOUGALL observed that as the hon. gentleman said “no, no,” he was inclined to think the hon. gentleman would not have given that response unless the remark he had made was pretty nearly correct. Now he was as desirous as anyone that the faith of the country should be preserved. He was desirous to see the railway completed as early as compatible with the interests of the country, but he believed with the hon. member of Norfolk that to build a railroad before there was any occasion for it was a very unprofitable speculation. He was of opinion that the proposal of the Government would meet with the general approval of the country and should be accepted by the House as the most reasonable course to pursue under the circumstances. At present to carry this railroad across the Rocky Mountains was out of the question. He had no doubt that there would be a time when if it was practicable to proceed with this work it would be desirable it should be done, but that would be when the great North-West became settled up, and when the inhabitants of that territory would need an outlet at the West as well as at the East. To expect this to be done at the present time was more than the country was capable of carrying out.

He thought, therefore, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the condition in which this enterprise stood and the financial position of the country, that the proposition of the Government to the people of British Columbia should have been accepted by them. The course now being pursued was in harmony with the general opinion of the country at large, and was as much as could be expected by those who felt most deeply interested. Consequently the Government should be sustained on this occasion.

Mr. MACDOUGALL.

Mr. DAVIES said it was high time a decided opinion should be expressed on this great question. It was entirely beyond our resources, and would involve us in financial ruin to build 2,700 miles of railway through a wilderness. From the very first he had been in favour of a Federal Union of the Provinces, but it would be better to let British Columbia secede than undertake such a work. It would have been better if the Government had consulted their followers on this subject. We have already got the Intercolonial Railroad on hand, which he considered a useless work. It would cost \$2,500,000 a year to run it. He utterly repudiated it as a Maritime work. If in addition to that we had to pay the working expenses of the Pacific Railroad, and interest on the debt, it would ruin the country. The people are already overtaxed and could not bear the additional burden. Better let British Columbia go back to Downing Street. No doubt the country about Peace River was very fine, but even though it were settled, the cost of getting grain to market would be so great as to render the shipment of it unprofitable. We could not expect much merchandize from China or other Asiatic countries, because we could not compete with steamships. The amount offered to British Columbia was, perhaps, too small. It would be better to increase it to two or three millions, and let them give up pressing us to construct this gigantic work which would land us in financial ruin.

Mr. METCALFE said during this debate he had been reminded of the old heathen maxim—“Whom the gods wished to destroy they first made mad.” Certainly, it was infatuation in the extreme to expect 4,000,000 of people to construct 2,700 miles of railway in such a short time without increasing the rate of taxation. We had the example of the American Pacific Railway before us. With 40,000,000 of people at one end, and more than 1,000,000 at the other, with large commercial centres like Chicago on the line, it was anything but a financial success. What might we expect from the proposed road with 4,000,000 of people at one end, and ten or twelve thousand white and a few

thousand Indians at the other, constructed through a vast wilderness, with rocks and hills of stupendous magnitude, sufficient to appal the most energetic and sanguine contractor in the world. Certainly the expense would be immense. It was difficult to estimate its cost. There could be no doubt it would reach \$200,000,000. Considering its inaccessibility to supplies there was no doubt it would cost more than that. Then supposing it were constructed and ready to run, it would cost at least \$8,000,000 a year to operate it. Added to the interest on the cost of the road, it would equal nearly the whole revenue of Canada. And what freight would there be? There was no local traffic, and he very much doubted whether a single train of freight from Japan or the East Indies would cross the continent in a year. Consider the time it would take to run from Calcutta, Canton and Melbourne—35 days by steamer to the western terminus, then 12 days across the continent and 12 across the Atlantic, in all 59 days without including the time lost in transshipment. A vessel could transport a cargo from London to the East Indies or China in 31 days by the Suez Canal, or by the direct route in 65 days. Even the old clipper ships sailed it in 70 days. It was unreasonable, therefore, to suppose this traffic could be secured for our railroad. This Government would not be doing its duty if it entered into such an immense undertaking and agreed to complete it in such a short time. If it was to be constructed at all, it could only be in short lengths, as the resources of the country would justify.

Mr. PLUMB said that he could not vote for the resolution of the hon. member for Victoria, that he did not assume to speak upon the question in behalf of his friends in the Opposition benches, but for himself only, and he deeply regretted that such a resolution had been brought in drawn in such a form as to preclude him from supporting it.

When the Government resolutions for the construction of the Pacific Railway were introduced two years ago, they were sustained by a very large majority of this House, and he was

surprised at the line of argument now pursued by gentlemen forming that majority, who had accepted the resolutions forming the Railway Act of 1874 without objection or criticism, because it was not followed by them before. He was not disposed to believe those resolutions were brought in as a sham, but that the Government were earnest in their determination to build the railroad in a reasonable time. The Opposition did not consider themselves responsible for any legislation with regard to the Pacific Railroad since 1873, and as far as keeping faith with British Columbia was concerned it must rest with the Government that made and accepted the intervention of Lord Carnarvon. A good deal had been said about the impossibility of building the Pacific Railway, and the line across the continent now in operation south of us had, been referred to as a warning by the hon. member for North Norfolk. Now the net earnings of the Union and Central Pacific Railroad in 1874 amounted to \$14,374,751. The capital stock was \$92,020,000; debt \$131,719,000—total cost \$223,739,000. It must be remembered that these roads were constructed during the war in the United States, when labour was dear, and the inflation of American currency had enhanced the cost of all railway material. The stocks of these companies had been very extravagantly "watered," and the whole construction was of the most improvident character. Therefore, 40 or 50 per cent. might be deducted from the cost, which would give for building the 2,260 miles of the main line, and 243 of branch lines, \$150,000,000. At that rate the net earnings of the road in 1875 would be nearly ten per cent. on the outlay. Therefore it did not look like the financial failure it was represented to be by the hon. gentleman from North Norfolk. The capitalists who constructed this road, notwithstanding the financial panic, were running one down from San Francisco to Southern California, and were turning it eastward, intending to cross the mountains again in the direction of Texas. He had seen a proposition from the President of that road, undertaking to construct a line to Texas if the United States Government would give him a

grant of about 15,000 acres per mile of land in the vicinity of the line without any other subsidy or assistance, and stating that he had 2,000 men on the road and had spent \$5,000,000 already in its construction. That was undertaken by capitalists who understood their own interests and knew by experiment what was profitable. As to the cost of constructing our Pacific Railroad, the best test of that was the practical experience of those who had built the great road over the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains and the difficult country intervening, certainly as formidable a route as ours.

He was not arguing that we should undertake the Pacific Railway now or that we should throw a burden of increased taxation upon the people for the purpose of building the road. He was not aware that anyone proposed to build faster than the resources of the country permit. He did not know any statesman who had ever been mad enough to argue that the road should be forced through within the space of a few years. British Columbia, he had no doubt, would be satisfied if it was completed in a reasonable time. From the initiation of the undertaking it was expressly stipulated that no onerous burden should be thrown upon the people by its prosecution, and that principle had been reiterated in every Bill brought forward on the question. No statesman in Canada, he thought, would dare to advocate the construction of the railway in contravention to that principle, which had been adopted by both sides of the House. The grave objection of the Opposition was that it committed the Opposition to a policy which they had never in any respect sanctioned. They never proposed that the road should be undertaken by the Government, but that a proper subsidy should be granted a private company for building it. They believed that the construction of a railway by the Government was an expensive and wasteful process, but their policy had been entirely reversed and changed, and the responsibility of the change of course rested with the large majority which sustains the present Ministry. It did not rest with the minority to suggest any policy on this question now, but they were certainly

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prepared at any time to support a proper scheme for the construction of the great work in question. They had not ceased to believe that the road was desirable for the country—that it would enrich rather than impoverish the Dominion if it were constructed with proper economy on the bases adopted by this side of the House—that it would throw a population more rapidly into our possessions in the far West than could be settled there by any other means. This had been proved by the railways constructed in the northern part of Iowa and some parts of Minnesota, which had peopled the districts through which they passed, and had been a great commercial success. A terrific picture had been drawn by the hon. member for Wentworth of the burdens which would be imposed upon the people if the road were constructed. He had loaded an imaginary train of waggons with the silver representing the expenditure. That was a sort of calculation which might be amusing, but it did not deal with the facts nor advance or retard the argument. He was astonished to hear the sentiments uttered on the other side in regard to the driving away of British Columbia from this Dominion. He did not suppose that the House was prepared for the utterance of such sentiments as he was grieved to hear from his hon. friend for Halifax; and he was surprised that they were not received with some expression to show that the opposite side of the House was not in accord with that hon. gentleman. He trusted before the debate terminated he would hear those sentiments repudiated by the majority; at any rate he had no doubt that the large majority of the House were not in sympathy with the remarks of his hon. friend on this point. He regretted that the resolution was not so framed that he could vote for it; the hon. mover might have drawn it up in such a way as would have brought to its support those who like him (Mr. Plumb) adhered to the principle that the railway should be constructed in accordance with the original agreement with British Columbia, even though they might disagree with the mover in the policy of placing such a resolution upon the House.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury) said there was no doubt the question before the House was of the greatest importance, and attracted the attention of the Government as well as the country. The position to which the Government stood to British Columbia and the rest of the Dominion, as well as the stand taken by Lord Carnarvon, must render it difficult and embarrassing to deal with. If the demands of British Columbia were acceded to, a very large amount of debt would be entailed on the country. We owed already \$140,000,000, and the completion of the road prematurely would increase the debt to nearly \$400,000,000. This was most appalling to contemplate, as a public debt must result in increased taxation, and in time our tariff, which would be found inadequate, when increased to any great extent would become prohibitory, and revenue would ultimately be collected on the necessities of life or by direct taxation. Everyone knew that increased taxation meant increased cost of living, and embarrassed manufacturers on account of the advance in the cost of production. Such a state of affairs would deter immigration, and in fact would render the country undesirable to live in. If it was the fact that we had incurred a solemn engagement to build the road in ten, as by first arrangement, or in nineteen as by last arrangement, our position would be appalling and disastrous. He had heard our engagement on this subject termed the "mad act of a mad Government," but that was not the fact, for the former Administration put a rider to their Act, to the effect that they would not carry on the work beyond the resources of the country, or in such a way as would increase the burden on the people; and the present Government in their late Act had a similar rider. This was a safeguard. He would remind his gentlemen that while we were under an obligation to British Columbia to carry out the work as far as possible, we had made a solemn engagement with the rest of the Dominion that we should not by so doing increase the burdens of the country. That being the case, he did not think they need be under very much apprehension. The Government

would not make themselves liable to censure on that score, but would construct the Pacific Railway as fast as our resources would permit. He was anxious to see the road commenced and that it should proceed to Manitoba with all possible speed and give facilities for peopling the North-West Territory and thus increase our population which would enable the Dominion to proceed with the building of the Pacific Road to the Pacific slope. To proceed recklessly would only hopelessly mortgage the Dominion beyond redemption, which, as it would in the case of a private party mortgaging his farm to the full amount of its value, result in embarrassment and disaster. Some severe strictures had been made use of that evening as to the part which Lord Carnarvon had taken in these negotiations. He did not think, for his own part, with all due respect for the British Government, that they understood the interests of this country as well as we did. He believed we understood our own resources and our own political and social requirements as well as anybody on the other side of the water, and while we were willing to give every deference to their opinions, we were in a better position to form a correct estimate of our own affairs. He had always thought that the British Government should have been a party to the building of the Pacific Railway, as it was an Imperial as well as a national work. He did not see how the late Government should have left them out of the contract, as they should have borne a fair share of the burthen of constructing a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Mr. DYMOND said he would not have arisen at that late hour to address the House had not his opinions in certain respects differed slightly from those of some of his friends who had preceded him. He thought it was quite too late in the day to discuss the abstract question of the propriety of building an Interprovincial Railway. It was not one party nor another party alone that was responsible for this work, for certainly before the Terms of Union were made or proposed, or even contemplated with British Columbia, they might have heard or read

expressions of opinion of a more or less authoritative character, pledging Canada in due time to the construction of such a road. Nor did he believe it possible to conceive a Confederation similar to that under which we lived without such means of communication stretching from one end to the other. In that debate it must have been satisfactory to everyone to observe that anything like recrimination had been to a large extent avoided. He believed they were all impressed with what he might almost call the solemnity of the responsibility resting upon them on that occasion, and although they might have as matters of history to refer to some things which many would gladly forget, there was no necessity on that occasion for reviving old sores. Nor did he think on the floor of that House they should speak slightingly of any portion of the Dominion. If the people of British Columbia were few and numerically a feeble folk, so much more was it necessary for those who represented great and powerful communities to allude to their foibles or their weaknesses with all moderation and generosity. They did not stand before the world in a favourable light as regarded their relations with British Columbia. They were in a position more or less humiliating. They pledged themselves to a certain great work, and in the attempt to carry out that engagement they very early broke down. He supposed they were all prepared to admit that there was an error of judgment in the original inception of this scheme; there was a compact made which those who made it knew it was impossible to carry out. There was a blunder also in giving out the contract for the construction of this road a year and a half later, without due consideration or knowledge, on the part of those who made it, as to the difficulties or as to the cost of the work to be undertaken. If they wanted anything to prove to a demonstration how indiscreet—to use no harsher term—was that proceeding, they should find it in the fact that it was left for the Government of the day, after that charter was issued, arbitrarily to determine where the terminus of that road was to be. Was there any member even of the Township Council, or any

person accustomed to give out contracts, who would issue a contract to a contractor who was afterwards to be told what was the work to be accomplished? Months after the Allan contract had been signed an Order in Council was passed which made the terminus of the road 260 miles from the point at which, under the original conditions, this road might have terminated, and that 260 miles as they had heard recently from the Prime Minister and from the report of the Chief Engineer involved, perhaps, the most tremendous engineering difficulties in the world. That portion of the line would have cost not less than thirty millions—every dollar, in fact, of the money subsidy which was to be paid to the contracting company for the entire line. Then there was a blunder committed in a political sense, in making Esquimalt the terminus by Order in Council before all the difficulties involved in carrying the line to that place could be known. That step had led to many of the difficulties in which we were involved at the present moment. Nor did he feel any particular pleasure in contemplating some of the steps which the present Government had been constrained to take since they had come into power. But while he regretted the necessity of having recourse to the counsels of the Colonial Secretary, and while he regretted their having been obliged to consent to build the Esquimalt and Nanaimo road, the House was justified in regarding the original errors of those who made the bargain and first attempted to carry it out as being the main cause of any difficulties that had taken place afterwards. There could be no reason for pointing one single word of censure at the present Government for their honest endeavours to carry out in good faith the original bargain with British Columbia as far as human means would permit. They had now arrived at a point at which it was absolutely necessary, not only to have the candid opinion of the House, but also to come once for all to a policy by which their course should be guided in future—that, to use a common phrase, they should touch bottom in this matter. Having regard to all that had passed;

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having regard to the solemn pledge given to the people of British Columbia, he did not feel that for one moment they should recede from the position that this railroad was at sometime or other to be constructed; but the ground upon which he proposed they should stand was this:—That from that moment they should ignore altogether the local question; that they drop out of sight utterly the wants and wishes of British Columbia as being separate and apart from this Dominion, and that they should proceed to build the work as they should have built it if British Columbia had never existed as a separate Province but had formed a part of the original Confederation in 1867. Of course they had to recognize that British Columbia was to be compensated. When an impossible bargain was made those who made it had to bear the responsibility. They should therefore proceed to construct this road purely as a national work; compensate British Columbia for the delay; pay her in cash or in kind whatever it was right to pay, and forget from that moment every claim or consideration of a local or sectional character. In considering the time in which the work should be constructed, they should consult the interests of the whole Dominion of Canada alone. He would appeal in support of that policy to the resolution placed on the Journals in 1871 by the present Premier, then Leader of the Opposition, which, had it been carried at that time would have saved them all the trouble to which they had since been exposed. But he would appeal also to Lieut.-Governor Trutch's own words, in which he gave expression to what he described as the interpretation of the Terms of Union, uttered at a banquet given in Ottawa, on the 10th day of April, 1871, in honour of the settlement of the terms. On that occasion, Mr. Trutch said:—

“He desired in conclusion to express what was his interpretation and that of the people of British Columbia, of the engagement entered into for the building of the road. When he came to Ottawa with his co-delegate last year, they entered into a computation with the Privy Council as to the cost and time it would take to build the line; and they came to the conclusion that it could be built on the terms proposed in ten years. If they had said twelve or eighteen years, that time would have been accepted with equal readi-

ness, as all that was understood was that the line should be built as soon as possible. British Columbia had entered into a partnership with Canada, and they had united to construct certain public works, but he for one would protest against anything by which it should be understood that Government were to borrow one hundred millions of dollars or to tax the people of Canada and British Columbia to carry out these works in a certain time. Not even Shylock would have raised his pound of flesh if it had to be cut out of his own body.”

That declaration of Lieut.-Governor Trutch that Canada was not to be taxed, that the people of Canada were not to be oppressed or ruined by taxation in order to carry out the terms, was according to him the true interpretation of the bargain just consummated, and was perfectly consistent with that resolution so often referred to, recorded on the Journals of the House, which declared that the work should be constructed without adding to the existing taxation of the country. They knew by the despatch lately laid before the House that while the Government would proceed, or desired to proceed in the spirit of Governor Trutch's remarks and in the spirit of the resolution which pledged them not to oppress the people of Canada with additional taxation to carry out the work, they declared that “it remained only to “endeavour to construct the Pacific “Railway as rapidly as the resources of “the country would permit.” He ventured to submit that in that declaration, the last they had heard from the lips of the Government, a Government which no one in that House seemed inclined to censure or condemn, was to be found an assurance that should satisfy the most eager of the British Columbians and not cause alarm to the most patriotic of Canadian citizens. He hoped that his hon. friend behind him would be prepared to adopt that policy. He did not think that the hon. gentleman expected to accomplish much by his resolution, and he trusted that the debate, when it reached British Columbia, would induce the people to be more willing than they had previously shown themselves to be, to take a sound and sagacious view of the subject and enter into the partnership heartily, earnestly and honestly, prepared to receive their fair share in the great prosperity which he believed

belonged to this country, and of which we desired that they should enjoy no meagre part.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM urged the hon. member for Victoria to withdraw his motion, satisfied with the expressions of opinion he had obtained. He thought that a division on the subject at the present stage would be premature. A vote would place some hon. members in an awkward position. The hon. member for Victoria had made many statements about British Columbia in an eloquent manner, but some of them he was not prepared to endorse. Public opinion was divided in the Province on this subject. There was the party of the mainland and the party of the Island. Different opinions were entertained there with regard to the manner in which the terms should be carried out. He trusted that certain hon. members had not expressed the views of the Government in this connection. If they had, the result would be disastrous for British Columbia, but he was prepared to wait until the Government brought down their policy in this regard—then he would take the liberty of speaking on this question.

Mr. BUNSTER stated that if any question deeply agitated the Dominion he thought that it was the question of building the Pacific Railway, which would tend to make of Canada a nation. An hon. gentleman had said that the representatives of this Province possessed considerable brass; this was not very complimentary; but he assured the hon. members that it required some manhood to assert their rights. British Columbia had never asked for better terms, but only desired the Government of the day to evince a disposition towards carrying out the terms on which it entered into Confederation. The contract bound the Administration to build this road within ten years. An hon. gentleman asserted that it was an unfavourable agreement; but this he denied as far as these Provinces were concerned, though it was so for British Columbia, which had made many sacrifices in the interest of the National Flag and of the Dominion. Seven millions had been paid for Alaska; and this being the case, the value of British Columbia,

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which was far, far superior to Alaska, might be estimated. This Province had been termed inhospitable, and called a set of mountains, and described as unfit for human beings to live in; but hon. gentlemen who made such statements were deeply ignorant of the geography and character of their own country.

The fact that the altitude of the Canadian Rocky Mountains was 5,000 feet less than that of the American range should also be taken into consideration, as against the high latitude of British Columbia, which made it a very desirable place, in order to form a proper opinion as to the importance of this Province as part of the Dominion. The Minister of Justice had exclaimed—"Let British Columbia go;" but they were not to be cuffed and kicked about. They had made a bargain and they intended to stick to it until the time for its fulfilment was expired, and then if it was not carried out they would claim damages.

He observed that the Premier laughed when he said this; but the claim of British Columbia, under such circumstances, would be perfectly valid. When the Alabama claims were first mentioned the British nation laughed; but they all knew that damages were secured and to what extent—yes, to millions sterling.

Lieutenant-Governor Trutch had said that the Dominion should not be expected to adhere to cast-iron terms. There might be something in this; but he questioned whether Mr. Trutch had the right to state that this view was endorsed by the people of British Columbia. British Columbia was ready to sympathise with the rest of the Dominion when circumstances might demand it; but what did would-be statesmen here do when they went on the hustings? They ridiculed that Province, the best friend of the Dominion, in order to serve political and party purposes. This Province had been swindled because the Terms of Union had not been carried out.

A certain newspaper had spoken against its interests; but was it to be supposed that British Columbia could be obtained without the expenditure of money. The same journal had not mentioned what other Provinces cost,

and hence he had put a notice on the paper in order to obtain this information; when it was secured he would show that it had not cost a greater expenditure than was proportionate to the revenue it contributed to the Dominion. Something like six millions had been paid, he believed, to Quebec, besides the cancellation of a debt of over a million. The surveys which had been made of the line, had extended over too great a period of time, and had necessitated too heavy payments altogether; the work in his opinion should have been completed in half the time at present consumed upon it. With a portion of the money so spent a part of the road could have been built and placed in running order. Three residents of Sacramento, including Mr. C. P. Huntington, a relative, he believed, of the Postmaster-General, and Mr. Theodore D. Judah, had with the assistance of two or three men, in two years, surveyed the route of the Central Pacific Railway, while we had a large staff traversing a far less difficult section of country and engaged on similar work during the past four or five years. The Central Pacific scheme had been held up to ridicule by the San Francisco newspapers, in the same manner as certain gentlemen cried down this project; but, nevertheless, it had succeeded to the great credit and honour of every man connected with the undertaking. Some men were constantly grumbling and running down the Canada Pacific Railway scheme, but this was because these persons did not possess sufficient brains, or intellect, or statesmanship to understand that it was necessary to make of Canada—a nation. The Government should take into consideration the large increase of population its construction would ensure. The project of building it with thirty millions of dollars and fifty millions of acres of land was quite feasible—say it cost \$14,000 per mile, being 2,700 miles in length—it would require an expenditure of something like \$38,000,000. His estimate was somewhat like that of the chief engineer, as announced by the Premier in the Session of 1874, the latter being about one hundred millions; but he believed that was a long way above the mark. The hon. mem-

ber for East York assumed to know more about it than the chief engineer and supposed that the road would cost two hundred millions. The correctness of this supposition he denied *in toto*. The hon. gentleman had also made another erroneous statement, and he was satisfied that the hon. gentleman had never reduced these calculations to figures, or otherwise he would never have submitted them to the House. The hon. member said that it required thirty-five days to cross the ocean from Japan to this continent; but it was well known that this necessitated only twenty or twenty-seven days at the furthest. Then, with regard to the time required to cross the continent, he regretted to see that the hon. gentleman was not better acquainted with the geography of this country. The hon. gentleman computed this at twelve, when it was in reality only six and a half or seven days. He had travelled frequently over this route, and could speak from experience. The hon. gentleman moreover said that it took twelve days to cross the Ocean to Europe, when, in point of fact, this only required eight days, enabling the entire trip to be made in thirty-six instead of fifty-nine days as the hon. gentleman had calculated. On future similar occasions he hoped that the hon. gentleman would be more careful and furnish the House with more exact information. He had figured the matter up very scrupulously and he had found that passage to the Pacific Ocean from Liverpool over the Pacific Railway, if built, could be effected in less time by two days and nine hours, than over the American route. This was something of which we might well be proud, but unfortunately in this country we were slow in taking advantage of the great resources we possessed. Mr. Disraeli had purchased a portion of the Suez Canal in order to secure for England the carrying trade of the world, and he did not doubt this great English statesman would also give assistance towards building the Canadian Pacific Railway, if that matter was brought before him in a proper spirit, with a view to improving traffic communications over British territory and competing in this respect with

the United States. The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli would require more than one string to his bow in this connection.

One hon. gentleman had spoken intelligently and carefully on this question; and he thanked that hon. gentleman for having placed such telling facts before the House. The hon. member for Niagara was always careful and precise in his figures, and no one could dispute their accuracy. He thanked the hon. gentleman for supporting the project. The hon. member for Halifax had alluded to the population of British Columbia as being ten thousand, but the hon. gentleman was probably not as well acquainted with these people as he (Mr. B.) happened to be, and he could state that they were progressive and were possessed of wider views than some people who were engaged in the exportation of codfish. If many hon. gentlemen visited British Columbia they would be more favourably impressed with its capabilities, resources and importance than they were at present. It was pretended that the Province was inhospitable, but he challenged any one to make good this assertion. The contrary was the case; the people were more enterprising, and they did not like to be abused by hon. gentlemen who knew nothing about them. Hon. members repudiated and the Government declined to carry out the arrangement made through Lord Carnarvon. He would read a few remarks made by the hon. member for South Bruce in this relation:—

“He would now touch upon a question with respect to which he had not been entirely in accord with the gentleman who were conducting the affairs of the country. He referred to the settlement attempted to be made through the Earl of Carnarvon with British Columbia. He had been of opinion that that settlement was more onerous to this country than it was advantageous to agree to, and he was happy to be able to say that previous to his accepting office, discussions had been entered upon which had resulted in an agreement upon a policy satisfactory to himself, and which, when developed at the proper time and place in Parliament, would, he believed, be satisfactory to the country. He was unable to develop that now to them for very obvious reasons, as it was dependent in part upon the result of negotiations now going on, but he would say that whatever was done, would be

done subject to the deliberations and views of the people's representatives.”

He did hope that hon. gentleman would have done British Columbia justice, but from the speeches delivered on the public hustings they had not much reason to hope for justice. He took this opportunity of alluding to these remarks in order to show hon. gentlemen that it was necessary to adopt some other mode of getting into Parliament than by running down British Columbia. The remarks made about that Province had a tendency to discourage emigration and were not in the interest of the whole Dominion. He was very sorry the hon. member for Victoria had moved this resolution, but it was the only way the opinion of the country could be had, inasmuch as the end of the Session was so close at hand. He would support the motion, but he was of opinion that it would have been more prudent if he had waited until the Government had brought down their policy on the subject, and then taken action in the matter. He regretted that the Government had not desired from the British Columbians in what way a modification of the terms could be made. But instead of this they had been insulted by the paltry offer of \$750,000 as a bribe. He maintained that the geographical position of the Province was a great advantage to the Dominion, and had heard it observed that the road was not built because it was feared that Ontario and Quebec would be depopulated. He, however, was satisfied that the construction of the road would be of great value to the whole Dominion.

Mr. POULIOT stated that hon. members that evening, as on several occasions during this and other Sessions, had been reminded that the Canadian Government had made a solemn contract with British Columbia concerning the building of the Pacific Railway; but the representatives of that Province had forgotten to state under what circumstances this agreement had been concluded. If these engagements had not been fulfilled the hon. members from British Columbia should impute to themselves the cause in having, like usurers, profited from the extraordinary needs of the

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late Government at the time the contract was passed; and they ought to have understood that in this relation the present Administration could not perform impossibilities.

He thought that the House would remember under what circumstances the arrangement with British Columbia had been made. The hon. gentleman then at the head of the affairs had been caught in a storm at the time, and as was the case with unfortunates in imminent danger of shipwreck in a tempest, the hon. gentleman had snatched at anything by which he might ensure to himself safety; under such circumstances the contract had been concluded, and it had been too favourable for British Columbia. Later it was found impossible to fulfil its conditions. There was another reason for this proceeding. England then desired to rid herself of that colony. That Province with a population of 10,000 souls had been granted six representatives, when it should only at most have had one member; and these six hon. gentlemen took up more of the time of the House than all the members for the Province of Quebec. These hon. gentlemen had threatened that British Columbia would secede from the Union if the Government did not construct the Pacific Railway; but for his part he believed that this would be good news for the Province of Quebec. In his country, at all events, it would cause general rejoicing and be the occasion of an illumination. The execution of the terms of agreement with that Province was simply impossible.

Mr. TROW agreed with the hon. member for Westminster that this resolution had been prematurely submitted to the House. All Governments should carry out, as far as lay within their power, the contracts made by their predecessors. The engagement effected with British Columbia, at the time of the Union, seemed to him to be impracticable—more particularly as to the time specified.

He presumed the line of railroad would ultimately be constructed to the Pacific, but great works should be carried on gradually. We have magnificent stretches which can be utilized with a trifling expense compared with

the cost of building a railroad, and would answer our people for the next quarter of a century. The Premier could not be charged with delaying this matter, since he had purchased the rails and material required for it. It was desirable that the Government should proceed at once to connect Manitoba with Lake Superior, but they would not be justified in undertaking work without surveys, which were not made on the Pacific slope. Water communication was at all times cheaper than rail, and the Dawson Route had magnificent water stretches which could be utilized. He thought it would be the height of folly to build 2,700 miles of railway in advance of settlement, 1,000 of which would pass through the inhospitable country north of Lake Superior. There was little or no land fit for settlement before reaching the fertile lands of the North-West, and it would be difficult to keep the line open during the winter months. There had been a railway mania in this country of late, and during the last five years Ontario had gone in debt upwards of \$40,000,000 in constructing lines of railway. It was easy for a Province like Ontario to borrow money, but a re-action must take place when this money had to be re-couped. He thought the Government were doing all they possibly could for British Columbia, and the latter should wait patiently, believing in the good faith of the country to carry out their engagements as best they could. The Government had nearly completed a line from Pembina to Winnipeg; they were also constructing a line from Lake Superior to Shebandowan and from Rat Portage to Red River. Large numbers of surveyors were now locating the road across the Rocky Mountains. The Government had also at a very large expense established a line of telegraph to British Columbia. He thought the inhabitants of that Province should be the last to complain of bad treatment from the Dominion.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD did not feel at all inclined at one o'clock in the morning to enter into the question of the construction of the Pacific Railway, nor indeed would he feel disposed to do so at any hour on a motion of this kind. He had no doubt the hon.

member who brought forward this motion was actuated by the most patriotic motives; but still he thought the hon. gentleman was unwise and was not acting in the interests of his own Province or of the construction of the Pacific Railway in pressing it as an amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply. He agreed with the remarks made in the exceedingly sensible speech of the hon. member for North York—that the construction of the road was no longer an open question. It was in fact a portion of our constitution that the Dominion as now formed is composed as much of British Columbia as of the other Provinces. The constitution as it now stands has as one of the bases the agreement made with British Columbia; this was engrafted and enterwoven with it, and could not, without disruption of that constitution, be set aside or waived. He was glad to find from the remarks of every gentleman who had spoken, with the exception of the hon. member for Halifax, that that stipulation was admitted to exist. Some hon. gentleman had expressed his views strongly that the construction of this road ought not to be unduly undertaken, that the resources of the country should not be unduly pressed, and that the taxes ought not to be unduly increased for the purpose; but all, with a single exception, had admitted that the Pacific Railway is a necessity, and even if it were not a necessity as a matter of constitutional principle it must be constructed. It remained only for the hon. member for Halifax to cast the first stain on the honour of Canada. For thirty years or more he had been a member of the Parliament of Canada, and except from the lips of that hon. gentlemen he had never heard repudiation recommended. The mover of the resolution had assumed a great responsibility in pressing and refusing to withdraw it, contrary to the wishes of one member after the other from his own Province as much interested and pledged as himself to their constituents to agitate the interests of British Columbia. Upon him (Mr. DeCosmos) perhaps might fall the blame of an adverse vote. If he would only look at the papers laid

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

before the house he would see the Government had stated as a ground for the abandonment of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway that the Senate had thrown out the Bill. He would find hereafter that the vote which he himself had provoked would be quoted against British Columbia, and he (Sir John) thought they would have the right to do so against the views placed in the resolution. While he must attribute to the hon. gentleman the most patriotic motives in offering the resolution, he must say he had no sympathy with it.

This question ought to have been brought up on its own merits, and postponed until after the Government had an opportunity of expressing their views on the present situation of that road, the policy to be carried out, and the progress they proposed to make with respect to the route during the immediate future. Until the Government had an opportunity of expressing themselves fully, this motion ought not to be made. While, therefore, he considered that the faith of the country was pledged to the construction of this road; while it should be his duty as well as his pleasure so long as he was a member of Parliament to press at all convenient seasons for the carrying out of the obligations entered into at the time of the Union with British Columbia; while he was convinced that the people of the Dominion would recognize the obligation and the duty of the Government who led Parliament and public opinion, and exact from them the fulfillment of the promise, and say to them, they must not allow any engagement, provident or improvident, to which the honour of the country is pledged, to be repudiated, rejected or broken; he had looked at this resolution with a view of seeing whether he was forced to vote for it, because he thought the hon. gentleman had deprived himself of all sympathy. He had forced the House to consider this question prematurely, and acted on his own responsibility. He (Sir John) could not vote for it, and would not vote for it. After reciting the original agreement relating to the construction of the railway, it said "owing to diverse causes the actual construction of said

“ railway was not commenced in British Columbia at the time agreed, nor has it been commenced since.” It alleged there were several causes not mentioned why the road was not commenced, and concluded with the illogical sequence that therefore “ this House is of opinion ” the Government should promptly and vigorously proceed to the construction of the road. The Government in their report of the 13th of March, 1875, said they were not even yet in a position to determine the location and were not able to proceed with the work. Those causes still existed, the hon. member knew they existed, and yet he asked the House to declare that because of their existence the work should be proceeded with at once.

But there was a substantial objection from his (Sir John A. Macdonald's) point of view—that this was not a mere arrangement by which British Columbia agreed to enter Canada. It was a mutual agreement and partnership by which the Dominion and British Columbia joined hands and became one Dominion. British Columbia was pledged to the rest of the Dominion to the construction of this railway just as much as the rest of Canada was pledged to British Columbia. It was not merely for the benefit of British Columbia, but for the common benefit. If it had been otherwise no such agreement could have been made. All parties recognized it as political expediency for both colonies. It was in a spirit of perfect equality the compact was entered into. It was not only for the sake of spending money in British Columbia but for the purpose of rendering what would be merely a union on paper—one in reality. Therefore, it was agreed that the road should be constructed in British Columbia and also other parts of Canada, and that it should be commenced at both ends at the same time. What did this proposition mean? It condemned the Government for not commencing the “ actual construction of said railway within British Columbia, etc.,” and, therefore, he, a representative of Ontario, and all the members coming from other provinces, were called up to vote a resolution ordering and en-

joining the Government to commence and vigorously continue the road in British Columbia without reference to any other portion of the road in any other portion of the Dominion. The language that had been used fully justified the tone of the despatch, which was as follows:—

“ The Committee must further observe that the tenor of the representations now under consideration would seem to indicate that the object of the Legislature of British Columbia is less to secure the completion of the work as a national undertaking in such a way and on such terms as may best conduce to the welfare of the whole community, than to enforce the immediate and continued expenditure within their own Province, at whatever cost to Canada, of many millions of money, for which they cannot pretend to have given an equivalent; and that their chief grievance is that their people have not as yet derived, in addition to the other financial benefits of Union, the gains and profits to be expected from the expenditure of these millions in their midst. To these views must be mainly referred the allegations, unfounded as they appear to the Committee, of disastrous and ruinous delays, and as to all classes of the population having suffered loss and deprivations.”

How could any hon. gentleman coming from any other province justify himself in voting for the resolution. Upon that ground alone he would vote against it. The hon. gentleman might perhaps have prepared a resolution that he would have been forced to vote for, and he was glad, under the circumstances, that the amendment was so drawn as to enable him to vote against it. He voted against it precisely and exclusively on these two grounds: first, that the whole proposition was illogical; and second, that it was limited to British Columbia, and called upon the Government and the whole of the House to build the road in that Province and to leave the rest of the project to shuffle for itself.

The members were then called in, and the question was put, with the following result:—

YEAS:

Messieurs

Bunster,	Thompson (Cariboo),
DeCosmos,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Jones (Leeds),	Wright (Pontiac).—7.
Roscoe,	

NAYS:

Messieurs

Appleby,	Kirpatrick,
Archibald,	Laird,
Baby,	Lajoie,

Bain,	Landerkin,
Béchar, d,	Langevin,
Benoit,	Laurier,
Bernier,	Little,
Bertram,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Biggar,	Macdonald (Kingston),
Blain,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Blake,	McDonald (Op. Breton),
Blanchet,	MacDonnell (Inverness),
Borden,	Macdougall (Elgin),
Borron,	MacDougall (Renfrew),
Bourassa,	McDougall (Three Rvs)
Bowell,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Bowman,	McKay (Colchester),
Brown,	Mackenzie,
Buell,	Macmillan,
Burk,	McCallum,
Burpee (St. John),	McCraney,
Burpee (Sunbury),	McGregor,
Cameron (Victoria),	McIntyre,
Carmichael,	McIsaac,
Caron,	McLeod,
Cartwright,	McNab,
Casey,	McQuade,
Casgrain,	Masson,
Cauchon,	Metcalfe,
Charlton,	Mills,
Cheval,	Monteith,
Christie,	Montplaisir,
Church,	Norris,
Cimon,	Oliver,
Cockburn,	Orton,
Coffin,	Quimet,
Cook,	Paterson,
Costigan,	Pelletier,
Coupal,	Perry,
Cunningham,	Pickard,
Cuthbert,	Pinsonneault,
Davies,	Platt,
Delorme,	Plumb,
Desjardias,	Pouliot,
De St. Georges,	Pozer,
Dewdney,	Ray,
Dugas,	Richard,
Dymond,	Robinson,
Farrow,	Robitaille,
Ferguson,	Ross (Durham),
Ferris,	Ross (Middlesex),
Fiset,	Ross (Prince Edward),
Fleming,	Rouleau,
Flynn,	Ryan,
Forbes,	Rymal,
Fraser,	Scriver,
Fréchette,	Shibley,
Galbraith,	Sinclair,
Gaudet,	Skinner,
Gibson,	Snider,
Gill,	Stirton,
Gillmor,	St. Jean,
Gordon,	Taschereau,
Goudge,	Thibaudeau,
Hagar,	Thomson, (Welland),
Haggart,	Tremaine,
Hall,	Trow,
Higinbotham,	Tupper,
Holton,	Vail,
Horton,	Wallace (Albert),
Hurteau,	White (Hastings),
Irving,	White (Renfrew),
Jette,	Wood,
Jones (Halifax),	Workman,
Kerr,	Wright (Ottawa),
Killam,	Yeo,
Kirk,	Young.—154.

The original motion was then put and carried.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The House went into Committee of Supply—Mr Scatcherd in the Chair.

Item 79, Intercolonial Railway completion, \$915,900, was passed.

The Committee rose and reported, and asked leave to sit again.

The House adjourned at Fifty minutes past One o'clock, a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 29, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT asked leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Act 31 Victoria, cap. 5, with respect to public accounts. He explained that he proposed to give the Governor in Council power, on sufficient cause being shown, to extend the appropriations in the supplementary estimates, for a short period, in no case to exceed three months.

The Bill was read the first time.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE introduced a Bill to amend the Act relating to the indemnity of members of both Houses of Parliament. He explained that when members received \$6 per day, they were paid from time to time at the rate of \$4. Now, that it was \$10, he wished to make the proportion the same, that was, \$7.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON suggested that the 30 days' corner ought to be shifted forward to 50 or 60 days. It would contribute very much to the proper deliberation the House was bound to bestow on the public business.

The Bill was read the first time.

Mr. LANGLOIS introduced a Bill to prevent parties from breaking up the ice bridge between Quebec and Levis.

Mr. SPEAKER said on looking into the point he had raised on a former occasion with respect to this Bill, he found the modern practice did not require such a measure to originate by resolution in Committee of the Whole when the penalties it imposed were for the purpose of giving effect to the measure itself.

The Bill was read the first time.

THE HARBOUR OF ANTIGONISH.

Mr. McISAAC asked whether it is the intention of the Government to send an engineer next summer to make a survey of the Harbour of Antigonish with the view of ascertaining and making the improvements required?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Departmental Engineer has received instructions to make the examination referred to.

THE ELECTION FOR DORCHESTER.

Mr. ROULEAU asked what are the reasons why the writ of election for Dorchester was not issued until several months after the judgment annulling the election which took place in 1874?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have already told the hon. gentleman I could not tell him without consulting the late Minister of Justice, who is not in the city.

THE RULES OF THE HOUSE.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Taschereau in the Chair, to consider proposed changes in the Rules of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER remarked that the old and new rules had been published for the convenience of members; the first five remained as they at present existed; in No. 6 a change of very considerable importance had been made with reference to what had been regarded as the privileges of individual members. The old rule allowed members to secure the immediate clearance of the galleries of strangers; the new rescinded this rule as far as the individual was concerned. A member could call attention to the matter, and the Speaker or Chairman, as the case might be, should forthwith put the question as to whether the strangers should be ordered to withdraw, no debate, however, being permitted. The alteration would be that strangers could not be removed from the galleries on the motion of any individual member. The Speaker or Chairman would still have the power of ordering the galleries to be cleared. He moved that rule six be rescinded, and that the new rule printed on the margin be adopted.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD suggested that the rules should be adopted from the beginning.

Mr. BLAIN urged the importance of so framing the rules as to enable the House to meet at an earlier hour, in order to expedite business to a very considerable extent. He did not see why they could not meet at noon for example, and adjourn at six p.m., the Committees meeting at nine a.m. He desired to obtain an expression of opinion from hon. members on this point, as he could not understand why Parliamentary business could not be transacted in a similar manner as other business.

Mr. SPEAKER said he was sure that every hon. member would agree with the hon. gentleman, if he (Mr. Blain) could propose any means of shortening the sitting, but for his part he confessed that he could not see his way towards the attainment of the object.

Mr. McDOUGALL (Renfrew) held that the hours of Session should be limited, for no man, except he were endowed with an extraordinary constitution, could remain in the House until two or three o'clock every morning, and still not suffer from it, as the Committees besides sat in the morning. If it was necessary that the Sessions of Parliament should be longer, and be near three instead of two months, it ought to be done.

Hon. Gentlemen! No, No!

Mr. McDOUGALL did not say that three months Sessions were necessary, but if they were requisite in order to have the work properly done, they ought to be so extended. The Sessional allowance should not be increased, however, under such circumstances, if the hon. members did not wish it; at any rate, it was impossible to have the work well done under the present system.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD hoped that the time of the Committee would not be taken up with the discussion of this subject, which, nevertheless, was extremely important. It should be subsequently considered as a separate and distinct question.

Mr. YOUNG thought that this was a reason why they should not re-adopt rules at present in existence, as business would be greatly facilitated if they confined their attention to the mere changes proposed.

Mr. SPEAKER—That would be better.

The sixth clause, as amended.

“If any member shall take notice that strangers are present, Mr. Speaker or Chairman (as the case may be), shall forthwith put the question that strangers be ordered to withdraw, without any debate or amendment: Provided, that Mr. Speaker or the Chairman may, whenever he thinks proper, order the withdrawal of Strangers,”

was then taken up.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell);—what was the meaning of “Chairman” in this rule?

Mr. SPEAKER—It means the Chairman of the Committee of the whole House. It is an exact copy of the English Rule.

The Rule, as amended was adopted. Rule 19, as amended, was then taken up; it read as follows:—

The ordinary daily routine of business in the House shall be as follows:—

Presenting Petitions.
Reading and Receiving Petitions.
Presenting Reports by Standing and Select Committees.
Motions

The Order of Business for the consideration of the House, day by day, after the above daily routine, shall be as follows:—

MONDAY.

Private Bills.
Questions put by Members.
Notices of Motion.
Public Bills and Orders.
Government Notices of Motions.
Government Orders.

TUESDAY.

Government Notices of Motions.
Government Orders.
Public Bills and Orders.
Questions put by Members.
Other Notices of Motions
Private and Local Bills.

WEDNESDAY.

Questions put by Members.
Notices of Motions.
Public Bills and Orders.

(From half-past seven o'clock p.m.)

Private Bills for the first hour.
Public Bills and Orders.
Government Notices of Motions.
Government Orders.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THURSDAY.

(Until the hour of six o'clock p.m.)

Questions put by Members.
Notices of Motions.
Public Bills and Orders.

(From half-past seven o'clock p.m.)

Government Notices of Motions.
Government Orders.
Other Notices of Motions.

FRIDAY.

Government Notices of Motions.
Government Orders.
Public Bills and Orders.
Questions put by Members.
Other Notices of Motions.

(From half-past seven o'clock p.m.)

Private Bills for the first hour.

Mr. SPEAKER explained, that it was proposed to make the fixed rule of the House what had been their practice for some years. He requested hon. members to read the changes over very carefully.

Mr. ROULEAU thought that hon. members when questioning the Ministers should be allowed the opportunity of making explanations. He had asked the First Minister why the writ for the last election in the County of Dorchester had been delayed; and the answer had been that the hon. gentleman could not state the reason as he had no communication with the late Minister of Justice, who issued the writ. He considered that this statement was incorrect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I call the hon. gentleman to order, as this is no time to debate that matter.

Mr. PALMER—The hon. member has a right to allude to it.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Certainly; as an illustration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. member has controverted the statement made to this House, and he has no right to do that. He cannot now enter on a criticism concerning what I said. I call the hon. gentleman to order.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I take it that the hon. gentleman is amenable to criticism; he is there for that purpose.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—But not at this particular time.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—If there is an inadvertent error, the hon. gentleman should be allowed to point out in the way of illustration. The hon. gentleman is not out of order.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman is endeavoring to evade a distinct rule of the House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentleman can certainly allude to this matter in the way of illustration.

Mr. ROULEAU—I would state this case merely as an example.

Mr. TASCHEREAU—The hon gentleman can cite his own case, but he cannot discuss the merits of it.

Mr. ROULEAU—The First Minister told me that he could not answer my question, but the present Minister of Justice took office on the 9th of May, and my election took place on the 8th of last July.

Mr. SPEAKER remarked that it had been the practice for two or three years past to allow Government notices of motions and orders to be taken up on Monday, but it was open, nevertheless, to any individual member to object and prevent it under the rule as amended; it would not be so possible any longer to obstruct business.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD agreed in the expediency of altering the rule in this respect, and explained that it had been decided in Committee to insert notices of motion on the order for Thursday immediately after half-past seven o'clock.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that difficulty was experienced in regard to these notices of motion principally by the want of diligence on the part of hon. gentlemen themselves. If they were to put their notices on the paper at an early part of the Session when there was not much business before the House, business would be greatly facilitated. In the second place the notices after they had been put on the paper were allowed to stand until the end of the Session was approached, and it was impossible for them to be brought up.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL granted that there was a good deal in this; but would state that there was a very important

motion of his on the paper, which was placed in such a position that it was questionable if it would be reached this Session. He was of opinion that notices of motion should be resumed after half past seven o'clock.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE thought the difficulty in regard to notices of motion might be remedied by adopting a system of classification, by which they could divide the motions into opposed and unopposed motions. Such an arrangement he was satisfied would keep the paper cleared of these incumbrances.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he remembered some conversation having taken place on this subject in the Committee, and inasmuch as there might have been some misunderstanding as to his reply, he would make the concession desired. The orders for Thursday would, therefore, be as follows:—

Questions put by members.

Public bills and orders.

Notices of motion.

Government notices of motion.

Government orders.

Other notices of motion.

The words "until six o'clock," would be struck out.

The orders for Thursday were then adopted.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the adoption of the following in lieu of the 58th Rule:—

"Any person seeking to obtain any Private Bill, giving any exclusive privilege, or profit, or private or corporate advantage, or for any amendment of the former Act, shall be required to deposit with the Clerk of the House, eight days before the meeting of the House, a copy of such Bill in the English or French language, with a sum sufficient to pay for translating and printing the same—600 copies to be printed in English, and 200 copies to be printed in French—the translation to be done by the Officers of the House and the printing by the Contractor. The applicant shall also be required to pay the Accountant of the House a sum of \$200, and the cost of printing the same for the Statutes, and lodge the receipt for the same with the Clerk of the Committee to which such Bill is referred—such payment to be made immediately after the second reading, and before the consideration of the Bill by such Committee."

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said those who had to deal with the Private Bills coming before the House felt the necessity of an assistant—some legal

expert, competent to draft and prepare the clauses of such measures. Such an officer should be appointed to be absolutely at the disposal of the Private Bills Committee during the Session of Parliament. He had felt, during the present Session, it was utterly impossible for even the professional members of the House to give proper attention to the numerous Private Bills brought under their notice.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) concurred in this opinion. Either the promoters of Bills must have the clauses reconstructed by their legal advisers and returned to the Committee for further consideration, or some legal assistant must be employed to attend to such work. The time had arrived when the Government itself must have more assistance. He believed the Minister of Justice should have the assistance of another officer. He hoped the Government would take this matter into consideration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the subject had occupied the attention of the Government on several occasions. He had felt the pressure of this kind of work very much while sitting on the other side of the House, and a little more since he had become a Minister of the Crown. He would be very glad to have private members of this House relieved from the pressure brought to bear on them in shaping these Private Bills. There had been negligence of late years in the preparation of some of those bills, and the work of reconstructing them devolved upon a very limited number of the active members of the House. He was not prepared at the moment to suggest any decided plan of action, though he would be very glad to hear the opinion of the hon. gentleman on the subject.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said a scheme might be devised by which, without any material increase of expense, the object of the hon. member for Chateauguay might be attained. The Senate had a law officer who could not be very busy; the House of Commons also had a law clerk. Three men would be quite sufficient for the work. The assistant to the two law officers should be at the service of the Private Bills' Committee during the Session.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT entirely concurred with the hon. member for Chateauguay regarding Private Bills, in which, under the present system, clauses were at times introduced of a conflicting, or directly contradictory character. He doubted whether this class of Bills would decrease in number. Companies who desired to borrow money abroad would always come to this House, and as the country grew, these would rather increase in number in his opinion. The rule with reference to the reception of Private Bills should not be relaxed during the Session. The suggestion of the right hon. member for Kingston would probably go a very great way towards remedying the evil of which complaint was made, but how far, he was not prepared to say.

Mr. PLUMB supported the proposition of the hon. member for Chateauguay. Clauses under such circumstances were inserted in Bills, sometimes, perhaps, inadvertently, and these were cited as precedents, rendering it almost impossible to reject others of a similar nature. The matter was very important, as companies by means of these Bills sometimes obtained large sums abroad; and they required the careful consideration of the Government.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said it was of the utmost moment that some effort should be made to promote uniformity in the bills passed. If the most obvious excrescences were removed from them, it was about as much as they could effect under the present system. A general standard for these measures should be settled; and they should be couched in the same phraseology in order that they might obtain the same construction in courts of law. A parliamentary officer might be deputed to attend to bills, and put them in some sort of shape. The Sessions were short, and owing to very great pressure on their time, particularly on Bills which were submitted at a late hour, did not receive the same attention as they would have obtained at an earlier period, the assistance of professional draughtsmen should be secured; and public measures passed by Parliament should be made practically Government measures. The same

remarks applied to Government legislation; measures were prepared long after the House opened in consequence of the representations of hon. members; and if trained draughtsmen were employed, their legislation would be more creditable than it now was. Money could not be spent better than in carrying out this reform, as obscure Acts of Parliament led to law-suits, and cost the public countless sums. He believed that this Assembly possessed admirable machinery for its purposes; but no machinery was more imperfect than the Committee of the whole House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought hon. members would admit that when he was Minister of the Crown, he submitted to the House a fair share of Bills for their consideration. Indeed, the hon. member for Bruce had on one occasion remarked that there was quite a *plethora* of them. He at that time had been very largely indebted to the Law Clerk of the Senate as regarded the preparation of these Bills; and he thoroughly endorsed the view, that experienced men should be employed to do this. It would moreover require very little additional expense to carry the suggestion of the hon. member for Chateaugay into effect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not agree with the opinion, that eight days, as mentioned in the clause, was too short a time for the purpose in question, as a charge might interfere with the intentions of persons desirous of promoting Bills.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON, in reply to Sir John A. Macdonald, stated that the hon. gentleman had educated the House into the belief that sixty days should be the normal length of Parliament; of these sixty thirty were passed before any Private Bill could be referred to the Committee, leaving a similar period for their passage through both Houses. Many of these Bills were highly important, and the Committee could not sit daily. It was perfectly impossible to consider them in detail, under the present system. The Sessions of the old Parliament lasted for three, four and six months; and more time was accordingly at their disposal

at that period for these purposes. Then, besides, they had the advantage of having two subordinate law officers, solicitors, one from each Province, who supervised the legislation. The Government was moreover held responsible for the whole legislation, including Private Bills.

Mr. MILLS enquired whether this clause—"the fee payable on the second reading of any Private Bill is paid only in the House in which said Bill originates, but the cost of printing the same is paid in each House"—was omitted from the new rule.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that it was, as its insertion was unnecessary.

Mr. BLAIN urged that the services of legal gentlemen to examine Private Bills should be secured, to prevent such improper provisions as he had recently noticed in connection with an Insurance Bill and an Investment Bill. In the latter instance a provision was introduced, enabling the company to borrow to the extent of the paid-up capital and of the securities they held, and besides this to take unlimited deposits. The time for disposing of these Bills by the Committee was exceedingly limited; and such assistance as he had mentioned should be secured, in order that a uniform character of some sort might be given to these Bills.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE at this point explained that the 49th Clause, as amended, should read:—

"No Petition for any Private Bill is received by the House after the first ten days (not three weeks as printed) of each Session; nor may any Private Bill be presented to the House after the first three (not four) weeks of each Session; nor may any Report of any Standing or Select Committee upon a Private Bill be received after the first five (not six) weeks of each Session," &c.

On motion of hon. Mr. MACKENZIE, Section 49 was amended to read as follows:—

"49. No Petition for any Private Bill is received by the House after the first ten days of each Session; nor may any Private Bill be presented to the House after the first two weeks of each Session; nor may any Report of any Standing or Select Committee upon a Private Bill be received after the first six weeks of each Session.

"59. Every Private Bill, when read a second time, is referred to the Standing Committee charged with the consideration of such Bill. Bills relating to Banks, Insurance, Trade and

Commerce, to Committee on Banking and Commerce; Bills relating to Railways, Canals, Telegraphs, Canal and Railway Bridges, to the Committee on Railways; the Bills not coming under these classes to the Committee on Private Bills, and all petitions before the House for or against the Bills are amended as referred to such Committee."

Section 2 of Section 60 was amended as follows:—

"On the day of the posting of any Bill under this Rule, the Deputy Clerk of the House shall cause a notice of such posting to be appended to the printed Votes and Proceedings of the day."

Section No. 70 was amended as follows:—

"Except in cases of urgent and pressing necessity no motion for suspension or modification of any rule applying to Private Bills or petitions for Private Bills shall be entertained by the House until after reference is made to the several Standing Committees charged with the consideration of Private Bills and reports made thereon by one or more of such Committees."

On motion of Mr. MACKENZIE, Section 70 and 71 were amended so as to read as follow:—

"70. A Book, to be called "Private Bill Register," shall be kept, in which Book shall be entered by a Clerk appointed for that business by the Clerk of The House, the name, description and place of residence of the parties applying for the Bill, or of their Agent, and all the proceedings thereon, from the Petition to the passing of the Bill—such entry to specify briefly each proceeding in the House or in any Committee to which the Bill or the Petition may be referred, and the day on which the Committee is appointed to sit—such Book to be open to public inspection daily during office hours.

"71. The Clerk of The House shall cause lists of all Private Bills and Petitions for such Bills upon which any Committee is appointed to sit, specifying the time of the meeting and the room where the Committee shall sit, to be prepared daily by the Clerk of the Committee to which such Bills are referred, and shall cause the same to be hung up in the Lobby."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the following Section be inserted in the Rules:—

"87. This House will, in future, appoint the Committees of Supply, and Ways and Means, at the commencement of every Session, so soon as an Address has been agreed to, in answer to His Excellency's Speech."

Mr. SPEAKER explained that this clause had been a Standing Order. It was out of place there, and they had decided to convert it into a rule.

The motion was carried.

Clause No. 93 was amended as follows:—

"All Bills shall be printed before the second reading, in both languages, except Bills mere-

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

ly continuing Acts or other short Bills of minor importance, with the printing of which the Speaker or the House may dispense."

Mr. SPEAKER said with regard to the Standing Orders in reference to the Library, that it had been mooted in the Library Committee that as they had a statute conferring certain powers upon the Committee, the Standing Orders might be dispensed with. The Library Committee had not reported, and he merely mentioned the matter in order that the hon. gentlemen might give it some consideration.

The remaining sections were passed with verbal amendment.

The Committee rose, and reported the resolutions as amended.

The resolutions were read the third time, and passed.

PRIVATE AND LOCAL BILLS.

The following Bills were referred back to Committee of the Whole for the purpose of making certain amendments—To incorporate "The National Exchange Company;" to incorporate "The Scottish Canadian Loan Company;" to incorporate "The Trust Company of Canada."

On motion of Mr. Workman the title of the latter was changed to "The Investment Company of Canada."

Mr. OLIVER asked what the amendments were.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said in the clause relating to deposits, it was proposed to restrict them in receiving deposits to one-half of their paid-up capital. There was also a clause by which the parties accepting these charters agreed to come under the provisions of the general law which he sincerely hoped would be submitted to Parliament next Session.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the whole question would be discussed next Session, when he hoped to bring down a general Act under which all these companies should be incorporated.

Mr. YOUNG was very glad to hear this announcement. It was evident that the general principle with regard to the borrowing power of these companies ought to be definitely settled by the Government. It had become a matter of necessity that there should be a general measure, and one of such a

nature as would ensure success in the management of these companies.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK stated that with the member who had first spoken he approved of the policy of the Government in limiting the power of companies in making deposits; at least, these should be limited to the extent named, fifty per cent. of the paid-up capital. He would, however, as soon see this power struck out altogether, as it would be beneficial to the companies themselves. He would, as an instance of this, mention that he had been entrusted with a Bill the promoters of which had requested him to take out the deposit clause. As to the borrowing powers, concerning which the Government had changed their policy to a considerable extent since the Bill had been before the Banking and Commerce Committee, he thought that if the Ministry intended, as they have announced, to introduce a general Bill next year, restricting them and making them more stringent, at all events they had made a mistake in now granting greater powers than they proposed to do in their Bills, as it would be much more easy to reduce them at present than in the future. If they now gave power to the extent of 10 per cent., it would be very difficult next year to oblige companies to pay up 25 per cent. or cease doing business. If such was their idea they should now insist on limiting these powers to the paid-up capital. If these powers were to be only 10 per cent. at present, they should be restricted to the unpaid and not to the subscribed capital. The Trust and Loan and another company had found more restricted powers very beneficial. If wider powers were generally allowed, it was possible that, as an hon. gentleman had remarked, one of these companies would one day make a grand smash-up, entailing untold grief and misfortune. It would have been better had the Government adhered to the 25 per cent. paid up clause, limiting the borrowing powers to the amount of the unpaid capital.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—What was the amount of capital paid-up of the company the hon. gentleman is interested in promoting?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Ten per cent.; but they are seeking to have the borrowing powers restricted to the unpaid capital.

Mr. BLAIN entirely approved of the extensive borrowing powers which had been conferred. He could understand very well that people might incur serious risks if such powers were granted in cases where companies were permitted to receive deposits; but there could be no possible risk in connection with companies of this character, the deposit clause being struck out. Such a company could go into the market with \$100,000 paid-up capital, and tell capitalists that the remaining portion of the stock—in one case it amounted to a million—could be mortgaged as security, for any loan made. They might as well try to limit the farmer to the sum he might borrow on his property, as to limit the power of such companies in this relation. Gentlemen who had \$100,000 to \$900,000 to lend, would take very good care that they obtained for it ample security.

The principle was different, however, when the deposit clause was in question. One of the Bills which belonged to Montreal had permitted to borrow to the extent of the paid-up capital and the face of the securities held by the company, and after they had pledged everything they had, they were allowed to take deposits to an unlimited amount. Suppose advantage was taken of this liberty to the extent of \$500,000; when the poor people, who really ought to be protected in connection with this class of legislation, and who had laid up \$50, \$100 or \$200 to fall back upon in case they were out of employment, come to draw it, they might be unable to obtain a single dollar. It was their duty to protect these people, but he did not feel that there was any necessity for protecting men who had \$100,000 to loan.

He trusted, that when the Government settled upon a general policy, it would not be based upon the view of the hon. gentleman from Waterloo. Companies should be allowed to pledge their credit on the principle that they had the power of calling up the unpaid capital in order to meet their liabili-

ties; this, in his opinion, was sufficient security. Another class of investment companies ought really to be encouraged by the Government. They were organized in Great Britain, where money was obtainable at a very low rate of interest, and they came here to invest it. Our companies could thus borrow on debentures of five per cent., whereas when they paid on the stock, and not on the bonus, they paid from ten and twelve per cent. He hoped that the policy of the Government would not be one that would prevent these companies springing up all over the country, as competition might lessen the rate of interest.

The Bills were reported from the Committee, read the third time, and passed.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were passed through Committee of the Whole, read the third time, and passed:—

An Act to amend the Act incorporating "The Ottawa Gas Company," to confirm a Resolution of their shareholders placing preferential and ordinary stock on the same footing; and to confirm, amend and extend their corporate powers (as amended by Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills).—Mr. Currier.

An Act respecting "The Mechanics' Bank" (as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce).—Mr. Workman.

An Act to confirm the amalgamation of the City Bank and the Royal Canadian Bank, and to incorporate the Consolidated Bank of Canada, (from the Senate) as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce).—Mr. Bowell.

An Act to incorporate "The British Canadian Investment Company (Limited)" (as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.) Mr. Macdonald (Toronto Centre.)

On motion of Mr. Macdonald the title of this company was changed to that of the London and Ontario Investment Company (Limited).

An Act to extend the Act of last Session intitled; "An Act relating to the Upper Ottawa Improvement Company" (as amended by Standing

Mr. BLAIN.

Committee on Banking and Commerce.)—Mr. White (Renfrew.)

An Act to incorporate "The National Trust and Investment Company of Canada" (as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce).—Mr. Blain.

An Act to extend the time for the commencement and completion of "The Canada and Detroit River Bridge; and for other purposes" (as amended by Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines).—Mr. Wood.

The amendments made by the Senate to the Bill (No. 38)—An Act to amend the Act to incorporate "The Canada Shipping Company."—(Mr. Workman)—were concurred in.

SECOND READINGS.

The following Bills were read a second time and referred to Committee:

An Act to incorporate the British Canadian Loan and Trust Company (Limited).—Mr. Bowell.

An Act to amend the Act of incorporation of the "Banque Saint Jean-Baptiste." (From the Senate)—Mr. Jetté.

FISHING LEASES.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved for a statement shewing the names of the Rivers for which fishing leases have been renewed or granted since the 1st December, 1873;—when;—in favor of whom;—for what period, and for what yearly sum each of these leases has been thus renewed or granted.

The motion was carried.

RAILROAD FREIGHTS IN NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved for a return of all special rates accorded to any companies or individuals for the conveyance of freight over the Railways in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, with the names of the companies or individuals, the privileges accorded, the dates at which such special rates were given, with any correspondence between the General Superintendent of Railways or any other officer of the Government, and any persons on the subject of special rates since the 1st day of January, 1874, to the 1st day of January, 1876.

He said that item in the estimates upon this subject which had been left over would enable the discussion to come up when it was submitted to the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he would have no objection to the motion if "January, 1872," was substituted.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER— I am quite willing!

The motion was carried.

THE TRANSFER OF PORTAGE ISLAND.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved for an address to His Excellency the Governor General for all papers and correspondence between the Government of Canada, or any Department thereof, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or any person or persons acting for them, for the transfer of Portage Island in the Bay of Miramichi to the Canadian Government.

The motion was carried.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY CLAIMS.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for 1st. A statement of all claims made by private individuals or Corporations in relation to the Construction of the Intercolonial Railway within the limits of the Province of Quebec;— showing the claims which have been settled, the amount of each such claim, and the amount of the award; also the claims which have not been settled, the amount of each such claim, and why the same has not been settled.

The motion was carried.

WALLACE MAIL CONTRACT.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved for a return of copies of the contracts for the conveyance of Mails between Wallace, in the County of Cumberland and Greenville Station on the Intercolonial Railway, supplying the several way offices at Wallace Bridge, Six mile road, Wallace River, Henderson Settlement, Streets Bridge, Middleboro, and Head of Wallace Bay, to 1st November last, when the delivery for these offices was changed to Wentworth Station, with the contract for the latter service and the amount paid therefor; also a statement of the new services now required to supply the before mentioned offices

and the cost thereof with the tenders receive therefor, and all corresponded ence and communications with the Post Office Department connected therewith.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE asked the hon. gentleman to postpone his motion until the Postmaster General was present, whom he thought might desire to bring other papers down than those asked for.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER— I should be willing to have any papers brought down that the hon. gentlemen wishes.

The motion was carried.

THE WALLACE AND MALAGASH MAIL.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved for a return of a copy of the contract recently made for the conveyance of the Mail between Wallace and Malagash, in the County of Cumberland, with the tenders received therefor and the notices calling for such service specifying when and where such notices were posted, and also a statement of the amount previously paid for the same service.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE— Of course this motion will pass on the same condition as the last one. I doubt if it will be possible to tell when the notices were posted.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had been informed that no notices had been posted and that, consequently, no tenders had been sent in. He did not blame the Post Office Department for this proceeding. He merely wished to bring the facts of the case to the notice of Postmaster General. He would agree to the conditions required in the passage of the last motion.

The motion was carried.

COMPLAINTS RELATING TO POSTAL SERVICE.

Mr. DESJARDINS moved for an order of House for correspondence, petitions and complaints relating to the Postal Service in the following localities in the County of Hochelaga: Hochelaga, Cote Visitation, Coteau St. Louis, St. Jean Baptiste Village, Notre Dame de Grace, Town of St. Henri, Cote St. Paul and St. Gabriel Farm, with copies of any departmental orders relating to the same.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I cannot promise as to copies of departmental letters relating to the same. There may be letters or orders that are not intended to be made public. The motion can only pass with that qualification.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—That qualification is always understood.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Very well. The motion was carried.

VACCINATION OF INDIANS.

Mr. CIMON moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for—1st. Copies of the instructions given to François Xavier De Sales Laterrière, Esq., Physician, of Malbaie, to go and vaccinate the Indians on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, in the County of Saguenay, during the year 1875; 2nd. Reports and accounts produced by the said François Xavier de Sales Laterrière, Esq., in this matter, and all correspondence between him and the Government respecting these accounts; 3rd. A statement of the sums of money paid by the Government to the said François Xavier De Sales Laterrière as such vaccinating Physician.

The motion was carried.

EXCHANGE OF PROPERTY IN QUEBEC.

In the absence of Mr. Masson, Mr. Desjardins moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence between the Dominion Government and the Government of the Province of Quebec, relating to an exchange of the property called "Vieux Chateau St. Louis" in the City of Quebec, for that of Hospital and Officers' Quarters in St. Louis Street of the said City, together with all Orders in Council relating to the same.

The motion was carried.

DAMAGES FROM INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. DOMVILLE moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all papers and correspondence in connection with payments made to J. G. B. McCreedy and others, in King's County, for alleged damage sustained from the Intercolonial Railroad from fire and other causes.

Mr. DESJARDINS

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The word "alleged" must be struck out of that motion. Whether they were alleged damages or not, the case was referred to the Dominion Arbitration and settled, and after a judicial decision in the matter, the word "alleged" should not be used.

Mr. DOMVILLE—Strike it out then. The motion was carried.

THE HALIFAX PASSENGER STATION.

Mr. MCKAY (Colchester) moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all tenders received for the erection of the Passenger Station at Halifax; all correspondence relative to said tenders; to any change in plans and specifications before or after such tenders were received; to whom awarded, and amount of such contract as awarded.

The motion was carried.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY TELEGRAPH LINE.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved for an Order of The House for a copy of any new contract or instructions given to F. Barnard, Esquire, in relation to the Telegraph Line in connection with the Pacific Railway line, and especially with that portion of the line which goes through "Tête Jaune Cache."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There are no new contracts.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Are there any new instructions.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There can be no instructions, but only the ordinary directions about the work.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I was informed there were new instructions. I shall therefore withdraw the motion.

The motion was withdrawn.

MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved for an Order of the House for all papers and correspondence between any individual and any Department of the Government in relation to the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Clinton, or between any officer of the said Company and the Government; also a copy of the license, if any, issued by the Government to the said Company with a statement of the amount of deposit, if any, lodged by the said Company with

the Government, and whether the same is available to the creditors of the said Company for the liabilities of the said Company; also a statement as to whether the said Company have complied with the requirements of the law in relation to Insurance Companies.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I will make the enquiry, but I doubt whether there is any correspondence between that Company and the Government.

The motion was carried.

VALUATORS ON THE INTERCOLONIAL.

Mr. FISET moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for the Returns showing the names of the valutors employed on the Intercolonial Railway, in the Counties of Temiscouata and Rimouski, for the purchase of lands, the valuation of damages, &c., the period of time during which each such valuator was employed, and the salary paid in each case; also a list of all claims filed with the Government for damages caused by the expropriation of lands or the passing of the line of Railway through the said counties; the amount allowed by the valuator on each of the said claims, with the names of those who accepted the offer made to them and the names of those who refused.

The motion was carried.

THE BARQUE "N. CHURCHILL."

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for all papers, correspondence and communications between the Government of Canada and the Collector of Customs at the Port of Quebec, or any other person, in relation to a violation of an Act intitled "An Act respecting Deck Loads," 36 Victoria, Chapter 56, by the Barque "N. Churchill;" also any communication between the Port Warden of the Port of Quebec and the Commissioner of Customs of said Port in relation to said violation; also the official record of any investigation had by the said Collector of Customs and the steps taken to verify the truth of the charges of said violation of said Law; also a statement of any steps taken by the said Collector or other officer of Government in verifying the truth of the charges of violation of said Law; also

copies of any certificates furnished by the officers of Customs, if any, and required by sections 5, 6 and 7 of said Act before clearance of any vessel; also copies of any proceedings or record of judgment had against the master of said vessel for any violation of said Law.

The motion was carried.

THE DEBT OF CANADA.

Mr. BOWELL in the absence of Mr. Kirkpatrick moved, for an Order of the House for copy of statement shewing the debt, &c., of Canada, issued in London on 19th October, 1875, by the Hon. the Finance Minister on the occasion of placing the last loan on the English Market.

The motion was carried.

NATIVE WINES.

Mr. SMITH (Peel) moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for a copy of all correspondence between the Government and the Vine Growers' Association of Canada, in relation to any infraction by said Company of the Revenue Laws of the Dominion since 1870; also a return of the quantity of wine and brandy manufactured by said Association since that period, and the amount of excise or any other duties paid thereon.

The motion was carried.

THE GOVERNMENT STEAMER "SIR JAMES DOUGLAS."

Mr. DEWDNEY moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for all correspondence between the Honorable Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the Agent of that Department in Victoria, or any other parties, in reference to a complaint made from the Canadian Pacific Railway Office, Victoria, shewing the inconvenience occasioned by the Government steamer "Sir James Douglas," being allowed to carry passengers when engaged in Government service transporting survey parties.

The motion was carried.

COUNTY COURT JUDGE FOR NEW WESTMINSTER.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all correspondence between the Dominion and British

Columbia Governments with reference to the appointments of a County Court Judge for New Westminster, British Columbia.

The motion was carried.

OLD RAILS IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for a Return of the quantity of old Rails now on hand and in the possession of the Government, and shewing whether the same are of such a character as to be made available for the ordering of the construction of Branch Lines.

The motion was carried.

AID TO PRIVATE RAILWAYS.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all correspondence between the Government of Canada or any of their officers and any person or persons, company or companies in New Brunswick since the 1st day of January, 1874, in relation to aid to be given to the construction of Railways in that Province by the supplying of Rails or other Plant or Rolling Stock for such proposed Railways.—Carried.

SEIGNIORY NICOLAS RIOUX.

Mr. Fiset moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for the correspondence between the Government and the Censitaires of the Seigniori Nicolas Rioux, in the County of Rimouski, in the matter of the tax which they pay to Seigniors, instead of Statute days' labour (les journées de Corvée).—Carried.

LACHINE CANAL CONTRACT.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved an Order of the House for a Return of copies of all tenders for No. 3 Contract on the Lachine Canal, and all correspondence connected therewith; also a copy of the contract entered into for that work, and the amount of money paid thereon for that service.—Carried.

CUSTOMS AT MONTREAL.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER moved an Order of the House for a return of all expenses connected with the collection of Customs at Montreal during the

Mr. CUNNINGHAM.

Fiscal Years 1873, '74 and '75 respectively; and also a statement of the revenue collected at that Port for the same years respectively.—Carried.

POST OFFICE MAIL CONTRACT.

Mr. ROULEAU moved for an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all tenders, correspondence and documents of whatsoever nature, between the Inspector of Post Offices for the Quebec Division, the Post Office Department at Ottawa, and any persons whomsoever, in relation to the contract for carrying the Mail between Scott's Junction in the County of Beauce, and Parish of St. Bernard, in the County of Dorchester.—Carried.

RAILWAY TRAFFIC RETURNS.

Mr. IRVING moved that an Order of the House do issue to require the Minister of Public Works to lay before this House returns of the Capital, Traffic and Working Expenditure of the Railways of the Dominion, in accordance with the requirements and provisions of the Law in that behalf.—Carried.

GEORGE ROCHESTER'S CLAIMS.

Mr. McDougall (Renfrew) moved that an Order of the House do issue for the evidence taken before the Dominion Arbitrators on the claim of George Rochester against the Government.—Carried.

FISHING RIGHTS IN L'ISLET.

Mr. ROULEAU moved for an address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all documents, correspondence and copies of the instructions given to Clovis Caron, Fishery Overseer, having connection with the fishing rights of Eugène Dumas, Joseph Levesque and Zephirin Duval, in the Parish of St. Jean Port Joli, County of L'Islet; and also copies of the *enquête* held by one Grondin, or a person called Damase Guay, formerly Fishery Overseer.—Carried.

BURLINGTON BAY FISHERIES.

Mr. BAIN moved for an Order of the House for a return of all licenses issued by the Inspector of Fisheries for fishing in Burlington Bay and the

Dundas Maish during the years 1872, '73 '74 '75; the names of the parties to whom such licenses were granted; for what periods; and in what way the proceeds from said licenses have been applied; the return to include all manner of catching, taking or spearing fish. Also for a copy of all instructions issued to John W. Kerr, Inspector of Fisheries, as to the rights, rules and regulations for taking fish in said waters during such period.—Carried.

BOARD OF TRADE.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Macdonald (Toronto) in the Chair, to further consider the Bill entitled an Act to amend the Act 37 Victoria, Chapter 51, entitled: "An Act to authorize the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion," and reported it with an amendment, which was read the second time.

DOMINION BANK DEPOSITS.

The motion of Mr. Bowell for an Order of the House for a statement of all moneys lying at the credit of the Dominion, in any Bank, or in the hands of any financial agents, &c, being taken up for further consideration,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER stated that he intended to take advantage of the present opportunity to make a few remarks in this relation. The hon. mover of the resolution had gone into the subject at such great length, as to make it unnecessary for him to do more than glance at some of the statements that had been made. The point he had raised on former occasions, in connection with the practice of the Government in making deposits in the banks, was in the first instance that it was unfair. The admission which they already made, as to the mode in which that power had been exercised, he thought would render it unnecessary to offer any labored arguments to show the impossibility of carrying on banking on fair and equal terms, while the Government followed their present course in this regard. Though the Finance Minister made an exception to the statement, which was assumed to be correct, that the amount of money entered in the column asked on demand,

represented the same not bearing interest, he thought he was safe in saying that it was not only so regarded by the hon. members of the House, and the people of this country, but that it was substantially correct that banks would not pay interest for money on call. In the second place, although there might be some exceptions to the rule, yet the amount of money held on demand represented the amount held as not bearing interest, while the amount payable after notice on a certain day, represented the money bearing interest.

The admission of the Finance Minister, that one Bank in the country had on the average for an entire year, \$360,000 without interest was sufficient in his opinion to establish the point he wished to submit to the House. He drew the attention of the hon. members to the fact that the practice of which he complained had grown up under the present Administration, and was fraught with all the inconveniences and dangers to which he had directed notice. He was quite aware that the Government must necessarily have allowed very large allowances to accumulate, owing to the fact that large payments of interest had to be made semi-annually, and also the sub-dividends for the different Provinces; and the course he contended the Administration should have taken was to use their own bank in this connection, their own fiscal agent in this country, the Bank of Montreal. This was not because he had any partiality for that institution, or because he wished to give it any advantage over any other banking institution, but because it was regarded as one of the strongest in the country, and occupied the position of being the Government Bank. Through the Bank of Montreal, to a very large extent at least, all collections were made, and if the dealings of the Ministry were with their own banking and fiscal agents in the country, it removed the objection to which he had drawn the attention of the House—the favoritism that could be practised by the Government. He had said that this was unfair, and when it was shown by the Finance Minister's admission that one of our banking institutions, the Bank of Ontario, receiv-

ed from the Government on the average no less than \$360,000 during the entire year, without paying interest on it, he thought that he had established a fact which required nothing further to sustain the charge made concerning the favoritism that could be practised, and the unfairness shown to other banking institutions which were obliged to compete with Banks enjoying such great advantages.

Then they had complained that the policy of the Government in borrowing a large sum of money in the English market, at a time when it was not required by the circumstances of the country, and spreading it about over the Dominion in the hands of the banks lead to undue inflation. The Hon. Finance Minister himself admitted that one of the most serious causes of the commercial depression from which the country suffered was the undue inflation caused by the Banks putting out so much money. He did not see any mode of extending and increasing that inflation more surely than by Government placing in the hands of the Banks fourteen and a half millions of public money. The Banks naturally wished to make use of that money, and they placed it in hands which, but for the plethora of cash, they would not have trusted it with, and the consequence was great injury to the country by the inflation which it produced. He had before stated that this policy was an unsafe policy, for just in proportion as the Banks were getting into trouble or weakening they would bring all the pressure they could bring to bear to get further deposits, and the Government in granting these deposits exposed the country to severe losses of public money. The admission of the Finance Minister that he could not get his money when he wanted it—

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I made no such admission.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the hon. gentleman had admitted it in terms stronger than words, when he told the House that he had put a larger loan on the market than was then required, because he did not want to go back again for some years, as it was not only inconvenient but disadvantageous to go borrowing frequently in the

money market. But the hon. gentleman went back in another year and borrowed again more money than the country required, because, as he told them, if he had called in the money from the Banks the result would have been disastrous to the commerce of the Dominion. He considered that this established the fact that not only inflation was produced at a most unfortunate time, but that the practice was an unsafe practice, for as the member for Montreal West had said, it was not only known to the Minister of Finance but to every business man in the country, that if the money had been demanded and the parties were obliged to pay it back, the result would have been a financial crisis in the country, and Bank after Bank would have been tumbled down, producing disaster to the country. There was nothing else to warrant the hon. gentleman in going back to England for a new loan, but to avoid pressing the banks for this money. If the Government were allowed to thus go to the markets of the world and sell our debentures to place fifteen millions of dollars in the hands of the Banks, a large portion of it without interest, it would be the most fatal blow at the principles of responsible Government that could be conceived, as it placed the Government in the position of being enabled to borrow unlimited sums of money and distributing it among the Banks on the eve of a general election, to influence the country. They had seen Mr. Thompson, President of the Bank of Ontario, issue a circular to the customers of that Bank, telling them the value it would be to that institution if the party in power were sustained; and they had seen the Manager of that Bank again issuing a circular telling the customers the value to them of sustaining the Government, thereby getting the means by which they could make discounts easier. Could any evidence of a more startling character be given of the disastrous effect of the Government having the power to mortgage the revenues of the country to obtain money to distribute among their friends? It was unfair to the banks that were not favoured in this way, and he thought he had said enough to show that it was

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

an exceedingly corrupt arrangement. He did not wish to go outside of the strict record, but the mere fact they had a great monetary institution of this country on the eve of a general election urging upon the customers the necessity of sustaining the Government was evidence that the whole system was corrupt. When he showed that this very bank received \$360,000 of the people's money for a whole year without interest, taking out of the public purse at least \$30,000 per annum, it was sufficient to prove that the system was not only unfair, but it was unsafe and essentially corrupt. These institutions had power enough, and influence enough in relation to public affairs without any such extension of it, and such unfair means of putting it into operation. They had an independence of Parliament Act, but under this system it was an absurdity to keep the law on the Statute Book. Under this law any member of this House receiving a benefit from the Government to the extent of one dollar, his seat becomes vacant, and he was obliged to walk out. But this was a perfect farce, if a president of a bank could receive \$30,000 a year of public money from the Government by means of their deposits. He was told that the late Government pursued this policy, but he challenged the accuracy of that statement. He found that the *Globe* newspaper of the 7th of March ventured upon the statement that under the late Government, just before they went out of power, they had no less than \$701,000 in the Montreal District Savings Bank, "which large sum was not paying in the shape of interests a single dollar." The Government must of course necessarily accumulate large balances at certain periods, but he proposed to show that the course of the late Government was diametrically opposed to that of the present Government.

The late Government had a bank, that of Montreal, and their collections were made through it. The only exceptions while the late Government were in power, in which the collections were not made through the Bank of Montreal and its agencies throughout the Dominion, were in a few cases where the Merchant's Bank had

agencies and the Montreal Bank had none. Then he came to another point which he thought he was safe in saying was about the only exception in relation to the prospects of money. Formerly when exchange was wanted the Government bought from the Bank of Montreal and sold to the Bank of Montreal at current rates. Sir Francis Hincks changed that system and issued tenders when he wanted exchange, and accepted the lowest; in the same way he issued tenders when he wanted to sell, and accepted the highest with the understanding that the money, until it was required, would remain with the successful tenderers. The Government thus obtained a higher rate than they otherwise would, and no one banking institution had the least advantage over another, because tenders were invited from all the banks, and the one that offered exchange at the lowest rate had their tender accepted, and the one that offered to purchase at the highest rate had their tender accepted. There was another manner in which the banks obtained small deposits of Government money. The Government had passed a law taking the circulation of small notes into their own hands, under the operation of which law the Government were receiving \$300,000 per annum.

Under that law, of course, it was important to put the small notes of the Government in circulation, and any bank that asked for \$40,000 or \$50,000 of the \$1 and \$2 gave a deposit certificate to pay the money back at any moment that it was required. With regard to the statement made by the *Globe* in reference to the City and District Savings Bank, he would state that institution was far more available for the redemption of their small notes. The statement that the Government did not receive interest on the \$701,000 deposited with that Bank was an entire misapprehension. Five per cent. interest was received on that money.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Does the hon. gentleman mean to say the Government received interest on that \$701,000?

Mr. TUPPER—Yes, Sir, and I have the authority of Sir Francis Hincks for

making the statement. When the *Globe* published the statement he wrote to that journal showing the fallacy into which it had fallen.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I would say there are two sums; one of \$400,000 which did bear interest and another of \$701,000 which did not bear interest.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he was only giving the statement he had received from Sir Francis Hincks, and knowing his general character for accuracy he thought it would have been sufficient. He then proceeded to deprecate the dangerous policy of the Government in distributing this money in the Banks of the country without interest.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT desired to send the hon. gentleman over a paper from the Finance Department in which the two sums were stated.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said that paper showed that on October 31st the money deposited with the Montreal District Savings Bank was \$701,000; not at interest, and \$400,000 at interest, making \$1,100,000 deposited in that institution. It showed that public deposits of the country were in thirty-seven banks in various sums, those on call amounting to \$2,100,000 and those not on call to \$2,300,000. He said the House should understand that when these enormous amounts were deposited in the City and District Savings Bank of Montreal, the Hon. Finance Minister, Sir Francis Hincks, was a Director or President of that institution. He only alluded to this because the hon. gentleman had denied the possibility of maintaining the independence of Parliament as long as the Director of a bank was allowed to be a member of Parliament, while Government deposits were made in that bank.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I object to Government deposits being extended to banks at all except the Government bank.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the hon. gentleman denied a system which must have obtained under the late Government of which he was a member, namely that a member of Parliament must not be a shareholder in a bank that received Government deposits. The deposits were spread over

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37 different institutions, and of course members of Parliament were likely to be shareholders in the larger and more stable institutions. This was a new view which never occurred to him while he was on the Government side of the House but one which he had learned in the abstractions of opposition.

Mr. BOWELL thought the hon. Minister of Justice wrong in the remarks which he had just made with reference to the Finance Minister of the late Government. If his recollection served him right, Sir Francis Hincks had no connection with that bank at the time he held office.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—But he was a member of Parliament.

Mr. BOWELL said he spoke under correction, but he would say that the hon. gentleman was in error in the impression which he evidently desired the House to form in reference to the position held in that bank by Sir Francis Hincks at the time he was in office. The charge was made on a previous occasion, and he (Sir Francis) immediately wrote to the paper which made the accusation and gave a positive and distinct denial.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Surely the hon. gentleman does not mean to say that Sir Francis was not a member of Parliament then.

Mr. BOWELL—I do not say anything of the kind; I premised my remarks by stating that I was not positive as to the position he held, but I am quite satisfied, from a conversation I had with him four days ago, that he was not in the position which the Hon. Minister of Justice would lead the House to believe he was when these deposits were made.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he had stated he was in error on that point; he forgot at the moment that Sir Francis Hincks had retired. The fact remained, however, that he was a member of Parliament.

Mr. BOWELL said that may be. Returning to the question before the House, he said he had no objection to the return being carried back just as far as the Hon. Minister of Finance or the Government desired; it would only

show the correctness of the position he assumed when he made the motion—that the system in vogue should be changed. If the Hon. Finance Minister desired to do full justice in this matter, he would state also in the return that when the late Government found that they had large surplus deposits in the banks, for which they had no use, they came down to the House and reduced taxation to the extent of nearly \$3,000,000. He wished, however, more particularly to call attention to the explanation of the hon. gentleman in reference to the difference between the returns made by the banks and published in the *Official Gazette* and those which were laid before the House by the Finance Minister's officer, Mr. Langton. The hon. gentleman said that these inaccuracies were entirely attributable to the fact that they were made up to a different date.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—That is precisely what I did not say.

Mr. BOWELL—That is precisely what you are reported to have said.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I said it was owing to two things—one that they were made on the different dates and another that the entry warrants were included in one account and not in the other.

Mr. BOWELL said he was reading from the *Hansard*. On page 779 the hon. gentleman was reported to have said: "In the first place, the discrepancy between the statement of bank balances as brought down by Mr. Langton in obedience to the demand of the Public Accounts Committee, and those published in the *Official Gazette* was entirely attributable to the fact that they were made up to different dates, and dates at which there would be always a considerable variation in the balance."

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT asked if the hon. gentleman could not read the following sentence also: "There were conveniences attendant upon it, but the disadvantage inherent in the system was this: the Government were always obliged to keep, in addition to the gold reserve, a very considerable amount absolutely

"at call, and he doubted very much whether it would be expedient for a Government, however it might for an individual, to demand interest on sums so deposited."

Mr. BOWELL said the additional explanation did not affect, in the least, the point to which he stated he desired to call the attention of the House. Any ordinary intellect could understand in taking up those accounts and being told that one was made up to the end and the other up to the first of the month how discrepancies might have occurred for a month. But he pointed out that these discrepancies continued for months in succession, the figures remaining almost precisely the same as when they first occurred. In Mr. Langton's return, \$340,000 were given as being in the bank in March, 1875, while the bank returns should \$547,000. The same discrepancy only to a larger extent existed also in the months of April, May and June. If it had occurred but once he could easily understand that the explanation given by the Finance Minister would be the correct one, but how the discrepancy could remain for four or five months in succession he could not understand, and the Finance Minister had not, and apparently could not explain. On looking over the accounts of the money not bearing interest he found precisely the same state of affairs.

He found, referring to the *Gazette* returns of July, 1875, the non-bearing interest deposits were \$611,302, while Mr. Langton's statement showed only \$277,230. How was this large difference of \$337,071 to be explained? There was another point to which the hon. gentleman had referred in his explanations the other evening in reply to the hon. member for Cumberland. He stated "that up to June 30th, 1875, instead of \$600,000 deposited in the Ontario Bank without interest there was only about half that amount." Now, the only inference to be drawn from that statement was that he (Mr. Bowell) had said that previous to June there was a sum amounting to \$600,000 in the Ontario Bank not drawing interest. He (Mr. Bowell) had made no such statement, but had given the figures precisely as he found them in the *Official Gazette*, and also in the return

laid before the Public Accounts Committee. What he had stated was that the sum to the credit of the Dominion in the Ontario Bank in June, 1875, bearing interest was \$669,000, while the sum on demand was but \$389,000, and he had pointed out this remarkable fact that in July, the month following, the interest bearing deposits were reduced from \$669,000 to \$206,000, while the non-bearing interest-account was run up to \$611,000; and in explanation the hon. gentleman said that the Ontario Bank had probably included sums which it had on deposit in its foreign branches. If that were true, he (Mr. Bowell) could not understand why the aggregates should not agree. If that statement were correct the Finance Minister in bringing down his returns should have shown that the banks held sums in other parts of the world as well as in the Dominion, and those who had the returns in their hands would have understood how matters were. Unfortunately when these returns were asked for just as little information was given as they could possibly furnish. There was one other point referred to by the hon. member for Cumberland as to these deposits having been used by the banks for commercial purposes. The Finance Minister the other night explained that he gave instructions to the banks not to use this money on which no interest was demanded; yet when he issued his circular informing the banks he would require that money and they would have to pay it, the fact of putting that request into force would have so crippled some of them as to injure their standing in the country; and the result was that instead of the country receiving the benefit of its own money, he (the Finance Minister) had to go to England and borrow, on which the public were now paying interest. His (Mr. Bowell's) object in bringing this matter before the House was to show that certain banks which had rendered political services to this Government had received benefits from the public treasury to aid in giving large dividends to their stockholders which they should not receive. That was a dangerous power to place in the hands of any Finance Minister, and this House

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should insist on some other course being adopted to prevent such acts being perpetrated in the future. The Government owed it to itself and to the country to adopt some system by which these returns could be made in a way that they could be understood, and to prevent public money being used to reward political supporters.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said there was no objection to giving the information required, provided it extended from the 31st December, 1871. The amount on deposit at that date was nearly \$8,000,000, of which \$4,300,000 bore no interest, an amount quite as large as any on the average that has been kept since then. As to the reasons why it was necessary to keep a large amount of money without interest, he had sufficiently explained this already, and he did not want to go over it again. Hon. gentlemen who desired to read his explanations would find them in two places in the *Hansard*. What he wished to point out was that both Governments—and he did not wish to be understood as censuring the preceding Administration—having enormous works to carry on, with expenditures varying from three to twelve millions in a single month, and having to prepare for the redemption of a large amount of legal tender notes, were obliged to keep heavy deposits in the banks without interest. As to the soundness of that position, no gentleman who had watched the Government business of this country was likely to differ in opinion from himself.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the Government having adopted the policy of issuing Dominion notes, could only make that available by getting them into circulation. Any bank could get forty or fifty thousand dollars of those notes at any time on the same terms—to have them as money on call—but the Government was not losing interest on the money because it had then circulated and obtained the advantage of that circulation.

In the other case, the City and District Savings Bank, as had been already explained, had been used by the Government as a banking agency in Montreal because, at all events, they circulated Government notes; and

when they had a considerable amount of money accumulated it was charged to them at 5 per cent interest.

His hon. friend, he observed, shook his head, but he had the authority at all events of Sir Francis Hincks for stating this; he held the letter of Sir Francis Hincks in his hand dealing with this matter, and he was sure that they would be glad to hear it read in that gentleman's absence.

The hon. gentleman said, that on the 31st of October \$4,500,000 had been distributed among the banks; but turning to the returns what did they find? The hon. gentleman referred to a very large number of banks, but he had already explained that it was for the purpose of circulating our small notes that they got any amount of money on call; and the hon. gentleman would observe that these were sums of \$100,000, with very few exceptions, precisely the amounts required for one and two dollar notes. The \$701,186 had accumulated in the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, the Government's banking agency for the purpose of redeeming our small notes—for which object they had had to establish an expensive department at Toronto, making the Government's relation entirely different (a purely business relation) with any other bank in the country save the Government bank. Then they subtracted the amount deposited in the Bank of Montreal, \$1,215,786, and his hon. friend would see that at St. John, where there was an assistant Receiver-General, there was in the hands of the Government itself \$225,261, the same as if it was in the vaults here; because it was in the custody of a Government officer, who held it for the redemption of our small notes.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The hon. member is mistaken; he will perceive that this deposit is in the hands of the Bank of Montreal.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It was then the Bank of Montreal agency at St. John and the same at Halifax. It was still, however, held for the Government. He knew that we had an Assistant Receiver-General at St. John and Halifax.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It was just a deposit with the Bank of Montreal and nothing more.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—In Halifax there was also an Assistant Receiver-General.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—No, Sir; I will explain. Those statements simply show the amounts held at Montreal, St. John and Halifax by the Bank of Montreal.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—This was not so stated there. The statement there was improperly made. Among the banks the Bank of Montreal was mentioned.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The statement which the hon. gentleman has read from is one made by his own Finance Minister.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—All he could say was this: he was aware that there was an Assistant Receiver-General's Department at Halifax, and he had known a million of the public money to be in that gentleman's hands. A change might have taken place, and the Bank of Montreal might have been exclusively used. He would now show the deductions from the amount there stated:—Bank of Montreal in Montreal, \$1,218,786; Bank of Montreal at St. Johns, N.B., \$225,251; Bank of Montreal, Moncton, N.B., \$131,948; and the Bank of Montreal at Halifax, \$525,905. They had besides in the British Columbia Bank, \$300,000; and the hon. gentleman, of course, knew that this was also exceptional. The Pacific Railway surveys were progressing, and it was necessary for the public service to have a deposit in this bank for that purpose, so that out of the total \$4,552,676 not bearing interest, the House would perceive that \$2,897,879 was to be taken, leaving \$1,654,797 as the total amount held outside the direct Government agencies to meet the amount of money distributed among the banks which had one and two-dollar notes for the purpose of putting them in circulation, to which he had already drawn the attention of the House; and the exchange sold by us, it remained with them until it was required in order to obtain a higher price for it, so that the hon. gentleman

would see that the greatest service he could do them was to extend these returns and bring them down in the mode in which he had amended the resolution, because this would establish fully and completely the case—that this distribution of fifteen millions of money among the banks of this country, some five and six millions of it drawing no interest whatever, was a new policy, entered upon by the present Government, for which no authority and no precedent whatever from the former Government could be discovered. As Sir Francis Hincks was not present to defend himself against the statement which had been made, he would take the liberty of reading an extract from a letter addressed by Sir Francis himself:—

“MONTREAL, 27th Nov., 1875.

“MY DEAR DR. TUPPER,—

“In accordance with your request that I should write you on the subject of the Bank Policy of Sir John A. Macdonald's Government while I was Minister of Finance, I now beg to state that we adhered strictly to the principle of keeping the Government account with the Bank of Montreal. I made a change in the previous practice, which had been to purchase our sterling exchange from that bank, and I put it up to competition, taking it from the bank which charged the lowest. The same rule was followed when we sold exchange, and in that case, in order to obtain the highest rate, we invited tenders the money to remain with the successful competitors at 5 per cent. until required. The only other way in which banks obtained deposits was when they circulated our one and two dollar bills. A bank applying for, say \$100,000 in small notes, would get them on a deposit receipt at call. I have no recollection of a case having ever occurred in which we took money from our own Bankers to place it elsewhere. The Bank of Montreal received the revenue at all points, but in a few cases, at very small towns where the Merchant's Bank had agencies and the Bank of Montreal none, Collectors were authorized to deposit with the Merchant's. I recollect a case in which Gooderham & Worts in Toronto, distillers, who paid a very large amount of revenue, asked to be allowed to deposit their duties in the Bank of Toronto where they kept their account. I explained the impossibility of meeting their wishes, as it would either expose us to the charge of obliging our friends, or involve the necessity of allowing other distillers or importers to pay their duties at their own banks. I believe my explanation was considered satisfactory and the matter dropped. I do not recollect a case of favouritism and I think it would be safe to assume that no such case occurred. * * *”

“(Signed), F. HINCKS.”

So much for the policy of the late Government, stated in distinct terms by Sir Francis Hincks, and it was as

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wide as the poles are asunder from the policy of the present Administration. He now came to the statement about the \$701,000 which the hon. gentleman had stated was deposited in the City District Savings Bank without paying interest, and the hon. gentleman would find that this also was another misapprehension. Sir Francis wrote to the editor of the *Globe* as follows:—

“SIR,—In your leading article yesterday you stated that on the 31st October, 1873, the Government had \$701,000 in the hands of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, which large sum did not pay in the shape of interest a single dollar. Permit me to correct this statement. At the date in question the City and District Savings Bank were paying for \$700,000, five per cent. They had a much smaller amount without interest. It may be proper to explain that the Government credits at the Savings Bank arose solely from the payment of Dominion one and two dollar notes over the counter. The practice has always been for the Government when not immediately requiring the money, to transfer round amounts to the interest-bearing account and it was the practice which was not, so far as I am aware, changed by the present Government on their assuming office.”

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The statement I have just submitted, is a statement made by Mr. Tilley, and being his official statement, I must presume that it is correct. Sir Francis Hincks must have forgotten it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER did not doubt that the hon. gentleman thought that the statement was quite correct—

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It is that of your own Finance Minister.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—It appeared from Sir Francis Hincks' letter that the state of the facts was as follows:—This was an agency of the Government, and all the money belonging to them was in one and two dollar notes, paid over the counter, and issued for the Government; and whenever any amount of money accumulated in round numbers, they placed it to the charge of the bank at five per cent. interest. This was the arrangement then made; and he presumed that it still existed. He was glad that he had had the opportunity of turning up this paper, when this subject was under consideration, in order that the facts might be laid clearly before the House.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that he believed Sir Francis Hincks stated, what he believed to be the case; he understood this, and he must conclude from the official statement which the hon. gentleman held in his hands, that Sir Francis had confounded the \$400,000 with \$700,000.

Mr. DOMVILLE remarked that certain banks did not send returns to Parliament; he believed that a portion of these institutions were not obliged to comply with the law on this subject. He saw that the custom existed before the present Government acceded to office, and it had continued. He did not think that the Government should place money in the hands of banks that did not make returns; if these were of any value they should certainly be made; and if they declined to conform to the laws the Ministry should not afford them any facilities.

As regarded the Lower Provinces, there could be no reason why the banks there should receive money in this way as some of them had the power of issuing one and two dollar bills. He might say there was no excuse for placing money in the hands of certain banks, on the plea of getting it into circulation, if they obtained their charter before Confederation. Secondly, these banks had no right to the money unless they made certain returns; they did not require circulation because they had it already. It was, at all events, no argument in favour of their financial position and policy if they declined to do what other similar institutions did.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the hon. gentleman was, no doubt, aware in many cases it was more a matter of convenience to the Government than to them.

The motion was carried.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Bill "An Act to amend the Weights and Measures Act of 1875" (Mr. Oliver) was read the second time.

BRITISH MERCHANT SHIPPING.

On motion to resume the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Hon. Mr. Mitchell for a resolution on which to

found an Address to Her Majesty on the subject of proposed Legislation by the Imperial Parliament affecting British Merchant Shipping and its operation on Canadian tonnage; the motion of Mr. McLeod in amendment thereto, and the motion of Hon. Mr. Langevin in amendment to the said amendment,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he hoped his hon. friend would consent to the withdrawal of this motion. As he had pointed out the other evening, in the hon. gentleman's absence, it was somewhat inconvenient at present when the Government were in correspondence with the Imperial Government in this matter to have any positive or strong motion passed in this House. There was no material difference between the hon. gentleman's views and those of the Government, as he would probably find; and it would be much more convenient and conducive to the public service to withdraw his motion.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said after the hon. gentlemen's statement that there was no material difference of opinion between them, he would withdraw his motion.

The amendments of Mr. McLeod and Hon. Mr. Langevin were also withdrawn, and the order was discharged.

CONCURRENCE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved concurrence in the various reports of the Committee of Supply.

Items No. 1 to 48 were concurred in.

On item 49, Printing, printing paper and book-binding, \$70,000.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked the cause of the increase of \$20,000?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that it was the printing of the House, which was not so much under the control of the Government as the Printing Committee. This amount was a mere estimate judging from the expenses of the previous year and what had already been incurred; unless the House greatly restricted the amount of printing the sum asked for would not be sufficient.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked if the amount voted last year was insufficient?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that it was; there was a deficit of about \$15,000.

The item was passed.

With reference to the previous item, 48, Consolidation of the Laws, \$8,000.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL enquired whether that sum would cover the whole expense?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied in the negative; this was merely the commencement.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked if any idea could be given of the total cost?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was impossible at present to form an opinion; the work would extend over four or five years.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE concurred in this statement. This estimate was only a beginning.

Item 50 was then concurred in.

The House adjourned at Thirty minutes past Twelve o'clock, a. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 30, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

QUEBEC HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on Saturday next to consider the following resolution:—

"That as the duties formerly discharged by the Trinity House of Quebec, whose Warden was a salaried officer, now devolve on the Quebec Harbour Commissioners, it is expedient to provide that the said Harbour Commissioners may from time to time appropriate out of the Harbour Revenues a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars to the payment of an annual indemnity to the President of the Board of Harbour Commissioners."

The motion was carried.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

The following Bills were read the second and third time and passed:—

To amend "The Trade Mark and Design Act of 1868," (from the Senate).

To extend the provisions of the Act 31 Victoria, chapter 33, respecting the retiring allowance of Judges, to the Chief Justice and Justices of the Court

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of Error and Appeal for the Province of Ontario.

Respecting the attendances of witnesses on criminal trials.

THE INDIAN LAWS.

The House went again into Committee on the Bill entitled "An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws respecting Indians," Mr. Laurier in the Chair.

Sec. 10 was passed without discussion.

Section 11,

"No person, or Indian other than an Indian of the Band, shall settle, reside upon, occupy, or otherwise use any land or road, or allowance for roads running through any reserve belonging to or occupied by such Band; and all mortgages or hypothecs given or consented to by any Indian, and all leases, contracts and agreements made or purporting to be made by any Indian, whereby persons or Indians other than Indians of the Band are permitted to reside upon such reserve, shall be absolutely void,"

being taken up,

Mr. PATERSON stated that it contained one of the four or five principles of the Bill which required particular consideration. This section absolutely prohibited any one not being an Indian settling or residing on these reserves.

He considered it very desirable in the interest of Indians that power should be given them under certain circumstances to lease their lands for cultivation to whites; despite the present prohibitions, contracts have been made, and whites who were not reputable lived on the reserves. It must especially be in the interest of Indian widows to allow them the power he had mentioned.

Mr. FLEMING remarked that it was stated in the report of the Minister of the Interior that many of the Mohawks leased farms to whites who lived on the reserve. The children of the two races, moreover, went to school together; this band numbered 804 persons. The statement of the Local Superintendent of the Six Nation Indians showed that it was necessary to permit Indian widows to lease their lands to white people; such a proviso should be introduced, the consent of the Superintendent to this proceeding being made requisite.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — That would never do. To allow the Indians to lease their lands to white people would be practically to dispossess them of the principal part of their reserves. It has always been found extremely inexpedient to permit whites to enter the reserves, and it would be much better to let them keep their lands for themselves, until relieved by the process of enfranchisement.

Mr. FLEMING considered that it would be hardly possible to carry out this Bill in connection with the small bands who lived throughout the Dominion. Some numbered only one or two hundred persons, and a widow might be unable to find an Indian who would work her land.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that certain exceptions from this rule were allowed in the following sections.

Mr. FLEMING, nevertheless, thought that such a proviso as that to which reference had been made, should be here introduced.

Mr. BOWELL asked whether this was an amendment of the old law ?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that it was the 17th section of the old law, with one or two verbal alterations.

Mr. BOWELL observed that the Mohawk Indians had leased their lands to whites for a great many years, but never he believed without the consent of the Department. He doubted very much that it would be to their benefit if they could lease their properties to whom they might think proper.

Mr. PATERSON stated that the first part of the 12th clause did not cover the ground he desired ; it permitted whites to settle on land not belonging to any particular Indian, while the 11th section absolutely prohibited any Indian man or woman under any circumstances leasing their land to other parties, when the contrary course should be permissible in certain instances, preventing disreputable whites entering the Reserves and enabling the Indians to benefit from the examples which could be thus afforded them. He wished to secure an improvement on the old law.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE could not see that such a change would be an improvement. The Reserves should be preserved exclusively for the Indians. If they possessed more land than they desired, to agree to its sale or being leased was an entirely different matter, and should be left wholly within the control of the Indian Department. The bands should not be empowered to sanction leases, as they might be exposed to highly improper influences, judging from experience, enabling worthless whites to settle in the heart of the Reserves and demoralize the Indians. Lately a high and estimable functionary in the North-West, in one of the most remote districts in the Dominion, had written to him a letter which contained a pungent comment regarding the influence of whites among Indians. This gentleman had no doubt that if whites were kept away from these Indians for a few more years they would be civilised.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the object of this Bill was to protect the Indians and prevent their lands being tampered with by white men. If white men were allowed to settle on the Reserves, the Indians—who, as a rule, did not like to cultivate land—would lease their lots for a trifle. He did not think it would be for the benefit of the Indians at all to admit white men among them.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked what effect this legislation would have upon white men who held lands by lease from the Indians on reserve in New Brunswick ? Some of them were occupants of their lots for thirty years, and many held them with the sanction of the Department. He suggested this Act should not have a retro-active effect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That has been the law since 1868.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said it would be well to meet cases where white men had been settled on those lands for a number of years, had put up buildings and made improvements, and who held their leases from the Indians either with the approval of the department, or at least without their disapproval. By this section they could be

turned out of their homes at any moment.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman surely would not propose to legislate specially for parties who had acted in defiance of the law.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said they had not acted in defiance of the law, but in New Brunswick, prior to Confederation, a very loose system had prevailed in the management of Indian lands. What he wanted was to protect those who had leased lands from the Indians prior to 1868, in their occupancy.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the Department held that any bargain with the Indians irrespective of the Department was not valid. Still, where an arrangement might have been made prior to Confederation, it was respected until its term expired. As there had been no reason to complain since 1868, there would be no ground for a grievance hereafter. The clause was a transcript of the provision in the Act of 1868.

Mr. PATERSON contended that an Indian should be empowered to enter into a covenant with a white or other person, subject to the sanction of the Superintendent General. There could be no exception taken to that. Under the clause as it stood, an Indian woman who possessed a piece of land which she could not cultivate, would not be allowed to lease it, even with the sanction of the Superintendent General.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said he was willing to go this far: where an Indian woman was unable to manage her farm for her support she might, with the sanction of the Superintendent General, lease her land. He would not go farther than that.

Mr. PATERSON said he saw no reason why the hon. gentleman should seek to limit his own power. It should be restricted to no one class, because it was a provision which would have a beneficial effect. The meaning of this Bill was that the time had come when the system of tutelage should be broken in upon in the interests of the Indians themselves and of the community generally. This legislation should be in advance of the Act of 1868.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that undoubtedly the 12th Clause gave the Superintendent General power to give and revoke a licence, but if the hon. gentleman opposite thought it of any consequence the words "without the authority of the Superintendent General" might be inserted. He entirely dissented from the views of the hon. gentleman in thinking it was advisable to have Whites settle among Indians, and the policy of the Government would be to prevent that as far as possible. With regard to the widows there would be no difficulty in their obtaining white labour in the usual way.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN regretted that the hon. gentleman had made this concession, as he preferred the Clause as it originally stood.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) was also opposed to the amendment.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he also preferred the Clause without the amendment. It might do well to pass the Clause without the interpolation, and before the measure reached its next stage they would consider whether it was advisable to yield to the suggestion of the hon. member for Brant.

The Clause was then adopted without amendment.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN, with reference to Section 26th which provides for the release or surrender of Reserves, held that the majority of the band should be required to be present when this was in consideration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE remarked that an officer of the Government would be present on such occasions, preventing any chance of a mistake.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD was of opinion that the section gave more protection than when simply the presence of the majority of the Chiefs was required.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN — At all events the majority of the band should be present.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It will never be done without the assistance of the majority.

Mr. SCHULTZ entirely agreed with his hon. friend from Charlevoix in this relation. It was perfectly well known

that some of the recent difficulties with Indians in the States has arisen from the fact that such assent was not obtained.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—The provision confers quite sufficient protection; an officer of the Government will be in attendance, and if any serious complaint is made attention can be given to it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That is substantially provided for in another part of the Bill.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—In what part?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—In the 61st section.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—I cannot prevent the clause from passing but I say once more that the protection is not sufficient. When I was at the head of the Department, complaints were preferred against our officers. They were very jealous—and properly so—of their rights.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Is the hon. gentleman satisfied with a majority?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—The majority of the band should be present.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That is required in the 61st Section.

The section was passed.

Sections 27 and 58, inclusive, were passed without discussion.

Mr. PATERSON complained that accrued interest on lots sold for the Indians had been added to the capital account, and that they received only interest thereon, instead of having the arrears of interest distributed among them. He suggested that the 60th Section should be amended by adding a provision that where accrued interest moneys from the sale of lands are paid in by the purchasers, that said interest money shall be paid out as soon as it is received by the Department. Such a provision should have a retroactive effect.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said whatever the Government might feel disposed to do in the future it would be quite out of the question to give such a provision a retroactive effect, because, in some instances, the Indians would lose their money in a day or two. At

present it was invested for their benefit, and they received the interest on it every year. In some instances this accrued interest amounted to nearly half the capital sum standing to the credit of the Indians.

Mr. PATERSON said many of the Indians had been kept in a state of existence by the credit which the merchants had extended to them. He could not understand why men in such a condition should not be allowed to use their own money when they were unanimous in asking for it. It was desirable that this clause should be so amended that the Government could have no hesitancy, in the future at any rate, in giving the Indians the full benefit of their interest money.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he could not agree to make such an amendment in the Bill as the hon. gentleman desired, rendering it imperative, under all circumstances, to pay out the accrued interest. It would be the desire and the duty of the Government to distribute ordinary accrued interest, but there were cases he was aware of in which very large sums were involved that the Government would not be willing to have it obligatory on them to divide it among the Indians.

Mr. PATERSON said the amount of accrued interest withheld from the Six Nations Indians in the last twenty years was \$108,492. He could see no equity in a system which did not allow the Indians the use of their money as it fell due.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said this was a difficult question to decide, and one that would require the earnest consideration of the Government, and he had no doubt that if representations were made by the Indians to the Government at the proper time, the matter would be considered and that money might be given to the Indians if they wanted it.

Mr. PATERSON said the Indians were merely asking for money that belonged to them. All the money and property they enjoyed was their own, and it would be an injustice not to make this concession.

Mr. MILLS did not agree with his hon. friend from Brant. An Indian

had no individual right that was not the interest of the band. The duty of the Government was to judge as to what was best in the interest of the band. It was their duty to judge as to whether it was in the interest of the band that this money should be distributed amongst them or whether it should be made a part of the fund. He was of opinion that it was unquestionably best to make this money a part of the fund. If the argument of the hon. gentleman were correct, and the Indians had a right to say that the accrued interest should be paid over to them, they also had a right to say whether the principal from which the interest accrued should be similarly paid over. The Government must exercise their own judgment in governing bodies of Indians.

Mr. PATERSON held that the hon. gentleman's reasoning in this particular was entirely fallacious. It was an unjust reflection on the Indians, whose cause he was advocating, to say that they were incapable of judging for themselves and required the Government to do so for them. He had no doubt that the Government thought they were acting in the interest of the Indians; and he would give them credit for that, but at the same time he would tell them that they were making a great mistake.

Mr. MILLS said the hon. member for South Brant had contended that his (Mr. Mills') observations did not apply to Indians in the neighbourhood of Brantford, so far as they related to the unfitness of these people for enfranchisement. The argument had no force at all, except so far as it went in favour of taking their property out of the hands of the Government.

Mr. PATERSON said he was in favour of this just so soon as the Indians were fitted for the application of that system.

Mr. MILLS said whenever that change took place the trusteeship of the Government was at an end; but this was altogether a different matter from that to which the contention of the hon. gentleman referred—that is to say, that the accrued interest should be divided up amongst the Indians. In reply to the charge that he had argued

in favour of reserving this property for posterity, he had to say that he had made no reference to the matter at all. So long as the Indians maintained their distinction as a band, the Government must deal with them—deal with them, too, as they thought best; and in this case it was a question for the Government to decide whether it was in the interest of the band to pay over at once this accrued interest, or simply pay them the interest arising upon it as an investment. There were, say, \$500 of principal invested on behalf of each member of the tribe, and \$300 of accrued interest—\$800 in all. There was no principle of justice, he contended, which required that the \$300 should now be divided up which did not also apply to the \$500 with equal force. Besides, the Indians who were now dead could not be recalled in order that they might have their legitimate share of the money. He repeated, however, that there was no obligation upon the Government to adopt any particular line of policy. The law was that they should do what was best in the interest of the Indians, and he believed they were doing what was best now.

Mr. PATERSON, in order to put the case to the hon. gentleman as strongly as possible, desired to be supposed for the moment as a minor, and the hon. gentleman his guardian. Suppose there were a sum of money invested by the guardian on the minor's behalf, and that it yielded \$300 per annum. Would it be fair, would it be just that the guardian should pay the ward but \$100 per year, and content himself with paying him the interest on the odd \$200 next year and thenceforth. The compact must be carried out in good faith.

Mr. MILLS said there was no such compact with regard to the Indians. The Government were required to do what they considered best.

Mr. FLEMMING said it was well known that the Six Nation Indians obtained a large tract of land from the Government for services rendered during the war. Efforts were made at various times to induce them to surrender a portion of that large tract, which they refused to do until

Mr. MILLS.

representations were made to them that it would be to their advantage to do so. It would be recollected that a number of individuals who made purchases of this land neglected to pay for it. It was merely from the accident, that the money was not forthcoming at the proper time, that this money was now brought into the question at all. If the lands purchased had been paid for promptly there would have been no accrued interest.

The clause was then agreed to.

On clause 59,

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) enquired whether the Government appointed solicitors to act on behalf of the Indians in cases where tenants failed to pay rents, or other instances involving disputes on subjects likely to affect their interests prejudicially?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the agents of the Department generally looked into these matters.

Mr. WHITE said he had put the question because one of the chiefs who was here the other day complained of his band having lost several hundred dollars of rent on account of the Government having refused to allow them to employ a lawyer, appointing an agent on their behalf, and this agent failing to collect.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said no case of this kind had ever been brought under his notice, but he would institute enquiries.

The clause was then agreed to.

Clauses 60 to 65, inclusive, were passed without discussion.

On section 66, providing that no mortgage be taken from an Indian,

Mr. PATERSON suggested that this section should be struck out. It would prevent any one from selling to Indians on credit, and there were times when they required implements, cattle, &c., for which they were not able to pay cash, but on which they would be glad to give a chattel mortgage.

Mr. SCHULTZ entirely agreed with the hon. member for Brant. Persons furnishing stock or implements to Indians on credit should be allowed to take a chattel mortgage on the articles sold.

Mr. PATERSON could not see what possible injury this would do the

Indian. On the contrary, he would have the benefit of the article for the time it was in his possession, and the merchant would have security which would not extend beyond the goods sold.

It being six o'clock, the Committee rose and reported progress, and the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

The House resumed consideration of the Bill to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians.

Mr. FLEMING said this clause was unfair to the Indians, and the system of tutelage in which they were kept deprived them of the spirit of self-reliance and independence. An Indian might go to a manufacturer of agricultural implements to purchase a plough but could not get it on credit. He would be obliged to wait until his neighbour was done ploughing, which being past the proper season, the result would be failure. The suggestion to allow chattel mortgages to be taken on articles purchased in that way was only fair and right.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the Indians could purchase all the implements they needed with their annuity money. In 1869 a clause similar to this was inadvertently repealed. The Indian Agents considered it was highly necessary, and that was why he proposed to re-enact it now. Unfortunately the Indians seemed to get too much credit already, and if the suggestion of the hon. member for Brant were adopted it would only increase the danger.

Mr. PATERSON said it was all nonsense to suppose that the annuity money was sufficient to purchase implements. This clause would inflict serious injury on the Indians. Instead of this Bill being in advance in this respect of previous legislation, it was retrogressive. He could not change it, of course, but he protested against this clause.

Mr. FLEMING said many of the early white settlers of Canada would have been in a very unfortunate position if they had not been furnished implements and stock on credit, and

he thought it was unfair to leave the Indians in a worse condition.

The clause was passed.

Clauses 67 and 68 were passed without discussion.

Clause 69—

“No presents given to Indians or non-treaty Indians, nor any property purchased or acquired with or by means of any annuities granted to Indians or any part thereof or otherwise howsoever, and in the possession of any Band of such Indians or of any Indian of any Band or irregular Band, shall be liable to be taken, seized or distrained for any debt, matter or cause whatsoever. Nor shall the same be sold, bartered, exchanged or given by any Band or irregular Band of Indians or any Indian of any such Band to any person or Indian other than an Indian of such Band, and any such sale, barter, exchange or gift shall be absolutely null and void, unless such sale, barter, exchange or gift be made with the written assent of the Superintendent-General or his agent; and whosoever buys or otherwise acquires any presents or property purchased as aforesaid, without the written consent of the agent as aforesaid is guilty of a misdemeanor, and is punishable by fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, in any place of confinement other than a Penitentiary”

being taken up,

Mr. PATERSON declared that it was all wrong, for how was any one under such circumstances to know that annuity money had been used.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied that this provision had been found to be absolutely necessary in the North-West and in other districts. It was never enforced save in connection with growing abuses.

Mr. FLEMING stated that the portion which followed line 45, commencing—“Nor shall the same be sold or” was new, and at the same time objectionable. This was not contained in the Act of 1868.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—It is taken from the Act of 1874.

Mr. FLEMING thought that while it might apply to Indians in the North-West, it should not have relation to those in Ontario who were semi-civilized. The Six Nation Indians chiefly obtained their subsistence by raising cattle, sheep and hogs, and how were they to sell them with this provision on the Statute Book? How were whites to know that certain articles had been purchased with

Mr. FLEMING.

annuity money? The result would be that the Indians would be unable to dispose of what they had for sale. It was preposterous to suppose that an annuity of \$14 a year could keep a family.

Mr. PLUMB stated that it was difficult to separate these cases; nevertheless, this clause left the door open for constant litigations and troubles. If it was intended to be enforced it must apply to the Indians in these Provinces as well as to those living in the Far West, though it seemed to be devised in favour of the Indians on the frontier. It would be very pernicious if carried strictly into effect.

Mr. BORRON agreed with the views of the hon. members from North and South Brant. A great injustice might be inflicted on whites owing to the existence of this clause, as some Indians were as white as any of the hon. members of the House, and the articles bought with their annuities, or received as presents, not being branded in any way, parties might unknowingly buy them and thus be exposed to penalties.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN remarked that there was a great deal of force in what the hon. member for Brant had stated. In 1868 the first portion of the clause was inserted in the Act, and the latter portion in the Act of 1874. The former agreed to a tolerable extent with a portion of the law of 1866. The latter seemed to be in the way of Indians who had property to sell. He thought that the better course would be to let the clause stand over until these objections could be considered.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD supposed a case in connection with which a difficulty might arise: a squaw might buy a hen which might lay half a dozen of eggs; she might take these to market, and if any one bought them without a certificate in writing from the Superintendent he ran the risk of being sent to goal for six months. This was rather a hard law.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) related an instance in which a difficulty had improperly arisen owing to the existence of this provision. Unless the encouraged Indians in being honest, he

added, they would not be honest; and unless they encouraged them to work for their own support, they would not do so. The clause ought to be changed, as it was detrimental to the interests of the Indians.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I think that the last part of the clause ought to be struck out.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—It formed a portion of the act of 1874, which was carefully drawn. It had been in force for two years and it had not done any injury as yet.

Mr. MASSON said if they considered Indians as children they must admit that there were big and little children, and could not treat them all alike. The law which would apply to the Crees and Souixs of Manitoba ought not to be made applicable to the civilized and educated Indians.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said an intelligent Indian would not try to evade the law, and he believed that Indians were generally quite as intelligent as other people.

Mr. MASSON said it was not a question of honesty, it was a question of education.

Mr. BOWELL was somewhat surprised to hear the hon. gentleman give the reason, that because some of the Indians were educated they would not take advantage of that clause of the law. Unfortunately there were many white men who were highly educated, who would cheat their neighbours when they could. He was of opinion that some distinction should be made between the Indians in the North-West and the civilized Indians of Ontario.

Mr. PATERSON moved that the clause be amended by striking out all the words after "what-oever" in the 44th line.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said that would remove the safe-guard it was considered necessary to put on the Bill in 1874. After two years' experience they had not heard of one complaint of the working of the clause.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We have just heard the complaint which has been made by the hon. member for Hastings.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE suggested that the clause should be passed *pro forma*, and promised that they would take the matter into consideration. They would, perhaps, make it applicable only in certain cases.

The clause was carried.

On clause 70,

Mr. SCHULTZ said this clause would prove a great hardship to some of the more intelligent Indians, who did not wish to be considered as Indians and who did not take the treaty money.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said they would consider this matter before the Bill was passed.

Mr. FLEMING did not see why an Indian had not as good a right to emigrate to Manitoba and get a homestead as a white man.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the clause was evidently intended to apply to the North-West alone. It could be so amended as to express the object intended.

Mr. SCHULTZ said it seemed to be held by the Government that because they gave the Indians an annuity of \$5 per head the latter were to be deprived of every right and privilege which a white man holds dear. He did not see why the Indians of the North-West, when they became as intelligent as those in Brant, should not have the right to get homesteads for themselves.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said the Indians must either be treated as minors or as white men. If they should be found intelligent enough to exercise the rights of white men they could become enfranchised.

The clause was passed.

On clause 71, which provides that Indians undergoing punishment by imprisonment shall not receive their share of annuity,

Mr. PATERSON said he could see no reason why an Indian who is subject to the same laws as white men should be punished with greater severity for infractions of the law. A white man when convicted and imprisoned for the perpetration of a crime does not forfeit his income; but the Indian for a similar offence, not only undergoes the

same punishment, but loses his income while his term of imprisonment lasts. He considered this unjust. He also complained that the Indians of Brant were not only exempted from municipal burdens, but they did not pay their share of criminal prosecution. Now, he contended this should be remedied by making the Indians pay the legal costs incurred in the prosecution of any of their number or in carrying out any sentence which might result therefrom.

Mr. FLMEING heartily indorsed this suggestion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said this would be punishing all the innocent members of the band for the offences of the guilty. While it was true they contributed nothing towards the expenses of administering justice, it must be remembered there was very little crime among them. There were some 400 Indians on a reservation in his own county, and they were almost a model to the whites.

The clause was passed.

Clauses 72 and 73 were passed without discussion.

Clause 74, with the heading "Evidence of Heathen Indians" being taken up,

Mr. BOWELL remarked that the Indians objected to the term "Heathen Indians."

A change to "Non-Christian Indians" was made, and the clause was passed.

Clauses 75, 76, 77 and 78 passed without discussion.

With reference to clause 79, which provided that

"Whoever sells, exchanges with, bar-
ters, supplies or gives to any Indian
or non-treaty Indian in Canada, any kind
of intoxicant, or causes or procures the
same to be done, or connives or attempts
thereat, or opens or keeps, or causes to
be opened or kept, on any reserve or special
reserve, a tavern, house or building where any
intoxicant is sold, bartered, exchanged or
given, or is found in possession of any
intoxicant in the house, tent, wigwam or place
of abode of any Indian, or non-treaty Indian,
shall, on conviction thereof before a Justice
of the Peace upon the evidence of one credible
witness other than the informer or prosecutor,
be liable to imprisonment for a period not
less than two months or exceeding two years,
with or without hard labour, and be fined not
less than fifty or more than five hundred

dollars, with costs of prosecution, one moiety
of the fine to go to the informer or prosecutor,
and the other moiety to Her Majesty to form
part of the fund for the benefit of that body
of Indians, or non-treaty Indians, with
respect to one or more members of which the
offence was committed; and the commander
or person in charge of any steamer or other
vessel, or boat, from or on board of which
any intoxicant has been sold, bartered,
exchanged, or supplied or given to any
Indian, or non-treaty Indian, shall be liable,
on conviction thereof before any Justice of
the Peace upon the evidence of one credible
witness other than the informer or prosecutor,
to be fined not less than fifty or exceeding
five hundred dollars for each such offence,
with costs of such prosecution, the moieties
of the fine to be applicable as hereinbefore
mentioned; and in default of immediate
payment of such fine and costs any person so
fined may be committed to any common gaol,
house of correction, lock-up or other places
of confinement by the Justice of the Peace
before whom the conviction has taken place,
for a period of not less than two or more than
twelve months, with or without hard labour,
or until such fine and costs are paid; and in
all cases arising under this section, Indians or
non-treaty Indians, shall be competent
witnesses; but no penalty shall be incurred
in case of sickness where the intoxicant is
made use of under the sanction of a medical
man or under the direction of a minister of
religion."

Mr. BOWELL suggested that the
word "may" in the 34th line having
relation to imprisonment should be
altered to "shall."

The change was agreed to.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD called
attention to the extraordinary
powers given in this clause to a single
magistrate who could sentence to two
years' detention in the penitentiary;
this did not apply to stipendiary
magistrates, and the power was
certainly too great.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE--In the Act
of 1874, the magistrates contemplated
were stipendiary magistrates, who
have the power, rank and standing of
County Court Judges.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD---But
the clause does not mention stipendiary
magistrates, and it applies to all parts
of the Dominion, to the County of
Brant as well as to Manitoba.

Mr. BORRON agreed with the right
hon. member for Kingston that this
provision was not sufficiently guarded.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied
that in certain circumstances the

power of magistrates could not be too great. American traders who had brought whiskey into the North-West Territories had recently been punished as extremely as the law permitted, and the entire salutary effects of this step had ever since been felt in that region. Some amendment might be made; but that extensive power should be given to these magistrates was, he thought, beyond a doubt.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD observed that it applied to Lambton as well as to Manitoba. He quite agreed with the Premier that no punishment could be too excessive for the description of persons to whom the hon. gentleman had alluded, for whom hanging, indeed, would not be too severe a punishment.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE, with reference to the Province of British Columbia, remarked that the hon. member for Westminster had pointed out, some months ago, a want of stringency as existing there in this relation, as persons convicted of this offence could not be sentenced to hard labour. It was undoubtedly necessary that the ordinary unpaid magistracy should have more extensive powers even than stipendiary magistrates in these remoter districts.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—There are stipendiary magistrates in British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—True; but the area is very extensive, and recourse must often be had to other magistrates.

The clause was allowed to stand.

Clause 80 was passed without discussion.

Clause 81—

“When it is proved before any Judge, Stipendiary Magistrate or Justice of the Peace that any vessel, boat, canoe or conveyance of any description upon the sea or sea coast, or upon any river, lake or stream in Canada, is employed in carrying any intoxicant, to be supplied to any Indian, or non-treaty Indian, such vessel, boat, canoe or conveyance so employed may be seized and declared forfeited, as in the next preceding section, and sold, and the proceeds thereof paid to Her Majesty for the purposes hereinbefore mentioned,”

being taken up,

Mr. BORRON suggested that the words, “with the knowledge of the owner and master of the vessel,” should be inserted.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It cannot be done without the knowledge of the master, of course.

The clause was passed.

Clauses 82 and 83 were passed without discussion.

Clause 84—

“No appeal shall lie from any conviction under the five next preceding sections of this Act, except to a Judge of any Superior Court of law, County or Circuit or District Court, or to the Chairman or Judge of the Court of the Sessions of the Peace, having jurisdiction where the conviction was had, and such appeal shall be heard, tried and adjudicated upon by such Judge without the intervention of the jury; and no such appeal shall be brought after the expiration of thirty days from the conviction,”

being taken up,

Mr. BORRON stated that when such severe penalties were in question, an appeal to a jury should be allowed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—When an appeal is taken before a Judge, the appellant is quite safe.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Such an appeal is contemplated in connection with an error regarding points of law, and not with respect to evidence, no matter how improper or insufficient it may be.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The practice has shown that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to obtain a conviction.

The clause having passed; the Committee rose, reported, and asked leave to sit again.

DUTIES ON PETROLEUM.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved the House into Committee of Supply.

Mr. COLBY then rose to propose an amendment, of which he had given notice some weeks ago, in reference to the duties on petroleum. He made this motion believing it to be his duty in the public interest. He had given ample time for the consideration of the subject in order that no one might be taken by surprise, and that certain interests might have an opportunity of being represented in the House and presenting any reasons from their stand point why this resolution should not be favourably entertained. It was well known for every member of the House was practically a consumer of

petroleum, that the duties which had been paid on this article for many years were now exceptional in their character and a grievance to the consumers of the country. At the time the present specific Customs duty of 15 cents per gallon was imposed, refined petroleum was worth in the market 40 cents a gallon. At that time there was also an excise duty of five cents per gallon, so there was a protection to the infant manufacture of that day of ten cents per gallon, which would be twenty-five per cent. on the product. The duty at the time it was arranged was not at all disproportionate to the general policy of the then Administration; but it had, by accident it might be said, or by the great decline in petroleum, become at the present time exceedingly disproportionate to all other duties which prevailed in the country. On examining the Blue Books he found the quantity of petroleum refined in Canada last year was 5,135,395 gallons. That was subject to an excise duty of five cents per gallon. The quantity imported from the United States upon which custom duty was paid was 691,960 gallons. A large unknown quantity was brought into Canada which paid no custom's duty, owing to our extended frontier. That was an amount it was impossible by any statistics to ascertain; but any gentleman resident upon the frontier knew that the quantity which appeared by the public returns to be imported from the United States, was very small as compared with that actually brought into the country. For the purpose of the present discussion they might assume that the quantity which was smuggled into the country was twice the quantity upon which duty was paid. Upon that assumption, then, the total amount of petroleum consumed in the country would be somewhat over seven million gallons. The present revenue from excise was \$268,552, and that from customs \$103,665, making a total of \$372,217. His proposition was to reduce the Custom's duty from 15 cents per gallon to 7½ cents; and he believed that to any gentleman who carefully considered the data he had submitted it would be apparent that this reduction of duty,

instead of being attended with a loss of revenue, would result in an increase, because the House would remember that the amount imported, and which paid 15 cts. per gal., was insignificant as compared with the amount produced at home which only paid an excise duty of 5 cents. To illustrate this point, supposing the change of duty from 15 to 7½ cents did not affect the ratio of production and consumption in Canada as compared with the importation into this country, they would get from the five millions which was produced and consumed in Canada \$268,000.52, the same sum as at present. It must be evident that a very high duty was productive of smuggling, and that a low duty would nearly annihilate a contraband trade; therefore, it might be fairly assumed that double the amount from the United States would pay duty. If we receive from the United States twice the quantity now entered at the Custom House we would get precisely the same revenue as that we now obtained. He, however, thought that the reduction of the duty would result in a larger importation from the United States, and the revenue would be increased. For every gallon so imported, and which would displace an equal quantity, we would derive a revenue of 7½ cents instead of 5. He thought it was clear that this reduction would not lessen the amount derived by the Treasury from the duties upon this article. At the same time it would give to the refiner a higher degree of protection than any other industry the country enjoys. The amount of protection would be the excess of the Customs over the Excise duties, and would be over 2½ cents per gallon. Oil to-day at Cleveland, which might be considered one of the great marts, and which established the value of oil, was 10 cents per gallon, United States currency. Upon that basis, the refiner, under 7½ cents duty, would receive a protection of from 20 to 25 per cent. Other manufactures in the country were generally protected to the extent of 17½ per cent.; and oil refiners, instead of being placed in a worse position by the reduction than other manufactures, would still remain in a more favourable one. It was a fact

demonstrable beyond contradiction that the consumer in this country had for the past three years paid 15 cents more per gallon than equally good oil could be bought for in the United States. It was clear, from comparison of prices on the other side of the line, that the Canadian refiner had added 15 cents to the cost of American oil regardless of the cost to himself. In order that he might make it more evident, he would read from a recent commercial article published in the *Montreal Herald*, which was as follows:—

“The trade in petroleum during 1875 has been on a somewhat considerable scale; but the article has been mostly manipulated by the Western combination, a very large proportion of the oil used in this city and neighbourhood being supplied through their agents. The stock being thus during almost the whole year under the control of the association, a higher range of prices was charged.”

He had, moreover, a statement of prices paid in the United States, and of those paid in Montreal at the same time. The average price in Montreal in September, October, November and December, 1873, according to the *Montreal Herald*, was 29 cents, gold. The average price in Vermont, further east than Montreal, was 14 cents United States currency, leaving the price of oil in Canada 15 cents more than across the line. For the same months in 1874 and 1875, the price of petroleum in Montreal was 24½ in gold. In Vermont during the same months it was 12¾ United States currency, making a difference that year of 11¾. In Montreal for the same months in 1875, it was 27 cents in gold; and in Vermont 11 cents United States currency, being a difference in favour of the American consumer of 16 cents gold. Taking these three years and considering the difference in currencies, he laid it down as a fact that the Canadian consumer for the last three years had been paying 15 cents more in gold than the United States consumer. From these figures it would be seen that the loss to the country was \$1,100,000, in consequence of the condition of affairs he had explained, being a net loss over and above all revenues derived from that source of \$750,000. Canada now and during the period he referred to, had been paying higher

for this most necessary commodity than any other civilized country on the globe.

This tax fell very seriously on the individual consumer as well as on the whole country. The man who consumes a gallon of oil per week—and thousands do that, and more—pays \$5 a year as a tax to support the refiners who control the prices in Canada. The estimated individual taxation in Canada is about \$6 per head for all purposes, and this is therefore a serious condition of affairs worthy the most careful consideration of the Government. If a new Budget were coming down it might be urged with great propriety that light should be placed on the same basis as other necessaries of life. There is nothing that contributes more to the comfort and happiness of our people, especially the poorer classes, than cheap light during the long winter evenings. A duty of 7½ cents would be almost 100 per cent. on its market value of 10 cents United States currency. If a tax of 80 or 100 per cent. were imposed on articles of food it would be considered preposterous. The present condition of the trade is due to what is called the London Combination. It is well known there exists a combination of gentlemen who have taken advantage of the liberality of the Legislature and the high rate of tariff to control the entire market in this country. In order to accomplish this they have subsidized and closed up all the refineries of the country, but the very few which are now in operation in their interest. Of forty-four refineries only about four are in operation, and the rest, which are closed up, are paid from two to four thousand dollars a year. They have bought off all competition and organized a system of extortion upon the people of this country. There they stand between the producer and consumer, dictating to the producer, on the one hand, what he shall receive for his crude oil, and to the consumer, on the other hand, what he shall pay for his refined petroleum. For the first time in Canada a ring has been organized for the purpose of regulating and controlling prices. This arises out of the exceptional condition of the

tariff—the fact that this was made a specific instead of an *ad valorem* duty. Owing to the rigidity of the rate they could see, no matter what the cost of production might be, precisely the margin of profit, and availed themselves of it to dictate to the consumers what they should pay. Under the circumstances it is the duty of the Government and of Parliament to administer a lesson, quick, sharp and decisive, to those gentlemen who, for the first time in the history of Canada, have organized a ring for the purpose of preventing competition and monopolizing the market.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—That is the fruit of protection.

Mr. COLBY admitted it was the fruit of excessive and undue protection, and not of the reasonable policy which had been advocated by the Opposition in this House. It was the fruit of the protection which he had repudiated, and the Protectionists were consistent with their principles in denouncing this libel on a sound policy. It was their duty to remove this blot from the tariff and not permit those who differed from them to point to it as the fruit of protection. He doubted whether the hon. member for Halifax would be equally consistent with his free trade principles, when he came to vote upon this question. It was clear the present rate of 15 cents per gallon was injurious to the consumer of oil in this country, and it was also injurious to the revenue of the country. A larger amount could be collected from a 7½ per cent. duty, because there would be less smuggling. But if no change should take place in the volume of importation in consequence of this reduction the loss to the revenue would be only \$50,650 at the very worst. It was not only injurious to the consumer and to the revenue, but also to every town in which the refineries were closed in consequence of this combination. In short, it was injurious to the whole community with the exception of those gentlemen who now controlled the trade.

In bringing forward this resolution he did so purely in the public interest and with no desire to embarrass the Government. Could any one doubt it

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was in the interest of the country to have this inordinate tax upon one of the necessaries of life lessened, and the cost of it to the consumer reduced one-third? How could hon. gentlemen decline to remedy this unmitigated evil? How could they go to their constituents and say they had voted to allow this abuse to continue twelve months longer? But some might say this motion would inconvenience the Government. He would be sorry that any man's convenience should stand in the way of the public good. However, this Government had not taken the position that they would not remedy a grievance of this kind. They had decided not to increase taxation, but they had never declared they would not consult the interest of the people in a case like this. It might be said it would not do to open the door for one change lest others should be proposed; but this Government was strong enough to remove this abuse without touching the tariff at any other point. If they would say to their followers "vote according to your convictions," he believed there was not a man in this House who would not vote for this proposition or something similar. Such a course would strengthen the Government, and he hoped they would pursue it. He moved:—"That the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved it is expedient in the public interest that the Customs duty on refined petroleum be reduced from 15 cents per gallon to a rate which shall not exceed 7½ cents per gallon."

Mr. SCRIVER, as the seconder of the motion, desired to say a very few words on it, though fortunately the hon. mover had so fully explained his grounds, and so clearly established the justice of his cause as to make it unnecessary for him to speak at any length. In consequence of the present high duty, an illicit traffic prevailed to an alarming extent, to his own knowledge, along the frontier; and he had learned since he came to Ottawa that it was even more extensive than he had supposed. He was confident that if the duty were reduced to one-half of its present amount, the revenue from this source would be greatly increased. The

illicit traffic was due to the fact that the American was far superior to the Canadian oil; and though it seemed unpatriotic to say so, yet he was bound to tell the truth and state this circumstance. Any one who used the American would never use the Canadian article. Loss to the revenue was not alone the result, but the effect of this practice on the morals of the people was very injurious. Conflicts had even occurred between the smugglers and revenue officers; and one of the latter who had been injured in a recent encounter—not in his own constituency, however—had not yet recovered. He did not desire, as might be supposed, to embarrass the Government in any manner; but he had not understood that their declared policy would exclude a case so plain as the present, and he hoped that they would take it into consideration and suggest any measure of relief that they might consider advisable.

Mr. MACMILLAN was rather astonished to find the hon. member for Stanstead proposing such a motion. As on all previous occasions when an amendment was moved to the tariff, the hon. member had consistently voted for protection. He (Mr. Macmillan) for his part, intended to continue consistently in the course on which he had set out, and oppose this motion. The hon. member for Stanstead had singled out two or three constituencies in the Dominion—those of the Premier, the hon. member for Bothwell and his own, at which to direct his attacks; but the hon. member had been, in his argument, in a great measure mistaken. Operations at the Oil Springs, had begun about ten or fifteen years ago, and a very large number of people were now in consequence furnished with employment in that connection. In the infancy of this manufacture the quality of the oil did not compare favourably with the American, and it was only in 1870 or thereabouts, that a solitary gallon of it was exported. During that year ten millions of gallons were manufactured, and considerably over one-half of it had been exported, bringing into this country actually one and one-quarter millions of dollars. In its manufacture it was moreover to be remarked that no raw material was

purchased, as was the case in the refining of sugar. In 1872-3 we exported very nearly ten millions of gallons of oil, for which about two millions of dollars were paid. His hon. friend had stated that when this custom's duty was levied on oil, there was also imposed an inland revenue of five cents per gallon; this was not the case, as this was not ordered until a considerable period after the manufacture of this article was commenced.

The inland revenue and the inspectors' fees raised this duty to something like six cents per gallon. His hon. friend proposed to reduce the customs duty one-half; but when we were competing in a foreign market with the American oil, we had invariably had from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 cents per gallon against us, and why?—for the reason given by his hon. friend from Huntingdon: the stronger odour of the Canadian article, and the fact that it occasioned a discoloration of the lamp chimneys. By reducing the duty to $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon, with the inspector's fees and the inland revenue, nearly 6 cents per gallon, we would apparently have $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon in favor of the Canadian oil, while in reality, there would actually be from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ cts. per gallon, in favor of the American article. During the first years of the existence of this manufacture, from 1,000 to 1,500 people were directly and indirectly engaged in it; this number was increased in 1872-3, to 3,000 or 3,500. Owing to the over production of oil in Pennsylvania in 1873-4, and to the striking of the strata known as the fourth sand rock, when thousands of barrels flowed daily, the price had materially decreased. In Canada, however, the wells were far from being so productive, and we were consequently shut out of the foreign market altogether. Although we had exported so largely it had all gone to German and Mediterranean ports. Another reason for a strong protective duty was that the American crude produced some 92 per cent. of refined against from 62 to 65 per cent. produced from our Canadian crude. The Americans enjoyed another advantage; the Canadian manufacturer could only charge their stills twice a week, whilst they were using the same labour and the same amount of fuel.

The Americans, on the other hand, charged their stills six times, and ran off 90 per cent against our 62 to 65 percent. Therefore, they had a very great advantage, and unless it was the intention of the hon. member for Stanstead to crush the Canadian trade out it would be utter folly for the House to undertake to reduce the duty to the extent that he proposed. If the hon. gentleman desired to be generous to the consumer of this product let him introduce a measure repealing the imposition upon Canadian oil of the inland revenue tax, as well as reducing the customs duty to 7½ cents. He would be happy to support such a measure, but it was utterly impossible for their refineries to remain open one day if this amendment passed. He sincerely hoped, and he had not the least doubt, the Government intended to oppose this measure, and in doing so he would accord them his hearty support.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he was not disposed to deny that there was considerable weight in what had been said by the mover and seconder of this motion. There was no doubt that the duty on this article was somewhat high, and it was true there was a considerable amount of this product smuggled into the country, but not to so large an extent as the hon. gentleman believed. Sufficient had been said to induce the Government to take the matter into consideration, and to make them anxious to take such steps as would protect the revenue, and if possible remove the cause of complaint. But it was absolutely necessary for the House, in taking the customs duty into consideration, to also consider the advisability of reducing the excise tax. With respect to the general question, he thought his hon. friend from Stanstead had rather exaggerated the amount of the tax paid when he put it at as high a figure as \$11,000. He did not think that statement was quite warranted in view of the facts. In 1873 Canada produced for home consumption, and which had paid a duty, 4,500,000 gallons; in 1874, 5,200,000 gallons; in 1875, 5,135,000 gallons; and in the eight months ending March 1, 1876, they produced 3,800,-

000, as nearly as might be, which paid a duty to the Government. It would be seen they had produced during these eight months quite up to the average quantity, while they had actually imported during the six months ending December 31, 1875, a few thousand gallons more than was imported during the six months ending Dec. 31, 1874. He thought the fact that their native consumption which had paid a duty, had lately increased, and that the article imported had also slightly increased, would go to show that the supposed amount of smuggling had been considerably exaggerated. Of course it was a matter of extreme difficulty to arrive at the extent of the illicit trade. No doubt in the country along the frontier, a very considerable amount of smuggling was carried on. It was possible also that in certain portions of the Maritime Provinces a considerable amount of smuggling went on. He was not disposed to deny these facts, nor that there was a case made out for the consideration of the Government. That consideration the Government were disposed to bestow upon it, but he did not think it wise or expedient for them at that late period of the Session to be called upon to enter upon the consideration of a question which he could assure the House was more complicated than his hon. friend supposed. The Government did not think this was an expedient time to go into a reconstruction of tariff. Looking at all the circumstances of the case, he thought his hon. friends, the mover and seconder of the motion, ought to be satisfied with the assurance which on behalf of the Government he was willing to give that they were disposed to consider the question. The Government thought a sufficient case had been made out for their consideration, but they did not think it was in the public interest that they should be called upon to re-open the tariff question. There was no doubt that whenever there was a large difference between the value of the article on one side of the line and the other, there was a very considerable temptation to smuggling. That part of the hon. mover's remarks he thoroughly endorsed. In such cases the increase of the taxation of the

country would not tend to increase the revenue. Petroleum was a very bulky article. A 40 gallon cask would only pay a duty of about \$6, and if petroleum was smuggled with so small a profit, what would be the benefit if they added to their tariff on articles which were of much smaller bulk and could be smuggled with a greater profit and much greater ease. He did not think it desirable to enter upon the discussion of the minor points named by the hon. gentleman, but begged to state to the House that the Government was quite willing to consider the matter, but they could not bring down any measure in the direction indicated at this period of the Session.

Mr. GILMOR thought many of the grounds taken by the hon. mover of the resolution in regard to the high duties on this article were good, but there were other circumstances connected with this motion. The motion was one that was very embarrassing to many hon. members in the House, and the fact of its being an attack on the Government influenced his vote to a very considerable extent. It was well known that the policy of the Government, as announced on the introduction of the Budget Speech, was one which met with his hearty support, and one that he thought was fully endorsed by the Maritime interests. He had never seen a Government pressed so closely since he had been a member of the House as they were on that question, and he was proud to say that they resisted that pressure although they probably went contrary to the wishes of many of their supporters in Ontario. He felt that the Maritime members were now called upon not to desert the ship. He did not profess to be a very strong party man, but it was impossible to be blind to the fact that there were two parties in the Dominion. A compromise had to be made on that occasion, and if they expected to sail their vessel safely they would have to stick together.

The arguments urged were very good, but the motion was calculated to embarrass the Government and force them to re-open the tariff question. If they undertook to adjust the rate on coal oil, they would be asked to do more.

The policy of the Government being in the interests of the whole country and of the Maritime Provinces especially, the representatives from that section were called upon to oppose any attempt to re-adjust the tariff. He thought there would be more revenue collected under a lower rate of duty. At St. Stephen, the merchants had very little trade in petroleum, the opportunities of going to the other side being so convenient. Most of the oil consumed in that section was no doubt smuggled into the country. It was the general expectation at the meeting of Parliament, that the tariff would be increased, but since the Government had declared they could carry on the Government without increasing taxation, and in consequence of the promise of the Government, that between now and next Session the subject of duties upon petroleum would be considered with a view to meeting the complaint, he would vote against the motion.

Mr. FARROW said he was heartily in accord with the mover of this resolution. The members from the Maritime Provinces seemed to be averse to having a tax put upon anything they used—salt, for instance, of which they used large quantities—yet although this tax on petroleum weighed heavily on them, in order to support the Government they would swallow it. If there was one plank in the platform of the Reform Party on which hon. gentlemen had insisted more than another, it was “a cheap breakfast table and encouragement to the farmers.” Now farmers rise early and use a good deal of coal oil, yet their professed friends refused to cheapen it by reducing the tax on it. The present duty on coal oil is about 100 per cent. It should be reduced to say 25 per cent. If the salt manufacturers could only get that much protection they would be satisfied. The defence of the Finance Minister was lame, and would not satisfy the country. It was an admission that his policy was wrong, and a request to leave the matter untouched till next Session. The evil was one which required a prompt remedy.

Mr. SINCLAIR said the hon. member for Stanstead had used strong argu-

ments against protection to the manufacturers of the country. He had shown it would even corrupt the morals of the people by encouraging smuggling. Hon. gentlemen opposite had advocated reciprocity in tariffs. Here was an illustration of what the effects of it would be. In the United States the duty on coal oil was 40 cents per gallon; on this side 15 cents, or about one-third of that rate; yet the effect of it was to increase the cost of the article to the consumer and to create monopolies. This one instance of protection should be kept as a beacon light to show the practical effects of such a policy. He was not in favor of protection, and he did not think this interest should continue to be more protected than any other, but for one year he believed it was better that the people might know what they had to expect if the Opposition should succeed in carrying out their policy.

Mr. MACDONNELL said he intended to vote against the motion. He would do so on the promise of the Finance Minister that the Government would take this matter into consideration.

The House then divided on the amendment, which was rejected on the following division:—

YEAS:

Messieurs

Appleby,	Langevin,
Aylmer,	Lanthier,
Baby,	Little,
Bécharé,	McDonald (Cp. Breton)
Benoit,	McKay, (Colchester),
Bertram,	McCallum,
Blanchet,	McQuade,
Bourassa,	Mason,
Brooks,	Mitchell,
Camero: (Victoria),	Monteith,
Caron,	Montplaisir,
Cimon,	Orton,
Colby,	Ouimet,
Coupal,	Pettes,
Currier,	Pinsonneault,
Cuthbert,	Plumb,
Daoust,	Robinson,
Desjardins,	Robitaille,
Domville,	Rochester,
Donahue,	Rouleau,
Dugas,	Scriver,
Farrow,	Skinner,
Ferguson,	Stephenson,
Fiset,	Thompson (Cariboo),
Gaudet,	Tupper,
Gill,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Greenway,	White (Hastings),
Harwood,	White (Renfrew),
Hurteau,	Wright (Ottawa),
Jones (Leeds),	Wright (Pontiac).—60.

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NAYS:
Messieurs

Archibald,	Kerr,
Bain,	Kirk,
Bannatyne,	Kirkpatrick,
Barthe,	Laflamme,
Bernier,	Laird,
Biggar,	Lajoie,
Blackburn,	Langlois,
Blain,	Laurier,
Blake,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Borden,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Borron,	MacDonnell, (Inv'ness)
Bowell,	MacDougall (Elgin),
Bowman,	McDougall (Renfrew),
Boyer,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Brown,	Mackenzie,
Buell,	Macmillan,
Burk,	McCraney,
Burpee (St. John),	McGregor,
Burpee (Sunbury),	McIntyre,
Cameron (Ontario),	McIsaac,
Carmichael,	McLeod,
Cartwright,	McNab,
Casey,	Metcalf,
Casgrain,	Mills,
Cauchon,	Norris,
Cheval,	Oliver,
Christie,	Paterson,
Church,	Pelletier,
Cockburn,	Perry,
Coffin,	Pickard,
Cook,	Platt,
Cunningham,	Pouliot,
Davies,	Power,
DeCosmos,	Pozer,
Delorme,	Ray,
De St. Georges,	Richard,
De Veber,	Roscoe,
Dewdney,	Ross (Durham),
Dymond,	Ross (Middlesex),
Ferris,	Ross (Prince Edward),
Fleming,	Ryan,
Flesher,	Rymal,
Flynn,	Scatcherd,
Forbes,	Sinclair,
Fraser,	Smith (Peel),
Fréchette,	Smith (Selkirk),
Galbraith,	Snider,
Gibson,	Stirton,
Gillies,	St. Jean,
Gillmor,	Taschereau,
Gordon,	Thibaudeau,
Goudge,	Thomson, (Welland),
Hagar,	Tremaine,
Hall,	Trow,
Higinbotham,	Vail,
Holton,	Wallace (Albert),
Horton,	Wood,
Irving,	Workman,
Jetté,	Yeo,
Jones (Halifax),	Young.—120.

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC MONEY.

Mr. CIMON stated that before the Speaker left the Chair, seeing that it was the moment afforded them for making any complaints which they had to prefer against the Government, he desired to protest as strongly as was in his power against the unjust manner in which the Province of Quebec was treated by the present Adminis-

tration. At the risk of being accused of sectionalism, he wished to allude to the rights of the Province from which he came, and to claim its legitimate share in the distribution of the public moneys. He wished to declare boldly in the House, what all his friends the Liberals of Quebec, including Hon. Mr. Cauchon, said in the Province, but what they had not the courage to proclaim with energy here, that Quebec was badly treated by the present Government, and refused the grants which were its due, for the construction of its public works.

He knew how delicate was the question which he was about to raise, but with a Government like the present, containing Lower Canadian Ministers, who possessed so little of energy, and who showed such a want of zeal in securing the rights of their Province, he believed that he was justified in demanding justice for it, and in laying it down as a principle that the Government as far as was possible, should cause to be executed in each Province proportionately the Public Works which are required, and it was high time that the rights of Quebec ceased to be misunderstood.

Certain hon. members would undoubtedly accuse him of sectionalism. Last year, when the hon. member for Terrebonne demanded justice for Quebec, he was also so charged; but this accusation had only served to raise him in the esteem of his fellow citizens, and had only increased his influence over the electors of that section of the country.

Daily they heard hon. members from Ontario, the Maritime Provinces, Manitoba or British Columbia, taking such a position with regard to their respective Provinces; they did not fail to do so, and that in a bold tone, and why should not hon. members who come from Quebec do as much? This was no sectionalism. Each Province had its representatives in this House, and why? To consider the interests of the whole Dominion he would be told, undoubtedly, but also particularly to guard the interests of their respective Provinces; and this hon. members of the other Provinces were doing, in fact, every day in this House.

He was bound to admit that the

President of the Council had advised him to take such a stand. In point of fact, some time after the closing of last Session he had read in the *Journal de Quebec* an article written by the President of the Council on the subject of the two first Budgets of this Government in which he stated, "Let us say at once that Lower Canada is far from obtaining its legitimate share in the distribution of the public moneys, and that it is the duty of every public man and of every elector to claim it energetically."

The President of the Council then made this admission, which every person who examined the Public Accounts and Estimates, would confirm.

In opening the report of the Minister of Public Works, for the year ending the 30th of June, 1875, the first entire fiscal year during which the Liberals were in power he found on page 3 a statement indicating the amount expended on public works during the year, when in the Dominion was so expended the sum of \$10,615,429.19. Everyone would admit that Quebec should have obtained, at least, one quarter of this amount; this was only just. He had made a calculation, an easy matter, and he discovered that of this amount Quebec only received \$720,674; not one-twelfth of the whole. He should add that this \$720,674 was employed in completing public works which were commenced by the Conservatives. If this had not been the case how much would the First Minister have expended in Lower Canada? Almost nothing, if they were to judge from the estimates submitted to the House.

In order that he might be the better understood he would make a comparison between Lower and Upper Canada, and defied any one to deny the accuracy of the following figures in connection with public works constructed during the year ending 30th of June, 1875; and he found in the report of the Minister of Public Works that there had been spent in Ontario exclusively during that year in connection with the following three items: On canals, \$1,300,318.84; on harbours, \$241,383.89, and on public buildings, \$639,783.75; a total of \$2,181,486.46. Similar expenditures in

the Province of Quebec during the same year were : On canals, \$335,290 ; on harbours, \$12,093.33, and on public buildings, \$179,025.78 ; total only \$546,409, leaving the enormous difference of \$1,635,077.35 in favour of the Province of Ontario. The grand total was \$2,727,895.57, and on these three items only, Ontario had so received five times as much as Quebec. The other items would be judged after the same standard, and in consequence, it was clear that the Province of Quebec had not obtained its rightful portion.

During the same year, in the Maritime Provinces, on Public Works, about four millions of dollars were expended ; also considerable sums in Manitoba and British Columbia ; Quebec alone had been badly treated in this relation.

He did not complain of the expenditures made in the other Provinces ; without doubt they had been useful and necessary, but on the other hand Quebec formed a great part of the Dominion, and was in need of the execution of important and necessary Public Works. He merely made complaint because this Province was shamefully neglected. Taking up the Estimates they would see what the Government proposed to give to it during the following year. He did not meanwhile take into account the sums which, having been voted during preceding Sessions had not been spent, and which were to be found anew in the Estimates of 1876 as re-votes, because this would be an unjust comparison. During the past year, for instance, the Estimates contained the item of \$1,600,000 for the Lachine Canal and \$2,000,000 for the Welland Canal, while the Government were only willing to lay out \$400,000 on the former during the present year, though on the latter \$1,900,000 were to be expended. The estimates under consideration contained as a re-vote, \$1,200,000 for the Lachine Canal, only the balance of the sums voted by the Conservatives during former years which the Liberals, since they had attained office, had not yet expended ; whilst of \$2,000,000 allotted to the Welland Canal only \$100,000 was a re-vote—hence within two years the Welland Canal received \$3,900,000 against \$1,600,000 for the Lachine Canal. He would add that

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the estimates they were to vote did not comprehend a single additional sum for the Lachine Canal, while the Welland had \$1,000,000 additional.

The Government proposed to spend during next year on public works in the Dominion, not including re-votes, \$4,441,000 on capital account, and \$978,950 to be laid to the account of revenue, making in all \$5,419,950, a heavy decrease compared with the year ending 30th of June, 1875. This was the economy assumed by the Government, effected to the detriment of Quebec, as he would establish. Of this \$5,419,950 how much was allotted to the Province of Quebec ? It was incredible, but, nevertheless true, that it would receive only \$100,000, distributed as follows :—On public buildings, \$60,000 ; on fortifications, \$5,000, and for divers matters, \$35,000. This was all ; not a single cent for their harbours, their wharves, their telegraph lines and their other necessary public undertakings—not even a fiftieth part of what the other Provinces obtained. Ontario, however, was not forgotten ; it was well provided for, and the other Provinces were treated liberally.

He again selected as points of comparison between Quebec and Ontario, in connection with the Estimates for the approaching year, the three items which he had already mentioned. For the latter, besides re-votes, there were allotted for canals, \$1,900,000 ; public buildings, \$410,000, and harbours \$62,000—in all \$2,372,000 ; and for the former, in addition to re-votes, for canals, nothing ; for public buildings, including fortifications, \$5,000, and for harbours, nothing—in all only \$65,000 for Quebec against \$2,372,000 for Ontario.

To the Maritime Provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia were apportioned considerable sums, larger in proportion than the amount accorded to Ontario. Quebec alone was neglected and forgotten. He did not know why ; and despite this fact he was glad to observe what was being done for Ontario. He was not jealous on this account, but on the other hand Quebec had also rights which should be respected by the Government. Hon. members should understand that Confederation could

not prosper if Quebec was forgotten or its claims assailed; all could not be given to the other Provinces and nothing to Quebec.

The supplementary estimates were not yet submitted, but Quebec would certainly not have much consideration in them, and \$60,000 would not be sufficient to satisfy this Province. It was true that the President of the Council, during the unfortunate excursion which he made to Charlevoix on the occasion of the last election, declared at Eboulements that Quebec had been ill-treated, but now that he was in office would it secure its share? They were aware of the influence exercised by this hon. gentleman—this he had shown in succeeding so cleverly in ratifying a contract of \$1,500 he made with Mr. De Celles, hence they could count upon the influence and energy which the hon. gentleman had exhibited under these circumstances.

The injustice which was committed could hardly be magnified if the name of the Province of Quebec was struck from the list in the Department of Public Works. The time had arrived to protest vigorously in this relation. Without granting anything in return, the Government, nevertheless, collected the last cent of the revenues which Quebec contributed to the Federal Treasury. And what were these revenues? It was time to make them known, for they had no reason to be ashamed of them.

To this end he opened the Public accounts. The only two sources of revenue which it was desirable to consider were those obtained from Excise and Customs. There were besides the postal and canal revenues, &c., but these could not serve the purpose of comparison, for if in one port they were very considerable, the expenses equalled or exceeded them.

He had calculated the Customs and Excise revenues for Quebec and Ontario from the 30th of June, 1870, to the 30th of June, 1875, and the figures were as follows:—

Quebec—Customs, \$31,501,689.83;
Excise, \$7,949,815.85. Total, \$39,451,504.69.

Ontario—Customs, \$21,047,426.44;
Excise, \$14,476,618.61. Total, \$35,524,045.08.

Thus during this period Quebec had contributed \$3,927,460.61 more than Ontario to the Federal coffers. If the public moneys were apportioned according to the revenue of each Province, Quebec should receive the largest allotment. He might be told, as the First Minister gave them the other day to understand,—that no Public Works were really required at present in the Province of Quebec. To this he would reply—ask the Lower Canadian members, and he would say to them, rise and speak. Say whether in your respective counties public works are not needed. The hon. member for Sorel, those from Soulanges, Joliette, the Ottawa district, the district of Three Rivers and the Eastern Townships, would assert that in their counties there are improvements required which they had long been asking the Government to have executed, but which the Government refused to execute. Were there not in Montreal and Quebec public works which the Government knew it was their duty at once to proceed with? The President of the Council knew well what the city of Quebec awaited as the price of his election. He defied the Hon. the President of the Council to say before the House that the City of Quebec is not crying out for the execution of certain public works which the Government neglect to carry out; and could not the member for Levis convince the First Minister of the necessity of building a post office at Levis, and to construct there the terminus of the Intercolonial Railway? The counties of Saguenay and Chicoutimi, which he had the honour to represent, had sent to the Department of Public Works numerous petitions for improvements needed in the interests of commerce and of navigation. In the interest of navigation they required a line of telegraph from Anticosti crossing to the North Shore and then up to Malbaie. In the interest of navigation and fisheries the Government ought to construct a maritime route from Sant au Cochon to Moisie; a breakwater was, moreover, required at Escoumains and another at Tadousac. Piers were also required at l'Anse St. Jean, Grande Baie, St. Anne and St. Fulgence. For two years he had been beseeching Government to send an engineer to the

Saguenay River to examine that point known as the Bras de Chicoutimi and report how vessels could be enabled to reach Chicoutimi at all tides. Chicoutimi is the best commercial point on the river, with a population of nearly 4,000 and is the chief county town. Every year it was visited by about 50 sea-going vessels which loaded wood manufactured there. The population of the county is 22,000, and the county is about 180 miles from Quebec and 75 from the St. Lawrence; the only means of communication with the rest of the Province being through the Saguenay. The works required were the removal of boulders and the deepening of the channel. It would be idle of the Government to attempt to excuse itself on the grounds that no public works are required in the Province of Quebec. Last year the Government made a grant to the Northern Railway Co. of upwards of \$2,000,000; and, moreover, had undertaken to construct a branch line of the Canada Pacific Railway from Georgian Bay to the Eastern extremity of Ontario. Within three years Ontario had received for public works at least \$7,000,000 more than Lower Canada. In the Maritime Provinces, under the pretext of the Intercolonial Railway, we are building up branches which form a net work all over New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Indemnities had been paid to these Provinces and to Manitoba; a railway had been made in Prince Edward Island, but all the while Quebec was ignored. The last-named Province is contributing to the utmost of her resources towards the completion of the North Shore Railway and the Northern Colonization, notwithstanding that these lines are understood to form part of the Pacific line. When the Liberal party came to power their chiefs asserted that these lines would be completed at the expense of the Dominion Government as forming part of the Pacific Railway, and if he was not mistaken, even the President of the Council had made this assertion. The Quebec Liberals, including Mr. Joly said likewise. In November last Mr. Joly presented the following motion which received the support of the Liberal party in the Local House, in regard to these lines:—"This House

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"is of opinion that after the great sacrifices made by the Province of Quebec to promote this great enterprise, the Dominion Government should assist us in view of the fact that the North Shore and Northern Colonization Railways are virtually part of the Pacific Railway." The Prime Minister in his address to the electors of Lambton gave utterance to something in the same sense. He said, after having stated that he will construct the Georgian Bay Branch: "This included the construction of a short line from the mouth of the French River, on the Georgian Bay, to the south-east shore of Lake Nipissing, and a grant to encourage the extension of the projected lines from Quebec and Ontario." Doubtless the Premier did not offer these remarks solely with a view to carry the elections of 1874. Up to the present the hon. gentleman's promise so far as Ontario is concerned, has been fulfilled. If the Liberal party of Quebec were as sincere as they professed, the Province of Quebec, in consideration of the building of these two railways, would receive an indemnity of some millions. Thus the Local Government after having built the North Shore and the Northern Colonization, would be in a position to complete promptly the other necessary lines in the Province, amongst them the Quebec and Lake St. Jean Railway, which would open up a country capable of sustaining half a million souls. The Abbé Maurault thus writes of this territory:—

"What a fine country is this Lac St. Jean. Arriving on its beautiful shores one is struck with admiration. The eye cannot reach the extent of the immense sheet of water, for the atmosphere must be perfectly clear to see the opposite shore. The lake is 40 leagues in circumference; and the lands which are bathed by it, rising several leagues, are covered with maple, beech, poplar and elm, all attesting the fertility of the soil. The temperature is as mild as at Montreal; and grain and fruit ripen easily. There are to be found grapes, apples, plums, and such other fruits as we have in the district of Three Rivers. What a number of poor Canadian families could find a home and abundance there."

His object in thus diverting to this subject was to give an idea of the country he represented. Apart from the county of Simcoe there was none

other in the Dominion which produced so much corn, as was testified by the census of 1871. The railway from Quebec to the Lake was necessary to the future prosperity of the Province of Quebec, as he could demonstrate were he permitted by the rules of the House. He protested against the injustice done his Province. The Lower Canadian Ministers who slept in their chairs, instead of watching the interests of the Province, were to be blamed for this injustice, for they seemed to have at heart everything but the interest of the Province. Better times would come. At present those on his side of the House could only protest. That is what he did, and what the people in their turn would do at the next election.

Mr. BARTHE said there were many things pointed out by the hon. gentleman which really ought to receive the attention of the Government. The complaints, he understood, were not new, and the grounds for them existed under the administration of the old Government. That they had so existed he very greatly regretted, as he also did that they should have been continued by the present occupants of the Treasury Benches. He had some time ago heard the hon. member for Bagot make a speech, in which he threatened the Administration with the vengeance of the people of the Province of Quebec—in which, indeed, he predicted that the Liberals would be swept from the polls, and all who supported the Government would be beaten. He did not believe that, but if anything would tend to defeat supporters of the Government in Quebec this would. The people of that Province paid a large share of the taxation of the country, and the same justice should be done to them as to the people of the other Provinces. He understood the task of the Government in this large Confederation was a difficult one, but the rural districts of Quebec wanted but little and on y what was fair and just. Justice ought to be rendered to them accordingly. The Maritime Provinces had had better terms and a large share of the public money, and it was time some attention was paid to the demands of Quebec. He would

not vote for any motion which could be interpreted as a motion of want of confidence, but he appealed to the fairness of the Government to do justice to Quebec. He appealed to the members of the other Provinces to grant the same justice to Quebec as this Province has rendered to the others. This was the only way to maintain harmony in this great Confederation.

Mr. GAUDET said that in looking at the Budget of this year, he was obliged to say the Government, like an individual after some years of extravagant expenditures, was now in a bad pecuniary position. It was really to be regretted that a larger sum was not this year appropriated for public works, for the people of this country are in great misery, crying out for employment. The City of Montreal proved it in asking the Government to commence without delay the works on the Lachine Canal, in order that the poor people could have some means of gaining their subsistence. Quebec has also proved the same thing, for its highest dignity, the Lieutenant Governor, instead of giving his annual ball, sent the costs of it to a committee of relief to the poor. This was a generous and noble action which will pass to posterity, to his and their honour, and will show that this high dignitary is not a Conservative as described by the member of Drummond and Arthabaska, whose time was devoted to saving his own soul and damning his neighbours', but a true Conservative doing good among the people. He thought that his hon. friend from Chicoutimi complained with good reason, regarding the relative treatment of Ontario and Quebec. He would draw attention to another matter. One of the past cries on the hustings in the Province of Quebec, among the Liberals, had been directed against the extravagance of the Conservative leaders, and about the alleged waste of the public moneys; but what proved to be the case when one glanced over the Estimates with regard to the boasted economy of the present Administration? They found that the expenditure had been increased in connection with the various Departments in the following manner:—In legislation, \$92,345; contingent ex-

penses of Senate and Commons, \$23,931; staff of the Sergeant at Arms \$2,321; expenditures authorised by statutes, \$5,000; Secretary of the Governor General, \$2,198; Privy Council, \$2,890; Department of Justice, \$6,650; Department of Militia and Defence, \$4,676; Secretary of State, \$2,412.50; Secretary of the Provinces, \$22,760; Receiver General, \$3,472.50; Finance Department, \$2,796; Customs, \$2,665; Inland Revenue, \$5,207.50; Public Works, \$6,374; Postal Department \$18,580; Marine and Fisheries Department, \$3,805; Department of the Treasury, \$150; and contingent expenses \$25,000; total \$273,231.50. If he had looked more in the two budgets, probably he would have found some things yet more extraordinary; but he thought he had said enough to call the attention of this House to this extravagant increase in the Departmental expenditures. If this amount was to-day added to expenditure for public works, we could employ a large number of people and thus give them assistance. The decrease of expenditure for public works and the general misery prevailing, were the causes of the exodus of Canadians to the United States through the Province of Quebec; and surely, if a proper policy were pursued, the contrary would be the case.

SUPPLY.

The House then went into Committee of Supply,—Mr. Scatcherd in the chair.

On item 80, Intercolonial Railway Extension into Halifax, \$175,000,

Mr. YOUNG asked if it was the intention of the Government to have a formal opening of the Intercolonial?

Mr. PICKARD suggested if there were such an opening, it should be deferred until July, when the snow might be off the ground.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE supposed if the hon. member for Halifax invited them they must go to that city. Seeing the hon. member for North Ontario in his place, in justice to the officers of the boundary survey he would take this opportunity of stating that he had received a letter from Edward Eeles denying that Sunday

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was systematically desecrated on that service. From previous knowledge he had reason to believe that Major Cameron had devoted a great deal of care to this particular point, and it was but fair to that officer and those under him to make this statement.

Mr. GORDON said he would have been glad if this question had been set at rest by this letter. The writer had made statements directly at variance with his information, and he would require stronger proof before he receded from the position he himself assumed.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked if the item before the House included the purchase of the right of way?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that had been paid over. The work was mostly under contract.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN enquired if that sum would complete the work?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it would complete all under contract.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked whether it was proposed to deal with the interests of the Halifax City Railway Company by referring their claim to arbitration?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE was not aware that they had any claims; but if they had they must be dealt with according to law. A letter had been received from Mr. O'Brien complaining that certain rights would be violated by this extension; but no formal claim had been preferred.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had received a communication from Mr. O'Brien stating that the company had certain rights under the Provincial Act with which this Act seemed to conflict.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said Mr. O'Brien considered he had the right to the whole line of Water street, and that the Government had no right to intercept his track without offering compensation. He proposed to make a claim for damages. The line not yet having crossed the track of the company, he could understand why the Government had no formal intimation of their claim.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE pointed out that there was no special legislation with

reference to the Halifax Street Railway; the same general laws applied to that company as to others.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he would bring the matter up again on concurrence.

The item was then adopted.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND RAILWAY.

On item No. 82, appropriating \$200,000 for the Prince Edward Island Railway,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the state of this railway when it came into the hands of the Government was most unsatisfactory. Messrs. Brydges and Ryder surveyed the road and reported that it would require at least an expenditure of \$84,000 in order to put it in an efficient state of repair. After some negotiations with the Island Government another examination of the road was made by well-known engineers who reported that \$500 a mile would be required to put it in a proper condition, and \$5,000 to do work that the contractors were required to do by their contract. The first winter the Dominion Government had the road under control an extent of snow was developed that was quite astounding. It made it utterly impossible to work on the road. During the present winter great difficulties had been experienced, and it had been necessary to have snow protection in the shape of high fences. New fences had been put up along the road, but they had been found to be entirely useless, and they had to refence the entire line. The sum required would be expended as follows: high fencing for snow protection, \$70,000; engine-house, Charlottetown, \$20,000; additional rolling stock, \$75,000; trackmen's houses, \$10,000; additions to stations and some new stations, \$10,000; other improvements, \$15,000. This expenditure was considered to be absolutely necessary in order to work the road.

Mr. SINCLAIR said the Prince Edward Island Railroad had been taken off the contractor's hands in a bad condition. The rolling stock was inferior, and the engines were breaking down before they were three months working. The depth of the snow the first winter was so great the road was

entirely blocked, and this winter it was only partially in operation. He hoped, however, when it was put in proper working order it would cover the working expenses, and after a few years might yield a small revenue. The Province was charged with the full amount for the construction of the road; whatever was gained by the building of the road being imperfect was by the contractors.

Mr. McKAY (Colchester) asked why the Government had built houses for the trackmen employed on the railroad? It was not done on the Intercolonial.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was necessary to build them where there were no houses for them to live in. There were several built by the Government on the Intercolonial Railroad.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said there were great complaints among respectable people in the neighbourhood of Bathurst at the manner in which water-tanks and other works on the Intercolonial had been built. It was alleged that instead of calling for tenders and giving them to the contractors who offered to do them for the lowest price, they were built by days' work and private jobbers. He merely mentioned this to the Premier that he might investigate the matter.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had examined the buildings himself and found the cost of construction very moderate indeed. With regard to the station at Campbellton, which was built of brick, the party who originally took the contract failed, and the building was put up by days' labour at a lower price than the original contract. There might have been some irregularities, but if so he did not know of them. Some of the complaints referred to had reached him, and he had given strict injunctions to Mr. Schriber, an able and honest engineer, not to give out any work whatever except by public tender.

Mr. DOMVILLE — Who were the locomotives ordered from?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — The Kingston Locomotive Works, as being the lowest tenderers.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked what was the policy of the Government in disposing of old material on those railroads? He asked this because there was a very large amount of iron that came off those roads, and the Premier had laid down as the policy of the Government that they would ask for tenders for the sale of such material. He (Mr. Domville) did not think that had been carried out, a very large amount of old stock in the shape of rails, wheels, &c., having been sold privately.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said his policy was not to sell any rails except such as were unfit for use. Those the Government sold had brought about \$20 a ton, but they proposed, in the course of a few days, to ask the sanction of Parliament to furnish such rails to the lines immediately connecting with the Intercolonial, which would be supposed to bring traffic.

Mr. DOMVILLE wished to know how the Government intended to dispose of such old material as could not be re-used. What was the policy of the Government?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Our policy is to take the highest price we can get.

Mr. DOMVILLE—By tender or otherwise?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the price was originally fixed by tender. There were no rails sold that he was aware of. The Government were using a good many of them for the Prince Edward Island Railway.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he wanted to know whether the employés and officials under the Premier had a right to dispose of old material by private sale? He (Mr. Domville) was credibly informed that a large amount of these rails had been sold without being offered to public competition, no proper valuation having been arrived at. He wished to know the policy of the Government on this point.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My policy is to get the biggest possible price. If we can get a larger sum by selling to an individual than by public competition, we will take it. The price has been \$20 per ton, and I happen to know that is what the Grand Trunk Railroad

Company have been selling their rails at.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he had private information which he believed would be sustained by the papers which the Government would bring down shortly, that a small amount of rails was put up to public competition and a certain price having been obtained for them the remainder were sold at the same rate. At Halifax the same pernicious system was carried out in procuring supplies, and in the purchase of the iron roof for the station at that city.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the iron roof was bought for \$12,800; it was 400 x 80 feet span. The reason why no tenders was asked for was that it could not be purchased in Canada, and the Philadelphia firm from whom it was obtained had the patterns that suited the Government.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said it was desirable that old stock should be sold by public tender, as was the case with private railroad companies in Ontario. With regard to the iron roof, he agreed with the Premier, there was no chance of getting it in Canada, for the iron used in such a work as the Chaudiere Bridge at Ottawa was taken from this very section, sent to Cleveland and brought back in a manufactured state. Without protection there would be no such industries in Canada.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said he knew that a large amount of old stock had been disposed of at Halifax last year by public auction. With regard to supplies he also happened to know that down to the smallest article contracted for, public tenders were invited. The complaint was that all this business went to St. John, although tenders were asked for at Halifax.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said it did not follow because there was no establishment in Canada that manufactured iron roofs, that tenders should not be invited. There was sharp competition in that business in the United States. With regard to old rails, he had stated the other day that he entirely approved of the Government policy with regard to the disposal of them. It was a mistake to sell old rails that would answer branch roads, which would be feeders of the Inter-

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colonial. The correspondent of a newspaper in St. John, who misrepresented almost everything he said, had stated he (Mr. Mitchell) was opposed to the Richibucto branch of the Intercolonial getting the old rails for the completion of its track. He wished it to be distinctly understood that he had never said anything of the kind, but, on the contrary, was in favor of this important feeder getting the old rails. It was a matter deeply to be regretted that the road did not pass nearer to Richibucto.

Mr. DOMVILLE said one company had owed for rails 12 months. These sales should be by public tender, so that there would be no chance of buying rails in this fashion. He was sure the Premier did not endorse the transaction.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not know of any private sale.

Mr. DOMVILLE—Then the hon. gentleman ought to know.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Does the hon. gentleman think he can stand there and make every sort of insinuation without any definite charge?

Mr. DOMVILLE—I make the charge now.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Let the hon. gentleman move for his papers. These continual insinuations are improper and intolerable.

Mr. DOMVILLE—I am not prepared to be brow-beaten. I am able to make a charge as well as any other man, and I make the charge that a quantity of old rails were not paid for for 12 months. Furthermore, I make the statement that they were not paid for 30 days ago. The hon. gentleman had no right to say I made an unfair charge; I did not wish to make one; but I now place that charge flatly before the House.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE supposed the hon. gentleman meant 100 tons which were bought by Mr. Fairweather. The rails were sold by public auction at \$26.26 per ton, and not the slightest advantage was given the purchaser. With reference to the iron rail matter, Mr. Shanly said the contract had been fulfilled. If they desired to change the grades, covers, &c., it was their own fault.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he made no charge against Mr. Fairweather of buying rails at improper or low prices. Furthermore, he would state that Mr. Fairweather never bought one ton of rails, and the hon. gentleman knew it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. member for King's County, N.B., first made a charge in blank. If his charge related to Mr. Fairweather, he could say that that gentleman's company obtained a small quantity of rails. They asked first if they could obtain a loan of the rails, and this he declined. He enquired several times about payment, and then directed Mr. Brydges to enter suit unless the amount was paid immediately. That was some months ago, and he believed the money was paid.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he was prepared to prove, from public documents, that that gentleman never got one ton of rails, and the hon. Minister knew it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had Mr. Fairweather's letters on the subject.

Mr. DOMVILLE said the railway that got the rails was the River du Loup.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Well, he was the party who applied for them.

Mr. DOMVILLE said there was no item in the Public Accounts to show that Mr. Fairweather bought the rails.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They are charged to the company.

Mr. DOMVILLE—He is not the company.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—He is the President of the company.

Mr. DOMVILLE—He is not the President.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—At any rate he acted as business man for the company, and communicated with the Government. The hon. gentleman might quibble out his point until he was tired, that fact remained.

Mr. DOMVILLE said he had been accused of making vague charges, but he should be backed up when he stated fact. He asked the hon. Minister to confine himself to the letter. There could be no harm done; he merely asked that the Government should

have a proper system of doing this business. The rails were not sold at the highest prices.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They were.

Mr. DOMVILLE—They were not.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I give a flat contradiction to the assertion.

Mr. DOMVILLE—The hon. gentleman may contradict as much as he pleases; I should like him to show during what period he based his prices.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE reiterated his statement, the rails were sold at the highest price.

Mr. WORKMAN claimed to know something about the price of rails. He negotiated for the purchase of 2,000 tons of second-hand rails, and he refused them delivered in Montreal at \$16.50 per ton.

An Hon. Member—When was that?

Mr. WORKMAN—During last year; I had my choice of several kinds.

An Hon. Member—Were the rails sold to Mr. Fairweather?

Mr. WORKMAN—They were rails used by the Grand Trunk.

In answer to an hon. member,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he could not state the price obtained for the rails in question.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE—They were sold at \$26 per ton.

Mr. WORKMAN—That is \$10 more than what I refused rails for.

Mr. DOMVILLE said it was a most pernicious system when a member of the Government should be a co-partner in a company, and that rails should be sold to the company, which did not pay up for months.

The item was then passed.

LACHINE CANAL.

On item 85, Lachine Canal, \$1,200,000.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked the First Minister to explain the position of that work.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said sections Nos. 1 and 2 were in the hands of the contractors to whom the hon. gentlemen had let the work, and they had made very bad progress indeed. A

Mr. DOMVILLE.

re-arrangement was made with an additional partner this last season. They were about cancelling the contract, but hoping that better headway would be made, they allowed this new arrangement to be entered into and the work had progressed better since. On No. 3 very little progress has been made, and very little could be done. Nos. 9 and 10 were let about the time the House met. Nos. 11, 8, 9, 7, 4, 5 and 6 are all being let at the present moment, and they hoped they would be under contract before the House was prorogued.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked whether the policy of the Government had not been changed with reference to the widening of the canal, instead of making a new cut.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman would remember that Mr. Page, in his report of 1874, recommended a new canal a little above St. Gabriel's Lock, to enter there on the north side, and traverse the whole distance to Lachine. Mr. Page afterwards modified his opinion, and believed it was better to have one canal with a larger sectional area, than two canals with the area as at present; in other words, that two canals of the ordinary width would be equal in carrying capacity to one 175 feet wide at the top, and 100 feet at the bottom. A great deal of discussion took place on the point, and it was finally resolved to adopt Mr. Page's later recommendations—to make the canal wider than was originally intended, and have one instead of two. The engineer had a fear that by passing into the low ground between Montreal and Lachine he would get into a place where it would be difficult to find a good bottom, and that after an artificial bottom had been made the fissures in the rocks above would cause the water to escape, and there would be complaints for damages. The present canal passed a little above Coté St. Paul, which was chosen on account of the good bottom, and the plan was to enlarge that and thereby avoid possible suits for damages from the escape of water through porous soil.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked to what extent the working of the canal would interfere with the mills?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was one of Mr. Page's objects in the first place, in recommending the double canal, that after a certain time the water might pass through the canal and supply the mills, but he came to the conclusion that the utmost good was to be gained by the present scheme. The mills would be interfered with for one winter.

Mr. JONES (Leeds)—What arrangements have the Government made with reference to the mills?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Some of them have the lease of such water as the Government can spare. Some have a claim for damages on that account. I am not prepared to say to what extent it may or may not be the case. It involves a legal question, and it would scarcely be proper for me to give any opinion on it.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK enquired whether the Government had changed the plans with reference to the enlargement of the Lachine Canal?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE I have already explained all, that we are not going to make a new cut, but enlarge the old canal.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Will it be necessary to purchase any property?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Oh yes; a little here and there.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—On each side?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—On both sides. In some cases, we have a great deal more than we want, and in others, we have not enough.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, as he had done on a previous occasion, asked whether No. 3 section of the Lachine Canal would be deepened to 19 feet, as sections 1 and 2 were to be—in order to meet the requirements particularly of the coal trade between Montreal and the Maritime Provinces? This was also a matter of great importance in the interest of the manufacturers; as such an improvement would save heavy expense in the way of cartage. At all events, this should be done at some future time.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not consider that it was the duty of the Dominion Government to furnish a

harbour for Montreal, but they were bound to provide a canal suited for the traffic carried on along the River St. Lawrence and on the Lakes. From St. Gabriel's lock down, it had however been thought advisable to make two large basins, and one large, triangular basin, of sufficient depth to enable heavy craft to enter to that distance; but to add another mile and a half, or rather three miles of wharfage to Montreal harbour, seemed to him to be a work entirely outside of the responsibilities of the Government. This the Harbour Commissioners should do; the lock on section No. 3 would, however, have a depth of 14 feet on the mitre sills, in anticipation of having this depth at a future time.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked whether the proposed enlargement of the canal according to the present plans, required an expropriation of any land involved in the suit which caused considerable comment last summer?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We will need very little of this land, but I think we must take a little in two or three points. Our own border is irregular there—in a zig-zag line; some must be taken from both sides.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—But a very small portion?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes; from 25 to 30 feet, and in some places, perhaps, 40 or 50 feet.

Mr. MASSON—But for an inconsiderable distance?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We are making the canal wider—to Coté St. Paul 200 feet, and 175 feet, I think, above. I cannot tell the exact quantity of land which we will need.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, with regard to section 13, thought that the Premier's reasons for not deepening it to 19 feet were not very logical. The hon. gentleman did not conceive that it was the duty of the Government to increase the harbour accommodation to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but this the hon. gentleman had given, although sufficient accommodation was not provided, in his opinion, taking the requirements of our future trade into consideration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—This would not be providing for the commerce that passed through our canals, but for that which, coming from the east, cannot pass up the canal to the point desired.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentleman has stated such provisions must be made by the Harbour Trust; but this Commission is the creature of the Government, which was not satisfied with the system adopted under the late Administration, when the shipping, the city and other public interests had the majority on the Board which public opinion controlled.

Now, public opinion has no control over the Board which is a creature of the Government, and subject to its will and law; and you ought not to tell us that it is their duty.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Why should I not?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—For this reason—they are under your control.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No; not as to the harbour.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentleman knows what has happened; he has removed some of them, and he thus controls the majority. His dictum is law on the Board. If the latter had been left as it was it would have been controlled by public opinion; now this is not the case.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Because public opinion did not control them they were removed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—My impression was that it was for an entirely different reason. If I chose I could give it, but that is not the point I am now discussing. The great shipping interests of the country demand the deepening of the Canal as mentioned; and if this was done it would be looked upon as a boon.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER called attention to the hour, and thought it was a great mistake to endeavour to press forward the work of the Session too rapidly, as they could do justice after this fashion neither to the country nor to themselves. The items under consideration were important, and re-

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

quired a good deal of attention at their hands.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Hon. gentleman are beginning to ask when we are to get through. Thirteen days have already been spent over the Estimates. Never on any occasion since Confederation has so much time been taken up with them.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—There has not been much discussion on the items.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman's supporters occupied the time of the House at considerable length before we went into Committee of Supply.

Mr. MASSON—What are we here for if not to lay our views before the country? We are not here to register the decrees of the Government. If any complaint is to be preferred it ought to be made in Parliament.

On item 86, appropriating \$60,000 for the St. Lawrence Canal,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that the entire estimated cost of working these canals, 10 feet draft, excluding the Welland Canal, was \$18,058,347.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Does that include the deepening of the river?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied in the affirmative. The cost of deepening the canals to 12 feet would be \$12,540,900, making a difference of \$5,000,000. The estimated cost of deepening the Welland Canal to 12 feet was \$9,250,000, and the 14 feet estimate was \$12,250,000; total cost for the 14 feet draft \$30,290,347, and for the 12 feet navigation \$21,790,000. He might as well say that they were making certain works on the Welland Canal 14 feet, whilst the locks facing the mountains would be made to 14 feet by raising the walls. In all places where they could raise the walls two feet they would do so. The Government had decided to test the power of a chain tug at Williamsburg, and it was said that a chain tug would overcome the Cedar Rapids. If this were so it would have the effect of materially lessening the cost of the locks.

The House adjourned at Thirty minutes past Two o'clock p. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 31, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Ten minutes past Three o'clock.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that when the House adjourns it shall stand adjourned to Saturday, April 1st, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and that Government Measures shall have precedence on that day. He remarked that he did not propose that the House should sit in the evening.

The motion was carried.

THE STEEL RAIL PURCHASE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT having moved the House into Committee to consider the ways and means for raising the supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Mr. BOWELL stated that before the Speaker left the Chair, he begged to bring under the notice of the House a question which in all probability would have been brought before it in another shape had the papers, which were moved for by the hon. member for Cumberland sometime ago, been brought down. On the 18th of February, the hon. member for Cumberland had placed on the notice paper a motion asking for all papers and documents, and advertisements and all other matters connected directly or indirectly with the purchase of a large quantity of steel rails. A short time afterwards the motion was made by his hon. friend, and passed by the House. Since then, however, they had not been brought down.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—What has not been brought down?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The papers connected with the steel rail purchase.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I laid the whole of the contracts on the Table six weeks ago.

Mr. BOWELL—The Hon. Premier is in error. The papers asked for have not been brought down. What was asked for was contained in the motion which was carried, and was as follows :—

“Return of copies of all correspondence relating to the contracts entered into by the Government of Canada or any Department

thereof, for the purchase of steel rails in the year 1874, including correspondence, if any, with parties before the advertisement for tenders—copies of all the advertisements and names of newspapers in which they were published, with date of first insertion in each of them; all correspondence on the subject of further delay in the time of receiving tenders, copies of all advertisements postponing the time for receiving tenders, with name of newspapers in which such notice was published; copies of all tenders received for the supply of steel rails, with all correspondence in relation to them; and names of persons by whom or through whom such tenders were submitted or made; all correspondence with any of the parties tendering, as to the quantity of rails to be supplied by them; copies of contracts entered into and of all correspondence relating to them; copies of contracts for the transport of steel rails from Montreal to the different parts of the Dominion, with any changes made in such contracts, and correspondence relating to such changes at the time the contracts were entered into, with a statement of the dates of payment of all moneys on such contracts, the present location of the rails, and all charges for transport or storage of the same.”

Surely the Premier did not pretend to say these papers had been laid before the House. Had they been, they would have been laid before the Printing Committee, printed, and distributed among members long before this.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am quite sure that I called the attention of the hon. member of Cumberland at the time to the fact of their being there.

Mr. BOWELL—To what do you allude?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I remember handing the hon. gentleman the report of the Chief Engineer, and stating as I laid them on the Table, that it would be difficult to obtain any further report, until towards the close of the Session, if even then. I perfectly recollect making that statement.

Mr. BOWELL did not remember this; but supposing that this was said, it did not change the fact, that the papers asked for were not laid on the table, nor did it meet his point. The motion asked for certain papers, which had not been submitted. The only document he had seen in this relation, he held in his hand, and it was nothing more nor less than what appears in the Public Works' report. There must be some correspondence in this connec-

tion, and it could not be so voluminous as to require a couple of months to get it ready. He should, therefore, before the Speaker left the Chair, make the following motion, seconded by Mr. Kirkpatrick:—

“That the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved, that the purchase by the Government of 50,000 tons of steel rails, without the previous consent of Parliament, was an unconstitutional exercise of the Executive power, and that such purchase was premature and unwise, and has caused great pecuniary loss to the country.”

The best evidence—it ought to be at least, to those on the Treasury Benches to show that this motion embodied the views which had been held by the gentleman who has now governed the country, could be given by reading short extracts from the Premier's own speeches, containing these declarations of opinion and principle when in Opposition. It must be in the recollection not only of every member of the House, but of every elector, particularly in Ontario, that during the late elections one of the principal planks in the platform of the hon. gentlemen opposite, when they went to the people was, that public money should not be taken or used by any Administration without the previous consent of Parliament. They remembered very well that the Parliament of Ontario had passed an Act, placing at the disposal of the then Administration, of which the late Hon. John Sanfield Macdonald was leader, the sum of \$1,500,000 to aid in the construction of railways in that Province, and the principal objection taken to the constitutionality of that Act, by the gentlemen now in power, was that the Government was empowered by Parliament to distribute that money without first coming down to the House, and asking for additional authority to do so. Not only was this said to be a breach of the constitution, but also a usurpation of power, that could be used not only to the detriment of the people, but to keep them in office, and no man denounced the principle more strongly than the Minister of Justice. Discussing this matter, the Premier on the 5th July 1872, in the city of Montreal, employed the following language:—

“The policy of the Liberal Party is to make Parliamentary Government supreme, to place

the Cabinet directly under the control of Parliament, and to take from them the power of using any portion of the people's money without a direct vote for its service. I might point out as an instance of the course the Liberal Party will pursue, that in Ontario, when the Reform Government came into power, they repealed a portion of the Act granting aid to railways, so that all grants had to receive the sanction of the House before a farthing could be paid.”

This declaration of opinion held by the hon. gentleman when in Opposition, was received, as the report mentions, with immense cheering and thundering applause. At a later period the same hon. gentleman made use of the following language:—

“What had been the great issue during the election. It was the same as during the Ontario election of 1871. It was simply to decide whether the thirteen ministers at Ottawa were to usurp legislative as well as administrative authority—were practically to become a political oligarchy at the head of our system of Government. They assumed to have the right to have the money not only voted to them as a Government, but voted to them in such a way as to give them the disposal of it according to their own views.”

This was also received with great cheering as the fundamental principle of the party. In this instance not only had the present Premier spent money without it having first been voted by Parliament, but he had entered into contracts for the supplying of large quantities of material to the value of nearly \$3,000,000, portions of which, it was supposed, would be required before this time, but other portions not for years, and on this he spent a sum of money amounting to between \$2,000,000 and 3,000,000 without consulting Parliament until after the contracts had been entered into. It had been said in justification of that purchase that the market at that time was falling, and that a great saving was affected by their going into the market at that time. Exception, however, was taken to that declaration, and subsequent events have shown that those who took the objection were right. The Finance Minister in his budget speech of 1874, prognosticated in doleful language a stagnation in trade. It was evident from that fact that he must have considered that the prosperity which had created the high prices paid for all kinds of goods was likely to take a turn downward. And if the Premier had paid

any attention to the markets of the world, he must have come to the conclusion that he was going into the market to make a heavy purchase when he was not justified in doing so. Perhaps there was no better authority than the London *Economist*, from which he would read to shew that the market was then rapidly falling, the issue of which for October 10th, 1874, said:---

"If prices are any guide in the course of business in the iron trade, that industry is still on the decline; buyers are naturally unwilling to place orders for iron now when the market is continually becoming more favourable to them."

The same paper also made the following statement with regard to the market:---

November 7th—"Finished iron, especially rails and heavy iron, is in so extremely low demand that many factories are closing."

December 5th—"No revival has occurred in the demand for finished iron, prices still giving way."

December 26th—"The production of finished iron, though sustained at fair rates in some districts, is on the whole dull and depressed."

January 2nd, 1875—"The gloom and depression now reported in the iron trade on the whole appears to arise from the poor prospects manufacturers see of returning activity at anything like profitable rates."

February 6th—"Notwithstanding the cessation of work in two counties of South Wales district, no special activity is apparent in the others. In the finished iron a fair trade is reported, but the same consideration as to dropping prices of fuel have effect."

March 6th—"Prices of iron are held up by the cessation of work at South Wales, but the tendency would otherwise appear to be still downward. Orders given out are all reported small, and of the kind denoting a restricted demand in the absence of confidence as to prices."

April 3rd—"Consumers await a further reduction of quotations, and producers find coal getting cheaper and cheaper, and wages are steadily tending in a downward direction."

May—"Market steadier."

June—"Assumed a more demoralized appearance."

July—"Dull and unsettled."

August 7th—"Prices still tend downward."

September—"More orders, but for prompt delivery prices still tending down."

October 2nd—"Little appearance of activity."

November 6th—"Large manufacturing firm closed for want of orders."

December 4th—"A little increased activity to complete contracts before Christmas, and partly from a fall in prices."

January 1st, 1876—"Iron manufactures remain depressed."

February 5th—"The price of iron is still giving way."

February 26th—"In the iron trade there is increased dullness. Prices continue to fall without showing the least tendency to check themselves."

That depressed state of the trade should have been known at least to those who were going to invest so largely as the Government had done. It was also well known that the high prices paid in 1871, 1872 and 1873 had the effect of establishing some 14 new Bessemer steel works in the United States, and the result of such increase in the manufacturing power of the country ought to have suggested to the Hon. Premier that prices would go down. Surely the Hon. Prime Minister before entering upon an expenditure of two or three million dollars should have obtained information on the subject. If members would turn to the report of Mr. Brydges in regard to the purchase of rails for the Intercolonial Railway they would find that he used the following language:--

"There is no doubt whatever that at the close of 1873 and the beginning of 1874 that the steel rail market in England was well known to be in a declining condition, and no prudent man would buy rails at that time unless he wanted them for immediate delivery."

Yet this report made by his own officer, in his hand, he rushed into the market, and did that which Mr. Brydges said no prudent man would do. The price paid for these 50,000 tons of steel rails was \$54.60 per ton delivered in this country. That amounted to the sum of \$2,730,000. None of these rails, so far as they knew, had yet been used for the purpose for which they were purchased. It was true it was said that a portion of these rails were to be used in the completion of the Intercolonial Railroad. But it was evident the Government having got into the difficulty were desirous of getting those rails out of the way in some manner or other, and this was the mode they had adopted to do so. It was stated that rails had been bought in England free on board for £7 15s., or \$37.72 Canadian currency, per ton. If they allowed, what was giving a wide margin, \$4 a ton for freight and insurance, that would give as the

price at the present time, \$41.72 per ton, making a total of \$2,086,000, or an actual *bona fide* loss, without considering the question of interest, of \$644,000 in this purchase alone, but when interest was considered it would be found to exceed \$1,000,000. He knew it had been denied that such rails could be purchased for £7.15 per ton, free on board, at the present day.

Mr. WOOD—You can get them cheap if you get them for that.

Mr. BOWELL said he made the statement on the authority of Senator Macpherson, who had given that as the price in a speech delivered recently in the Upper House. That gentleman had assured him (Mr. Bowell) that he made the statement on the authority of the contractor who had made the purchase, and whose name could be furnished if necessary. One of the principal reasons given by the Minister of Public Works for going into the English market at the time he did, was that he had been strongly advised to do so by Mr. Darling and Mr. Workman of Montreal. That statement was made in the House of Commons on the 12th of March, last year. Now, it seemed to him (Mr. Bowell) that the report of Mr. Brydges should have guided the Premier instead of the advice of hardware men, if any were given, who were expecting to make a profit out of the transaction. In a letter written by Mr. Darling and published in the Montreal papers on the 15th October, 1875, that gentleman has used these words:

“On the third of October I obtained an interview with the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie for the purpose of requesting that the time for receiving tenders be extended to such a date as would permit parties here corresponding with the manufacturers in Europe which could not have been done in sufficient time had the date originally fixed upon been adhered to.”

It was evident that Mr. Darling knew nothing whatever of the intention of the Government to purchase these 50,000 tons of steel rails until after he had seen the advertisement in the Montreal *Herald*. Immediately after reading it he proceeded to Ottawa and had that interview with the Premier. Mr. Workman also, during the contest in Montreal West, was reported in the *Herald* to have said:—

Mr. BOWELL.

Mr. WORKMAN said he had no fixed date in his mind when he made that statement. He might also be permitted to say the report as given in the *Herald* was not taken verbatim, but was carried to the office without any notice having been taken at the time.

Mr. BOWELL said it was not a question as to date. What he wished to point out was that the hon. member for Montreal West, like Mr. Darling, had not given any advice to the Premier upon the propriety of the purchasing of these steel rails until after he had seen the advertisement in the *Herald*. The hon. member was reported to have said:—“He saw at once that the time was too short, as hardware men could not acquire the proper knowledge to enable them to make the tenders properly.” These declarations showed that there was a discrepancy between the Premier and the hon. member for Montreal West and Mr. Darling, who had had an interview with the Hon. Minister of Public Works, and he (Mr. B.) would leave the contradiction to be settled between them.

Mr. WORKMAN—I never had any interview with the Minister of Public Works on the subject, and I never said I had.

Mr. BOWELL—That only makes it stronger against the Minister of Public Works, because we are told by him that Messrs. Darling and Workman strongly advised the purchase.

Mr. WORKMAN—I did so in a letter, but had no interview.

Mr. BOWELL asked if that letter had not been sent after the appearance of the advertisement.

Mr. WORKMAN—It was after the advertisement came out. I have no copy of the letter. It was one of those impromptu letters.

Mr. BOWELL said it was after the appearance of the advertisement, and consequently after the Government had decided on their policy, and therefore the advice alluded to could not have been given. The Premier had also remarked that he was guided by Mr. Fleming's advice, while on the other hand, Mr. Brydges, who had

certainly paid closer attention to the markets of the world, and who had great experience in the purchase of railway iron, reported to the contrary. What made the matter look somewhat singular was the fact that the policy having been adopted to purchase two or three million dollars worth of rails, the notice for tenders should have been advertised in only one paper, so far as he could learn, and for a period of seven days only, including the date of its first appearance and the day on which the tenders should be at the City of Ottawa. The advertisement though dated Ottawa, Sept. 29th, did not appear in the Montreal *Herald* until the 2nd of October, and the tenders were to be opened on the 8th of October. When the Minister of Militia required some \$150,000 worth of military clothing, he had advertised in newspapers all over the country, paying some seven or eight hundred dollars for that purpose; and yet the Minister of Public Works, calling for tenders involving an expenditure of two or three millions of dollars, advertised in but one paper and for only seven days. In a telegram published by the hon. gentleman in the Ministerial press, the following sentence occurs:—"No steel rails were purchased by me from any Montreal firm." The impression left on his (Mr. Bowell's) mind on reading that was, that the contracts had been entered into with the English firms exclusively, without the intervention of the Montreal merchants.

But before passing to that he desired to refer to all facts connected with this matter, for fear that he might be misunderstood. After Mr. Darling had had an interview with the Minister of Public Works, and after the letter was written by the hon. member for Montreal West to this Minister, asking for an extension of time, which was given, advertisements inviting tenders were inserted in a number of papers in Montreal and elsewhere. He had omitted this fact when dealing with that point. Coming back to where he started, he found that immediately after that telegram had appeared, the hon. member for Montreal West was reported to have said in one of his election speeches:—"That the firm of Cooper, Fairman &

"Co. tendered at £11 5s., or £11 4s. 9d. under him (Mr. Workman) and they obtained a contract for a certain quantity of those rails." Now, no one having read the statement of the hon. member could come to any but one conclusion.

Mr. WORKMAN—Would the hon. gentleman allow me to make a remark. I did not know the facts of the case when I made those statements. That report is not correct; that was not what I stated.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—What did you state?

Mr. WORKMAN—That Cooper, Fairman & Co. were agents of a Company in England, and merely acting as agents. I believe it was the Mersey Steel and Iron Co. which obtained a commission—this was what I said. I beg the hon. member not to quote remarks which I never made.

Mr. BOWELL—It is somewhat difficult for one to know what the hon. gentleman did say, as he denies the correctness of the report of his own paper.

Mr. WORKMAN—I tell you what I did say.

Mr. BOWELL was very much afraid, if the hon. gentleman's interpretation was correct, that he could not discover what he really did say during the election. This course was apt to justify the charge too often made, that gentlemen seeking the suffrages of electors indulged in language which they should not use, and stated as facts that which were not such. The hon. gentleman should not complain when quotations are made from reports of speeches made by the hon. gentleman which were published in the organ of the party of which he was a member, and which had given him its undivided support during that election.

Mr. SPEAKER—The hon. gentleman stated distinctly that he was not correctly reported; and I think that this is sufficient.

Mr. BOWELL—I understand that; but the main facts as stated in the report are nevertheless the same.

Mr. WORKMAN—Yes.

Mr. BOWELL—That Cooper, Fairman & Co., did tender and receive a

contract for these rails, and although he might not have stated so distinctly a contract for rails had been reserved by them. The hon. gentleman now tells the House that this company acted as an agent for an English firm. He did not suppose that any one in the House or country supposed for a moment that Cooper, Fairman & Co. manufactured these rails, as it is known that a large proportion of the wholesale men act as agents in connection with such matters. If he recollected right, the hon. gentleman stated in another speech that he (Mr. Workman) was an agent for a large number of persons. He found that the hon. gentleman stated also during the same contest that he had hoped to have received a contract.

Mr. WORKMAN—Yes.

Mr. BOWELL—But others were lower, including the firm of Cooper, Fairman & Co., of which Mr. Workman said in his speech one "Charles Mackenzie was a partner, although not a full partner, and that this firm were the agents for the West "Cumberland Iron and Steel Co."

Mr. WORKMAN—That was a mistake. I afterwards learned that it was for the Mersey Iron and Steel Co.

Mr. BOWELL was quite prepared to accept this explanation, but what he desired to point out was, that though the purchase was made through these agents, they benefitted by the transaction, and that it was an actual purchase from or through them. He had shown by quotations from the speeches of the hon. gentlemen opposite—which could be multiplied by the score, not only of the Minister of Public Works, but also the Minister of Justice, that the use and expenditure of public money, without the assent and vote of Parliament, was an unconstitutional act, deserving condemnation at the hands of the country; by reading extracts from the *London Economist*, showing that the markets were continually falling, when this purchase was made; by quotations from Mr. Brydges' letter, that at the very time the Government went into the market for this purpose, he (Mr. Brydges) had reported strongly against purchases being effected,

Mr. BOWELL.

and that too, sometime previously to the actual purchase, on the ground that the markets were steadily declining, and that no "prudent man" would then buy rails; and further, from public documents, evidence that the declarations of the Minister of Public Works in the House last year, and the letters of Mr. Darling, and the speeches of the hon. member for Montreal West, that the statement of the Premier was not accurate.—These gentlemen could decide among themselves who was wrong and who was right. He had also established from facts, and the circumstances surrounding the giving of the notice and the advertisements for tenders, that if it were done by any others than persons connected with the Government, it would be looked upon at least with grave suspicion; for he could not conceive, nor did he think the country could understand how any commercial man, or any business man, much less the Government, when asking for tenders for the supply of materials to the value of two or three millions of dollars would give only three, four or five working days, or seven at the extreme, for tenders to be sent to the city of Ottawa; also, that none of the rails purchased for the Pacific Railway had been used for the purpose for which they were purchased. And more, that the contracts for the construction of the road which had been given out were of a very limited character; consequently the rails could not be used, perhaps, for one or two years to come; the result being an actual loss to the country of over a million of dollars. That those who supported the Government would sustain this policy he had no doubt; still he was quite satisfied that no prudent man, to use the language of Mr. Brydges, would have gone into the market under the same circumstances, and no matter what the vote of the House might be, the country would echo the sentiment that no Government had the right to use the public money as it had been employed in this instance without the consent of Parliament, more particularly when the articles purchased were not needed, and would not be required for years to come.

Mr. WORKMAN hoped that he would say nothing during this discussion that would irritate or annoy any hon. member. The continual harping on this subject which had taken place, was, in his opinion, both unaccountable and unjustifiable. He had read the Government's advertisement for tenders in the Montreal *Herald* in the beginning of October, and seeing that the time allowed was too short, he wrote to the Premier accordingly, and before he received a reply, which was within two days, the time was extended nearly five weeks, showing clearly that there was no disposition on the part of the Premier to give the contract to friends. Having large transactions in iron he was naturally anxious to secure a part of the contract.

Mr. BOWELL---Was that after the interview with Mr. Mackenzie?

Mr. WORKMAN---I did not see or speak to Mr. Mackenzie on the subject, as he was in Ottawa and I in Montreal. I wrote to him, however, and received a prompt reply. He (Mr. Workman) now held in his hand a letter from his London bankers, dated October 24th, 1874, in reply to one he had written on this steel rail contract, which showed the then state of the market, and the means taken to secure the fullest information on the subject. The following is an extract from that letter:---

"We have taken the greatest possible pains with the view of getting quotations for the steel rails. In most instances we have found masters decline to quote, on the ground of not desiring to commit themselves so far ahead. In the few cases where we have been able to get offers the price has been put up to the exorbitant figure of £12 per ton. The only way in which, as far as we can see, you would have any chance of doing business is, if you are willing to buy the rails now, to be started at the works during the winter, and shipped to Canada in the spring if you got the contract. On these terms we could buy 5,000 tons at about £9 10s. per ton, and we would be willing to grant our six months' acceptance for a small commission. If you failed in getting the contract, the rails would be suitable in pattern for the American market. We have not been able to get much information regarding the price at which markets are likely to tender. They are losing money at present prices, £9 10s., and it is difficult to believe they will take so large an order at a loss. You should cable us if you desire to operate in the manner instructed."

In reply he had cabled as follows:—

"Purchase the rails as specified in your letter of 24th, at price quoted. Please give makers' names."

To which he received in reply:—

"Present price £10 net; we wait your reply; do you notice the stipulation regarding inspection. Reply by cable."

Acting on this telegram he again cabled, and ordered the purchase at the rate named, but he did not even then succeed, because in the meantime he had applied to Ottawa for the Government specifications concerning these rails.

That specification required the rails to be of best quality, and that 90 per cent of them should be in lengths of 24 feet, 26 feet, 28 feet and 30 feet. These were very unusual lengths. They were more easily laid and more difficult to make. The stringent condition of the specification undoubtedly added to the price of the rails, probably to the extent of six shillings a ton. With regard to his statement at a public meeting in Montreal, in reference to the unjustifiable charge against the Premier, he desired to say that he made it at a moment's notice, without looking to dates or consulting any one upon the subject. He considered it only simple justice to vindicate at once the Hon. Premier's action in this matter.

In reference to the contract, he maintained that it had been accepted with the possibility of only a very small profit. He, himself, was willing to accept a profit of one and a half per cent.; yet he did not get the contract, and he did not complain, because his tender was not the lowest. He took a good deal of trouble before tendering, to ascertain what the freight would be, and he was unable to make a contract with either Messrs. Allan or the Dominion Steamship Company on this side of the Atlantic. The Canada Shipping Company undertook to contract for 5,000 at \$22 a ton by steamer, and \$20 a ton by sailing vessel. Bar iron they undertook to carry for \$17 a ton by steamer, and \$15 by sailing vessel, and this difference was caused by the rails being more difficult to handle. When he (Mr. Workman) saw the amounts of the lowest tenders accepted by the Government, and published in the Montreal papers, he

then stated that they were the lowest prices at which steel rails had been purchased within his 40 years' experience. At this time he wrote to the Hon. Premier congratulating him as having made the best purchase of steel rails that could be made at that time, or ever had been made, quality and specification considered.

Mr. BOWELL—Would you purchase them under the circumstances when they were not required for many years?

Mr. WORKMAN said that was another question. The hon. member for Hastings had given them a re-hash of a speech delivered in the Senate a few days previously, and he had stated that steel rails could be bought in Liverpool now at £7 15s. sterling. The previous day he had received a circular from England, dated 15th March, in which steel rails were quoted at £9.10. This was for the same quality as required by the Government. There were what were called "job lots" of rails which could be bought for less than the market price; but during the present months when the hon. gentleman said steel rails were £7 15s., Staffordshire bar iron were £8 10s. The hon. gentleman had said that no prudent man would have made the purchase at that time. He (Mr. Workman) called himself a prudent man, but he had entered into contracts when the market was as low as he thought it would go in all human probability. It, however, continued to fall, and to-day he could replace the same goods at prices far below what he then paid. In conclusion, he reiterated that these rails were of the best quality, and had been bought from some of the best makers in the world, and at the lowest possible price at which they could be obtained at the time.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had proposed to devote a little time to this matter on going into Committee of Supply, but as the hon. gentleman had again endeavoured to block the way, he would deal with it now. Perhaps it was better to consider the events consecutively in the order of their occurrence. He would in the first place read the memorandum of the

Mr. WORKMAN.

Chief Engineer on the subject. It was as follows:—

"CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,
"OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF,
"OTTAWA, March 24, 1876.
"Memorandum—Steel Rails.

"During the summer of 1874, advices from England shewed a great decline in the price of steel rails. It was generally considered that they had all but reached the lowest rate, and that an excellent opportunity presented itself of providing a quantity of rails at lower prices than they could in all probability be obtained for at any future period.

"Early in August, 1874, the Chief Engineer mentioned the matter to the Minister of Public Works, and advised that steps should be taken to secure such quantity as might be deemed advisable. On the 13th of the same month he renewed his recommendation and furnished a draft specification to be acted on if thought best.

"The Chief Engineer was absent from Ottawa until near the end of September, when he again renewed his recommendation to secure the rails.

"A notice calling for tenders on the 8th of October was advertised on the 29th September. On the 3rd of October the time was extended for receiving tenders until the 16th November, and specifications, dated October 3rd, were printed; by the latter, a copy of which is attached hereto, it was provided that tenders would be received on the 16th November following.

"It was felt that to advertise for tenders for rails for the Pacific Railway, or for any considerable portion of it, would defeat the object in view, viz:—to secure rails at a low rate—and hence the character of the advertisement and specifications—"Pacific Railway" is not mentioned in either, and tenders for a large quantity are not invited.

"Tenders for the delivery of 350,000 tons were received, the prices ranging from \$53.53 to \$82.73 per ton, delivered in Montreal.

"The average rate was \$57.00 per ton.

"The lowest tenders were:—

From Cox & Green, for West Cumberland Co.....	\$53 53 per ton
" Jos. Robinson, for Ebbw Vale Co.....	53 53 " "
" Cooper, Fairman & Co, for Mersey Co.....	54 26 " "
" Post & Co., for Guest & Co.....	54 62 " "

"Contracts were entered into with these parties at the above prices for all the rails they were willing to deliver, viz:—

West Cumberland Co.....	5,000 tons
Ebbw Vale Co.....	5,000 "
Mersey Co.....	20,000 "
Guest & Co.....	10,000 "

Total..... 40,000 tons.

"In addition to the above, it was arranged to accept the most favourable terms for the

delivery of rails, f. o. b., in England, for transportation to British Columbia. Accordingly contracts were made as follows :—

F. O. B.

“ West Cumberland Company 5,000 tons at.....\$48 67 per ton.
 “ Taylor, Benyon & Co., 5,000 tons at.....\$51 10 per ton.

“ It may be stated that it is no uncommon occurrence to secure rails for a great public work in advance of the time that they can be used.

“ The case of the Intercolonial Railway might be mentioned. On the 21st November, 1870, tenders were received for steel rails, and it was stipulated that they should be delivered as follows :—

6,000 tons must be ready for shipment not later than 15th March, 1871.
 6,000 tons by the 15th July, 1871.
 10,000 tons by the 15th March, 1872.
 10,000 tons by the 15th April, 1872.
 8,000 tons by the 15th May, 1872.

40,000 tons—Total, 1872.

“ Thus it will be seen that 12,000 tons were to have been ready by the 15th July, 1871, while the quantity actually laid during the whole of 1871 was only 1,092 tons.

“ Again, the whole 40,000 tons required for the Intercolonial Railway, were to have been ready by the 15th May, 1872; while the quantity actually laid eighteen months afterwards, viz: to the end of 1873, was less than 15,000 tons, and the whole quantity contracted for in 1870, was not actually used before the end of 1875.

“ The geographical position of the Pacific Railway is so different from that of the Intercolonial, that there is far greater necessity for an early purchase of the rails in the one case than the other.

“ On the Intercolonial, the line can be approached by sea-going vessels at many points, while the Pacific Railway is a long way inland, and it is consequently a difficult and expensive matter getting the rails taken forward to points where they can be used, involving a great deal of delay.

“ It is not always advisable to wait until an article is wanted before it be secured—an enormous additional expense may be, and often is, the consequence of such a policy.

“ In building railways, a degree of foresight is indispensable. This is especially the case in a railway situated like the Pacific line. If the purchase of rails was put off until the road-bed was ready for them, a much larger price would almost certainly have to be paid, not only for the rails but also for their transportation.

“ There can be no doubt that the mode and time of purchase of the rails was by all considered most judicious. In the public interests nothing could have been more carefully considered.

“ If it should have turned out contrary to all expectations, that the price of rails has not rebounded to its former high rate, this

circumstance cannot in any way detract from the provident intention of the whole transaction.

“(Signed), “ SANDFORD FLEMING,
 “ Chief Engineer.”

Had the purchase of Intercolonial rails been put off about a year the increase would have been about £2 per ton, which would amount to \$400,000; if put off two years the increase, £5 per ton on the whole purchase, would amount to \$1,000,000.

“ Statement of the number of tons of Rails delivered and laid, up to the end of each year on the Intercolonial Railway :—

	Tons Delivered.	Tons Laid.
1871.....	4,787	1,092
1872.....	14,770	10,018
1873.....	3,436	3,832
1874.....	12,980	12,012
1875.....	8,617	16,516
Total... ..	44,590	43,460

(Intercolonial Rails.)

Price delivered this side :—

Barron Co.....\$58 30 per ton
 Ebbw Vale..... 60 07 “

If the Intercolonial rails had not been contracted for at the time they were—if their purchase had been put off for a year, as it might have been—if the policy had been not to buy any rails until they were wanted—(and having been bought they could be delivered on the Intercolonial at any time on six weeks notice)—\$400,000 would have been lost; and had the purchase been put off for two years, a million of dollars would have been lost on the 40,000 tons required for that line of railway. He might rest the case there. His accusers had done precisely what they accused him of doing. They bought rails before they were required, and the rails lay for years without being used, and were none the worse for it. The iron work for the Miramichi bridge was on the ground and paid for three years before a single particle of it was used, and the Government had to pay \$2,000 for the rent of the place where it was piled. An hon. gentleman opposite would know where it was situated. The advertisement was said by the member for Hastings to have been inserted only in one paper; instead of having been published in the *Herald* only as stated, it appeared in the following papers:—The *Herald*, *Witness*, *National*, *Bien Public*, *Trade Review*, and *Negociant Canadien* of Montreal; the *Mercury*, *Journal de Quebec*,

and *L'Evenement*, of Quebec; the *Times* in Ottawa; the *Nation and Globe* in Toronto; the *Coal & Iron Record*, the *Herald*, and the *Scotsman* of New York. These papers were recommended as amply sufficient, and there was no necessity for inserting it in a large number of papers inland where iron firms were not represented.

Mr. BOWELL—Was that the first advertisement, or the one published after the postponement?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It was both the first and the last.

Mr. BOWELL—No!

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he depended upon the report of his officers, and he had no reason to suppose it was incorrect. At all events, those were the directions, and the officers assured him they were carried out. The advertisements were sent by telegram to New York. The chief engineer in the first place pressed upon his (Mr. Mackenzie's) attention, the necessity of procuring these rails. The price had been £12; it reached £10, or nearly so at the time the advertisement was decided upon. It had never reached that point on any previous occasion from the very commencement of manufacturing steel rails, except in April, May and June, 1870. It was £10 then; but the actual cost of the rails purchased for the Intercolonial was in excess of that. The amounts paid for Intercolonial rails were \$58.30, for 37,600 tons; and \$60.07 for 7,000 tons. The very fact of requiring a rigid inspection and long lengths made prices dearer than the ordinary market rates, by at least 10s. sterling. If it had turned out subsequently that the rails could have been purchased lower, he would never have dreamed of blaming the Government. The present Administration had given out contracts on the canals a year and half ago, which could be given out now twenty per cent. lower, yet no one would think of casting a reflection on the Government on that account.

In an article published in the *Montreal Gazette*, he had been charged with "purchasing 40,000 tons of steel rails from a firm in that city, of which his brother was a partner." He had characterized the statement then, as he

did now, as a deliberate falsehood. He considered a purchase meant going into some person's office and buying a quantity of anything at a price agreed upon there and then; but this was no more a purchase than the contracts given out on the canals. Tenders had been deliberately advertised for and received, and contracts were entered into with those who offered to supply the rails at the lowest prices. The practice of his department was to let his chief officers open the tenders, and it was only when the tenders were afterwards brought before him with the recommendation of his chief officers that they were dealt with. He invariably took the lowest; and in accordance with that practice Mr. Trudeau placed himself in communication with Messrs. Cox & Green, the lowest tenderers, and they were offered the whole lot at the same price, but they refused to take them. They then passed on to the next lowest. It was the usual practice of iron firms in England to act through agents in this country. The Government did not receive a single tender from any of the principals in England. There were two from manufacturers in the United States. He believed all, or nearly all, the tenders were sent in through agents.

Mr. WORKMAN—I sent mine in my own name.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had declined to make any contracts with agents. The contracts were sent to England for approval, and deposits were made as security for the performance of them, and then they were signed. Greater care could not possibly have been taken to guard the public interest and insure the fulfilment of these contracts. The advertisement calling for tenders provided that about one-half should be delivered in 1875, and the remaining half in 1876. Considerably more than half had been delivered. About 32,000 tons had been delivered here and in British Columbia, leaving 17,500 tons yet to come. The Government knew in connection with the purchase, that in the event of rails getting higher, or in the event of their not being able to use them as fast as they

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had anticipated, they would require a very considerable quantity to complete the Intercolonial. The hon. gentleman opposite had insinuated that the Government were taking up old rails, and giving them away for nothing, in order to find a place for a quantity of the new rails. It had been the policy of the late Government, and was the policy of this Government, to proceed as fast as possible in laying steel rails on the railroads of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and that policy had neither been delayed nor accelerated by this purchase. Work was going on steadily, and 10,000 tons would be required in addition to what was on the ground there. Now, as to the price. He had made an enquiry very recently, through a friend, of the President of the Great Western Company, the Right Honorable Mr. Childers, and found the Great Western Company had very recently purchased some 11,000 tons, requiring them to be inspected in lengths, something like our own, and they had to pay £11 sterling, delivered in Montreal—almost exactly the same price as was paid for those which this Government had contracted for in the winter of 1874. He believed now, as he did then, that the transaction was a wise one. Hon. gentlemen opposite, however, had asked what right the Government had to make this purchase without the authority of Parliament. Well, it so happened they did not pay any money without the authority of Parliament. Not a dollar was paid on these contracts until the 13th of April, 1875, and the House adjourned on the 7th or 8th of that month. The contracts for the steel rails were laid on the table in due course. Hon. gentlemen might conscientiously say that they had no constitutional right under the Pacific Railway Act to do as they had done; but he maintained the contrary. It was for the House to determine who was in the right.

As to the wisdom of making the purchase at that particular time, he would say that he had been guided by the views of prominent officers in his department, when they at all accorded with his own, and he had never seen any reason to deviate from that rule. The Chief Engineer had advised the

purchase as absolutely necessary. They discussed the matter for many days, and he came to the conclusion that the Chief Engineer was right. They then expected to be able to lay the entire Pembina Branch during the past year, but it would be observed that if they had obtained connection with the United States railway at Pembina, notwithstanding the time of the purchase, they could not have got the rails on the ground in time and laid 60 miles. They had also expected last summer to transport them from Montreal to Duluth, and from thence into the interior; but with all their exertions, they were only able to have 2,180 tons delivered at Red River; and if they had connection made as they anticipated at Pembina, they would be unable to have railway communication with Winnipeg until nearly the close of the summer. At present some 2,600 tons of rails were at Duluth, and several months would be required to remove them to the spot where they were wanted; and even then when there these would not be sufficient to complete this one branch from Pembina to Fort Garry. They also hoped, when the policy was adopted of which he should speak (he dwelt upon it during the last previous Session), concerning the construction of the Pacific Railway, they thought they would have at least 70 miles east of Red River graded during this coming summer. About 25 miles were now completed, graded and ready for the ties and rails, and before the end of next summer the entire 70 or 77 miles would be so prepared. It would be utterly impossible for the Government, notwithstanding all the exertions which they might make during the coming year, to get the rails there for laying this part of the road. They expected also previous to next summer to have the road graded to Lake Shebandowan from Fort William. He would deal with this question more fully in Committee, and he would simply say this—that twenty-five miles were now completely graded, on which rails would be laid the moment spring opened. The forty-five miles embraced in this contract could be easily graded during the coming season; this would

show the extent to which they were prepared to use the rails, and the foresight and wisdom of the Chief Engineer in making the recommendation he did. He would read a memorandum prepared by the Chief Engineer only two or three months ago, which had lain in his office, but of which he was not aware until two or three weeks after it was there:—

"CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, }
 "OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER IN CHIEF, }
 "OTTAWA, JAN. 21 1876.

"F. Braun, Esquire,

"Secretary Public Works Department:

"SIR,—I would wish to draw the attention of the Department to the necessity of making arrangements for the transport of rails, as soon as the navigation opens.

"The rails are required at places so far inland that it becomes necessary to forward them in advance of the time when they can actually be used, in order to prevent delays.

"To illustrate what I mean, at the close of last season we had graded and ready for track-laying about 80 miles in the Province of Manitoba, requiring, with provision for sidings, about 7,500 tons of rails; but the total quantity of rails we succeeded in getting to Red River, up to the end of last year, was only 2,188 tons.

"In the event of the Government deciding to contract for extending the construction of the line to Rat Portage and to Lake Manitoba, a great extent of the grading is so light, especially between Selkirk and Lake Manitoba, and that it is quite possible to have 280 miles in all, ready for rail-laying in the Manitoba Districts before the end of the present year; so that if a total of 26,000 tons of rails could be delivered there this year, it would be quite possible to use them. I do not think, however, it would be practicable at any reasonable cost to deliver so large a quantity by the existing means of communication; but I desire to direct the attention of the Department to the importance of entering into arrangements without any loss of time, for the transportation of as large a quantity of rails as possible during the coming season.

"Immediately northwest of Lake Superior we have already graded about 18 miles, requiring (including sidings) about 1,700 tons. By the end of the present year we may possibly have 50 to 60 miles in all graded, requiring 5,000 tons of rails, in that district.

"These two estimates would give a total of 31,000 tons, which if forwarded before the end of the present year, might be laid as they arrived, or soon afterwards.

The total quantity of rails sent forward to Duluth and Thunder Bay (of which 2,188 tons have reached Red River) for the work above referred to in Manitoba and northwest of Thunder Bay, is 10,383 tons, so that the forwarding of an additional quantity of 20,000 tons may soon be required.

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"The following quantities of rails have, up to the end of last season's navigation, been received:—

	Tons.
" Piled at Lachine Canal.....	10,978
" " Kingston.....	4,806
" " Montreal.....	311
	<hr/>
Tons.....	16,095

"If from those be deducted 8,000 tons which the Government has undertaken to furnish for the Georgian Bay Branch, there would remain only about 8,000 tons to go West, and I would advise that steps be immediately taken to secure the transportation of at least that quantity on the best terms.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"(Signed), SANDFORD FLEMING."

He gave these statements from the officer in charge to show what was his opinion of the transaction, and the necessity of making the purchase at that particular time. If it should prove otherwise, if this officer was then as greatly deceived as had been the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway, and if the Government were deceived as to the quantity they could use on the Intercolonial Railway—the cases were entirely parallel—what was there in this? Was it supposed that they were to be infallible, and that it was impossible for them to make any error? He did not believe that he had erred; he was prepared to defend his course, and he defied any man—there or anywhere else—to show a single improper action or a single wrong statement in connection with the transaction from first to last. He knew the object many gentlemen had in view; they had been quite willing, if they could, in order to make political capital, to attack and sacrifice his personal character; but he hoped that in his course, as Minister and member of the House, he had carefully avoided anything which could, by the remotest possible implication, subject him to the just censure of any honest man.

He had nothing further to say on the matter, save again to express his earnest hope and firm belief that the large majority of the members of the House (and might, he not also hope a majority of the hon. gentlemen opposite, who were opposed to him politically?) would not hesitate at once to record their disapproval of the means taken to attack the Government and

himself personally, for political ends, with reference to this transaction.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER was not surprised to find that hon. gentlemen opposite were quite as ready to accept in advance the defence of the hon. gentleman as to endorse it after the hon. gentleman had taken his seat. The enthusiasm with which the hon. gentleman, on rising, was greeted, was he thought if anything greater than that which accompanied the conclusion of the hon. gentleman's statement. He was not at all surprised, because he was certain that there was not one hon. gentleman on either side of the House, who with the facts and history of this transaction before him, could for a single moment endorse the statement with which the hon. gentleman closed his remarks—that he was now prepared to defend what he had done. When the hon. gentleman said that he was not infallible, and that he was liable to make mistakes, he (Mr. Tupper) thought that he (Mr. Mackenzie) had carried the House with him; when in view of the facts as they now stood before the people of this country with relation to this transaction, the hon. gentleman said that he had nothing to regret in this connection and that he was prepared to defend it. He (Mr. Tupper) maintained that the hon. gentleman took a position which no commercial man in this country would endorse. When the hon. gentleman complained of some statements made by his hon. friend from Hastings when opening this discussion, the hon. gentleman ought not to forget that if mistakes were made no one was so much to blame for it as the hon. gentleman himself. The hon. gentleman ought to remember that on the 18th of February he had put a motion on the notice paper calling his attention to the fact that the most minute information touching the whole of this transaction was to be asked for by the House; and yet, though this was the 31st of March, and the information required could have been laid on the table in twenty-four hours, this motion, carried by the House, remained unanswered. The hon. gentleman had not been just to himself; if the hon. gentleman felt that the course

he had pursued could not be successfully impugned, and that he had nothing to regret in the whole of this transaction, it was due to himself, to the great party he led, to the Government of which he was a member and to the characters of the public men of all parties that he should have laid on the table, in response to the demand of Parliament, the most full and explicit information. The hon. gentleman instead of regarding his motion as an attack ought to have accepted it in the spirit of friendship. The hon. gentleman knew the condition of the public mind as well as any person in or out of the House, and it was no secret to the hon. gentleman that there had been widely diffused over this country, in fact from one end to the other, the impression that there were features connected with this transaction which were not creditable to him as a public man, or to the high position he occupied.

Hon. Gentlemen— No! no!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Was there a man in the House, who would deny that abroad, over the face of this country, were hundreds and thousands of men who had been most painfully impressed with this transaction?

The hon. gentleman himself would not endorse a statement to the contrary; the hon. gentleman had stood in his presence on the hustings, when men of the highest respectability and of the highest character had impugned the hon. gentleman's motives with regard to this transaction. He accordingly asked the hon. member for Hamilton if he or any other hon. gentleman dared to assert that he (Mr. Tupper) was not speaking within the strictest bounds of accuracy when he said—whether rightly or wrongly, however mistaken their impression might be—there did exist a most painful impression, spread broadcast over this country, that features were connected with this transaction, which were most reprehensible and indefensible. They were, nevertheless, left in ignorance, without a particle of information with relation to it. He could not undertake to controvert the statement of the hon. gentleman that this first advertisement was

published in the papers the hon. gentleman had mentioned; but he believed the hon. gentleman to be entirely in error. The hon. member said that he did not speak from his own personal knowledge, but that he had instructed officers in the department to do so, and that he assumed it was done. He (Mr. Tupper) did not believe that the first advertisement had been sent to New York, and he would give his reasons why. It would seem simply absurd to advertise in New York for the purpose of obtaining tenders, on the 29th of the month, to be received on the 8th of the month following. Was this possible? Why, the hon. member for Montreal West had stated that he was obliged to come up here for the purpose of examining the specifications on which to base his tender.

Mr. WORKMAN—Pardon me; I never came here at all.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Very well. He said Mr. Darling came up for the purpose of examining the specifications.

Mr. WORKMAN—I beg your pardon; Mr. Darling came up on other business.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—I would like to ask on what he tendered if he had no specifications?

Mr. WORKMAN—I wrote up from my office, and I asked for a copy of the specifications, which I obtained.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That would do. The hon. gentleman, who lived within a day's communication of Ottawa, wrote to secure information in relation to the specifications; but what would people in New York do under such circumstances.

The hon. gentleman knew that in Chicago one of the largest rolling mills on this continent was to be found, and he believed that if the hon. gentleman would investigate this matter he would learn that he could have bought and delivered rails for the Pembina road cheaper in Chicago, and of the same description, than through the mode the hon. gentleman had adopted for the purpose. These mills rolled out something like three miles per day; at least they possessed such capacity.

He would now draw the attention

of hon. gentlemen of the House, to a circumstance which had produced the most painful impression on the public mind with regard to this transaction, which was utterly unworthy of the business talent, to say the least of it, and of the public character the hon. gentleman enjoyed in Canada. This was a matter of fire-side gossip all over the country, and therefore the hon. gentleman, in his own vindication and in vindication of the high position he occupied, of the reputation of Canadian public men, to whatever party or section of the country they belonged, was in the best possible position to meet these points, and to deal with the things which suggested themselves under the circumstances if he was satisfied that everything in this connection was not only pure and straightforward, but reflected credit upon the high position he occupied. They had the fact that when the hon. gentleman was sitting on that side of the House he voted for the resolution declaring the Pacific Railway must be built by a private company aided by a grant of public lands and money, and that it never should be built in any other way. He gave his pledge as a statesman in regard to the mode of carrying out this work to the people of this country. But immediately after he obtained power he ignored his pledge and changed his policy in an hour. During his Ministerial election he declared that they had determined to build the road as a public work. When Parliament met one of his first measures was to abolish the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railroad and put that road under the sole control of the Minister of Public Works. He did not say the hon. gentleman did not do this in the public interest. He was merely calling his attention to the sequence of events. The hon. gentleman, when he brought forward his Pacific Railway policy, repeated his pledge that no expenditure of public money should take place without a direct vote from Parliament. On the 9th of May, 1874, he said:—"They proposed to do nothing by this Bill without Parliament directing them" (hear, hear). What did they move "time after time when on the other

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"side of the House, and when the hon. gentleman was sitting on this side? "They submitted that the plans and contracts should be submitted to Parliament and approved of (hear, hear), and that, too, before a single dollar would be expended upon the work. The hon. gentleman said they only provided certain contracts, but he must have failed to read the first clauses of the Bill, or he could not have made the assertion. The Government proposed to ask a vote of the House for every cent of money before it was expended."

The House would agree with him that after such a declaration as that the country would be naturally startled when they heard that this same gentleman had, without a vote for a single dollar, made a contract for 50,000 tons of steel rails costing \$2,665,000. In another place the government had undertaken to meet this statement by saying that the money was voted before it came due. The hon. gentleman would hardly venture to make so puerile a statement as that in the House, because he knew he was bound to make no engagements to spend a single dollar without the consent of Parliament. His hon. friend from South Wentworth amused the House the other day by putting the public debt in silver and then calculating the number of teams it would require to draw it. He would like the hon. gentleman to put these \$2,665,000 into cents and then calculate the number of teams it would take to draw this violation of the law by the Ministry he so faithfully supported. The next event in the course of this transaction which attracted public attention was the fact that the brother of the hon. gentleman left his home at Sarnia and went some 500 to Montreal to form a special copartnership for four years with the firm of Cooper, Fairman & Company.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is not true that he went there to form a copartnership.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—What is the fact?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Whatever partnership there was, was formed two years before and was then about terminated.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER was glad the correction had been made, because he was under the impression that the partnership was formed subsequently. The fact, however, remained that the hon. gentleman had a brother in company with Cooper, Fairman & Company. He regretted having to refer to this portion of the subject at all, but the hon. gentleman had made a most unjustifiable assault on a gentleman who was not in the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes; and I would do it again.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER, after condemning the conduct of the Hon. the First Minister in this respect, said the hon. gentleman had undertaken to justify the steel rail contract by reference to the Intercolonial Railroad, but there was no analogy between the two. The rails for the Intercolonial were not ordered until it was supposed, in accordance with the mode in which the works were being carried on, that they would be required. The contract under consideration involved the purchase of rails and their being delivered years before they could be used. He had in his hand a note from one of the Intercolonial Railroad Commissioners. It was as follows:—"The arrangement with manufacturers for Intercolonial rails was to manufacture and deliver as they were required for laying. The figures named prevented Government from calling for more than that quantity within the time (to save interest and rust)." He trusted this would show the hon. gentleman that he had quoted this contract in vain as a comparison. He had overlooked the fact that the Intercolonial contract was made on a rising market, while the one under consideration was made on a falling market, and was, consequently, an unsound commercial transaction and utterly indefensible.

It being six o'clock the House rose for recess.

AFTER RECESS.

PRIVATE AND LOCAL BILLS.

Bill to enable Ozro Morrill to obtain a patent for certain inventions and improvements in sewing machine shut-

bles passed through Committee of the Whole.

Bill to change the name of the the Security Permanent Building and Savings Society to that of The Security Loan and Savings Company, was read the second and third time and passed.

THE STEEL RAILS CONTRACTS.

Hon Mr. TUPPER resumed his speech. He said he had been calling attention, when the House rose for recess, to the uncommercial character of the transaction, and the discrepancy between the statements of the Premier and of Messrs. Darling and Workman. He (Mr. Tupper) did not impute intentional inaccuracy to the hon. gentleman, having seen enough in Parliament to be convinced that such imputations were generally made to sustain a weak cause. The Chief Engineer had been quoted by Mr. Workman as the principal one who had advised the purchase. From the following statement of Mr. Workman in his elective address, it would appear that the Premier had sent for Mr. Fleming. The circumstances attending the purchase of the rails were as follows:—"About September, 1874, Mr. Brydges, the Chief Commissioner of the Intercolonial Railway had represented to the Minister of Public Works, who was the Premier, that a certain quantity of steel rails were required, and that the price being very low, that was the best time to make the purchase. Mr. Mackenzie sent for Mr. Fleming, an engineer of the highest repute and Chief Engineer to the Government railways, and he also advised it was a judicious time to make the purchase." That was the account of the transaction given by the hon. member for Montreal West, who had evidently been instructed either by the Premier or by Mr. Brydges himself. He (Mr. Tupper) was very much surprised to hear the Premier quote as a precedent for this that the late Government or the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway had purchased iron for the Miramichi bridge a long time before it was required. The hon. gentleman knew that the delay in connection with that bridge arose from the discovery, as the work

proceeded, of what at one time was supposed to be an insuperable difficulty that threatened to prevent the building of the structure at that place at all. It was scarcely in point to quote this as a justification.

The hon. gentleman had ordered 50,000 tons of rails, sufficient to lay 550 miles of roadway, and it would be years before they would be required, judging from the present position of the Canadian Pacific Railway for which they were purchased; and he did not think that he went too far when he said that they would not be required for several years. He would assume that interest only required to be paid for two years, and this allowed, he thought that all he or any party had ever claimed, that from a commercial point of view a loss to the country had been incurred in connection with this transaction, would be fully established. He did not think that any hon. gentleman on the Treasury Benches, or any hon. member who had any knowledge of the present position of the railway, would venture to say that it would be possible, with all the exertions which the Government could make, to prevent a loss in this relation of interest on the average of two years. The portions of the Canadian Pacific which at that time it was proposed to construct comprised 45 miles, from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan; 144 miles from Rat Portage to Red River; 55 miles on the proposed line from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, and 85 miles from Burnt Lake to Georgian Bay—in all 339 miles. The construction of 65 miles of railway between Pembina and Fort Gary was also intended; and yet the extraordinary course was adopted of providing for the 339 miles of road sufficient steel rails for 550 miles. The Minister of Public Works knew, when he laid the contract on the table of the House two years ago for the building of the Georgian Bay branch, he (Mr. Tupper) ventured to tell him that what he proposed was wild in the extreme. This contract provided for the building of 85 miles of road through an unknown country, over which the foot of an engineer had never travelled; and yet its construction within eighteen months was pledged. No person could expect that this was pos-

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sible to be accomplished ; and what was the result ? These 85 miles were abandoned, and not even one mile of it had been located. This was a standing monument of the hon. gentleman's incapacity, to say the least of it. Where, also, was the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway ? He would not have felt it necessary to dwell on these matters as he was doing if the hon. gentleman had frankly told the House that he had acted with the best intentions ; that he, as were all men, was liable to err, that he had made a serious mistake, and thrown himself on the House to be judged by his intentions and not by his success ; but this was not the course the hon. gentleman had pursued. On the contrary, the hon. gentleman had declared that he was prepared to defend the course he had followed, and refused to admit that he had committed the slightest error. What had the hon. gentleman to say to the British Columbia feature of the question ? He thought that he was correct in saying that from 5,000 to 10,000 tons of rails—he could not say which, but he believed that it was the former figure—had been shipped from London to British Columbia after the defeat of the Bill in the Senate. The fact remained that this road had been abandoned, and to retrieve the blunder he had committed in placing the Act in this regard on the Statute Book, the hon. gentleman had attempted to buy his peace with \$750,000 more of public money. They had lost besides \$750,000 at least on the steel rails, and this made in all one and a half millions.

They had been told that the great policy of the Government was to utilize the water stretches, as otherwise we would in vain seek the means of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway at all. While the hon. gentleman and his colleagues were proclaiming to the world that Canada was in a most disastrous and ruinous position in consequence of the engagement to build this road, the hon. gentleman volunteered to locate 65 miles of railway from Pembina alongside of the finest water communication to be found in any part of the country and equal to any traffic. The result was that portions of the road were being washed

away. It was utterly useless to proceed with the work and lay the track unless the hon. gentleman had some assurance of an immediate intention to provide railway communication between the American line and Pembina ; and the hon. gentleman who rushed into these wild, extravagant and irrational contracts so incapable of completion, bought 50,000 tons of rails on the English market to be laid on roads which it was well known could not be built, and which in two cases had been abandoned and in another deferred ; yet the hon. gentleman defended his policy and claimed credit for making an excellent bargain. It was insulting to the intelligence of any hon. member to tell him at this moment that the evidence in this connection did not stand as if written with a sun-beam, clear and incontrovertible ; that a great mistake had been made, and that a great loss had been inflicted on the country by the purchase of these rails on a falling market. The Intercolonial Commissioners had purchased on a rising market, showing their wisdom, and thus had succeeded in their venture. The hon. gentleman, however, had bought on a falling market, and the transaction would remain as long as Canadian history was read as one of the gravest blunders any public man in Canada ever committed. The Hon. Mr. Smith, speaking in another place, stated that within his own knowledge, steel rails of good quality, to the amount of 25,000 tons, had been purchased for £7 15s per ton ; and before he (Mr. Tupper) had ventured to say a word in public on this question, he had the authority of a contractor engaged in building a railway, for his statements. Without reference to this transaction, he had asked this contractor what his prospects were, and the reply had been that if he (the contractor) only could raise the money now, he could get the rails on the most advantageous terms. The best of steel rails at this moment made by the Ebbw Vale Company could be purchased for £8 per ton.

They had heard the statement of the hon. member for Montreal West, who said that he was prepared to stand up and pledge his reputation as a sound financier and a commercial man of

high standing, that this transaction was a good one. The hon. member had been a remarkably cautious and successful merchant, but could not claim infallibility as a commercial man, when everybody knew that within the last two or three years the hon. gentleman himself, in one transaction, having bought in a falling market, had sunk \$97,000 of his own money; hence the hon. gentleman must not expect his *ipse dixit* to be accepted as infallible evidence that a transaction must be good because he ventured to express such an opinion. He held in his hands some correspondence that had passed between Mr. Bickford, of Toronto, and one of the largest and most successful iron merchants in this country. It was dated Suffolk Lane, Cannon Street, London, 11th of February, 1876. When he mentioned the name of that gentleman, he mentioned one whose opinion was as valuable an authority, certainly, as that of the hon. member for Montreal West or the hon member for Hamilton, who seemed to question his opinion. In this it was stated—"Steel rails are very low." He asked the hon. gentleman whether any one undertook to controvert the truth of this statement made by a man on the spot in London? Was not the Great Western Railway of England the finest in Great Britain, and was it not most particular as to its rails and locomotives, &c., everything being of the very first quality?

This gentleman continued:—"The Great Western Railway Company wanted some 13,000 tons, which they got from the Dowlais Company of Ironmasters, one of the first in Great Britain, at £8 3s. 6d." He asked whether, with evidence of this kind, any person in this country could stand up and endorse the statement of the First Minister that he had secured these 50,000 tons of steel rails at a favourable price. At the very lowest calculation over \$500,000 was sunk in the purchase. They must, moreover, pay interest on these rails for two years at least; and at four per cent. on the amount mentioned by the First Minister, this would be \$133,250 a year, or \$266,500 for the two years. It was impossible for any person with the slightest knowledge of the present

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condition of the Canadian Pacific Railroad to come to any other conclusion than that we had lost two years interest on this transaction. He was satisfied that he was below the figure when he said \$750,000 had been lost to the country through the want of judgment on the part of the Minister of Public Works. With regard to the amount paid for steel rails for the Intercolonial Railway, the General Superintendent had authority to purchase everything required for the maintenance of the road, and the late Government had nothing whatever to do with it, and more than that the quantity was purchased after the present Government came in. The Hon. Minister of Justice had stated at a public meeting in Toronto:—"Instead of that they had, with regard to the Intercolonial Railway, one of the finest finished roads in point of construction on the continent, and laid with steel rails of a very good quality, as they ought to be, seeing they cost about 50 per cent. more than the first class rails which were now about to be laid on the Pacific Railway. (Cheers.)" An addition of 50 per cent. to \$54.65 would give \$81.97, but the record showed that the rails used on the Intercolonial cost only \$58.16 per ton, \$3.51 more than the cost of the rails purchased for the Pacific Railway. The hon. member for West Montreal had referred to a circular as an authority for the price of iron, but a circular was no evidence as to the lowest rate at which iron could be bought. In proof of this statement he referred to a statement made by Mr. Crawshaw, an influential iron master in England, to his operatives, in which he said that while the prices were put in the circular everybody knew that those prices were not obtained, and that the actual purchases were made at figures altogether below those contained in the circular. But it was stated by the hon. gentleman that it was intended to use some of the steel rails for the Intercolonial Railway. Now, under the law, he was precluded from using a single rail for any such purpose. Parliamentary Government was not worth a rush if Government could ask for a vote for rails for the Canadian Pacific Railway

and use them on the Intercolonial Railway.

Everyone had an interest in protecting the reputation of our public men. A party could not be struck down by assaulting the characters of its leaders without inflicting an almost irreparable blow on the whole country. If there were people all through the Dominion who were ready to believe statements against the reputation of our public men, it was largely owing to the fact that hon. gentlemen opposite, in their anxiety to obtain power, had set the example. He was not disposed to follow the same course. It was in the interest of Canada that those who occupied the Treasury Benches should be able to show a clear justification of their public acts, and no one would be more happy than himself (Mr. Tupper) if the hon. gentleman could free himself from the charges made against him. As for the commercial character of the transaction, it was but right that public attention should be drawn to it, and public sentiment should be so expressed as to prevent this or any future Government from dealing with the funds of the people in such an utterly indefensible manner, and not only expend public money without authority, but at the same time injure the very principles of Parliamentary Government upon which our free institutions are based.

Mr. WOOD believed the vindication of the Premier would be satisfactory to everybody who wished to look at this matter in a fair light. It had been said that steel rails could be bought for £8, but it was not stated how they were made or to what inspection they were subject. First-class rails could not be had for any such price. He had had 30 years experience in the iron trade and handled a good deal more than the hon. members for Hastings or Cumberland, and he denied that first-class steel rails could be bought for £8 per ton. When the hon. member for Hastings, during this debate, made the statement that they were sold for £7 15s., he (Mr. Wood) was astounded, and telegraphed to his buyer to ascertain the quotations in Liverpool. This was the reply:—"No *bonâ fide* quotations lower than £7 17s. 6d. for bar iron." The last

circular, dated about the same time as the quotation given by the hon. member for Cumberland, gave from £9 to £11 per ton as the price for steel rails in Liverpool, f.o.b. The rails purchased by the Premier were delivered in Montreal at \$53.53. The quotations given by the hon. member for Hastings were no criterion at all, because the length of rail and inspection entered into the cost of rails. The steel rails which could be purchased for £8 per ton were not fit for the Intercolonial or the Pacific Railway. It had been asserted that in Chicago there was a rolling mill which would deliver rails at Thunder Bay, Duluth, or the mouth of French River cheaper than they could be supplied by English firms. The same firm had a rolling mill at Cleveland, and while visiting that establishment he had enquired what they would deliver rails for. They replied \$75. When he reached home, supposing it might be \$75 currency, he telegraphed to the firm and received a reply that it was gold, and the price of rails were very little lower now than when the Government bought. He denied that the iron market was a guide to the price of steel rails. He had seen iron selling at £6.15s, while steel rails cost £16. The transaction was most advantageous. As a business man, he heartily approved of it. About the same time he had purchased some iron himself thinking the price low, but he could have bought it cheaper if he had waited a month longer. The Government had acted wisely in the matter and were entitled to the thanks of the country for their prudence and forethought.

Mr. THOMPSON (Welland) said he was slow to believe charges against a Government. They might err in judgment, but he believed they always acted in the best interests of the country. It could not be said that the purchase of twenty or thirty thousand tons of rails involved a matter of principle. In his opinion the Government had acted according to their judgment, just as any merchant might have done. Even if the Premier had made a bad bargain he was not deserving of censure on that account, but the hon. gentleman had shown it was no mistake to buy at the time. As there

was no trick or dishonesty about the transaction, it was a paltry thing for the Opposition to make such a charge against the Government.

Mr. CAMERON (Victoria) said the hon. member for Hamilton seemed desirous to atone for his late rebellion against the Government. The hon. gentleman no doubt had considerable experience in the purchase of iron, but it was doubtful if he had ever bought a rail in his life. He (Mr. Cameron) was quite satisfied the hon. gentleman did not understand that market.

The hon. member for Cumberland had stated that the rails the price of which he quoted, were supplied to the Great Western Railway of England, and he thought that this was quite sufficient to show that their value and quality were at least equal—and more probably far superior—to the quality furnished for the Pacific Railroad. The Mersey Company steel rails were of very inferior quality, for he happened to have some knowledge of these matters, and he knew also that his hon. friend from Hamilton must be entirely ignorant of the subject. Steel rails were not at present quoted at £9 11s per ton; this was a great exaggeration, for no such quotation had been made for many months—at least not during the past twelve months. There had never been such a difference between the highest and lowest ratings as from £2 to £3 per ton; the usual difference between the inspected and the ordinary rail in England was from 5s. to 10s.

The hon. member for Hamilton showed that he was not familiar with the subject; the hon. gentleman had been led on to say what he did by a desire to atone for his act of rebellion a short time ago.

Mr. DYMOND wanted to know what dependence was to be placed on the statements of a gentleman who, like the hon. member for North Victoria, showed a purely partisan spirit by prefacing his speech on a simple and practical question by an offensive attack on the motives of an hon. gentleman who happened to differ from him. There was no ground whatever for the insinuation that the hon. member for Hamilton was seeking to atone

for a vote cast conscientiously on a recent occasion against the Government. He did not know how wise the hon. member for North Victoria might be on the subject of steel rails, but he fancied that the hon. gentleman's information was, after all, only obtained at second-hand. The real question at issue was not the price at which rails could now be purchased, but what was a fair price at the time they were bought. They knew now that there had been the fullest advertisement of the tenders, the most ample time for communication with the manufacturers in England, and that so far from any favouritism having been shown by the Government to the successful contractors, the tender of so warm a supporter as the member for Montreal West had been rejected, although he had been willing to supply the rails at a mere commission profit of one and a half per cent. But the fact was this whole agitation had its origin in political feeling, as was clearly shown by the time and manner of its first introduction into public notice in the report of the speech of one of the candidates for Montreal West, and which was reported in the *Montreal Gazette*, the accusations were in effect that the first thing the Premier did after attaining power was to purchase these rails without tender and without contract; that the Premier bought 40,000 tons from a firm of which his brother was said to be a partner; and that though ostensibly obtained for the Pacific Railway, they were then lying on the banks of the Lachine Canal, all of which was untrue. On a subsequent occasion, he believed, the gravamen of the charge was qualified by its originator, who had argued that no specific accusation of corruption had been made; but looking at the political use made of this affair in every part of the country it was impossible to see in the motive any other than a direct and deliberate attack on the character and honour of the foremost public man in the Dominion. He thought that honest and respectable people were generally disgusted with the conduct of the Opposition in this matter. He had no fear for the result of the vote, and he hoped that for once even some-

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hon. gentlemen opposite would rise superior to pure partyism, and show that they did not endorse this miserable steel rail slander. The speeches of the hon. members from Hamilton and Montreal West had made it unnecessary to ask whether there had been scandalous negligence, gross ignorance, rashness or recklessness shown by the head of the Government and Minister of Public Works. There was no longer a shadow of reason for any such imputation.

The motion, in effect, asked the House to turn out the present Government and put in the hon. member for Cumberland. Now, what did the hon. gentlemen opposite do when they were in power, and when they required steel rails for the Intercolonial Railway? They required rails to the value of £100,000 stg., and the Government manager of that road was empowered to make the purchase, not only without contract or tender, but even without reference to the Minister to whom he was directly responsible. He obtained a bill of exchange for £6,000 from the financial official of the railway, which was placed in the safe of a Liverpool firm, of which his own brother-in-law was the head, without one dollar of security being given that the transaction would ever be consummated, the firm in question being instructed to use their own discretion in giving the order for this large quantity of material. The policy of the late Government with regard to that business was sufficient evidence to the House that it would be better to sustain the present Ministry than replace them with gentlemen who were concerned in such transactions as those which took place in regard to the purchase of steel rails from the firm of John Haws & Company.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) said the hon. member for Hastings had moved an amendment by which it was evidently intended to leave the impression upon the minds of hon. members that the advertisement for steel rails had only appeared in one paper; that it appeared in that one paper for not more than five days; and that as a result of the hasty way in which the matter was negotiated, the country had

sustained a loss of a million dollars. The hon. member for Montreal West had stated that he called the attention of the Premier to the fact that the time was too short, and that it should be extended for four weeks; but it had been extended for five weeks before the First Minister's reply was received; while the latter gentleman explained that instead of the notice being in one paper only, it appeared in fifteen. It was a matter for gratification that gentlemen like the hon. member for Montreal West, were able to give explanations as to the value of rails, which were not only satisfactory to the House but to the country; and the fact that hon. members who were perfectly conversant with the subject were able to refute these statements, precluded the possibility of a wrong impression going to the country. The hon. member for Montreal West, as well as his hon. friend from Hamilton, stated that this transaction was one not only to be defended, but was a transaction altogether unprecedented in the commercial world for cheapness, considering the relative value of the material. It had been said by the hon. member for Cumberland that no commercial man in the House would have sustained such a transaction. He was prepared to defend it upon commercial principles. He maintained that it was highly uncommercial for anyone to wait until he wanted a certain article before he bought. A commercial man anticipated his wants; if he desired to act prudently and buy carefully, he took time to ascertain upon what conditions the goods could be delivered. He considered that the Government acted wisely in purchasing when the chief officers of the department reported that the market was favourable. They learned from the First Minister himself that long and earnest deliberation took place in reference to the purchase of these rails, and he considered that any unprejudiced man on the floor of the House must in view of the whole circumstances be prepared to defend the purchase.

The First Minister had stated that portions of these rails had to be delivered in British Columbia and at the Pembina branch, and that even with all the care and management they

could exercise, it would require the whole of next season to have the rails now at Duluth delivered at the latter place. What a mistake it must have been, therefore, to have delayed the purchase of those rails until they were wanted.

Reference had been made to the low price of rails at present. He challenged any member of this House to prove that contracts could be made based upon present prices for delivery 12 months hence. In view of the facts as they presented themselves to his mind, he would in the interest of this House and of this country vote against the amendment.

Mr. DOMVILLE said that before voting on this question he wished to state that he considered the purchase was a bad one. It was true that success was the touchstone of merit, and by the world the end was considered to justify the means—he meant to say that if a man made a great *coup* and was successful, the world endorsed him, but if he failed he was blamed. That was one ground why he would vote against the Premier that night. A good deal of money had been lost to the country by this transaction, and he contended that the Government should have waited until they wanted the rails before they made the purchase. With regard to the transaction to which the hon. member for North York had referred, he desired to state that the bill of exchange was not endorsed when it was put in the safe of the firm at Liverpool, and that it was not endorsed until it was required for use.

The question was, did the Premier buy those rails properly? Was the transaction constitutional? Did he make a good bargain? Being a young member, he would leave such experienced gentlemen as the hon. members of North York and Hamilton to discuss the constitutional point. As a business man, representing a business community, he (Mr. Domville) could not endorse this purchase of steel rails. He might go further and say he did not endorse the building of the Pacific Railroad, but the faith of the country was pledged to it, and if it should break us the work must go on. If the road had been constructed under the first

arrangement, the cost of it to the treasury could not exceed \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. Companies might be ruined but the country would be the gainer. Now, however, the country was saddled with the undertaking and might be ruined in carrying it through.

He thought before those rails were bought it would have been better to see if we could not manufacture them in our own country. By anticipating the requirements of the country, not only was a large sum lost to the Treasury, but a grievous wrong was done to our people, especially those of Nova Scotia, who possessed all the materials for manufacturing rails.

Mr. PLUMB said that in voting in favour of the resolution he disclaimed any intention of imputing improper motives to any member of the Government connected with the transaction in question, but he desired simply to speak of and judge it as a matter of business, and to support the resolution because it affirmed a sound business principle, which he trusted would be emphatically endorsed by this House. It was the duty of the Government to buy its supplies when they were required within a reasonable time, and no Ministry was called upon or expected to be responsible for a rise or fall in the market, if this principle, the only safe one, were adopted. The Government was a strong purchaser, buying for cash, and could always obtain the most favourable terms. It ought therefore to be governed only by its requirements, and should not be tempted to buy in advance of its needs. It was evident there was a great departure from this principle in the purchase now in question, because although the contracts were entered into in the autumn of 1874, the rails were still unused, and although the House was informed that 26,000 tons would be laid, probably, in the course of this summer and autumn, that did not show there was any necessity for purchasing them when they were bought. He thought it would be a very dangerous principle to establish, even by implication, that the officers of the Government were to judge speculatively what would be the proper time for purchasing the articles

required for the public use. He did not agree with the hon. members for Hamilton and Centre Toronto in the opinion that the Government should act as commercial men. It was a lame argument for the Premier to use in excuse for not having obtained the sanction of Parliament for the purchase, to state that no payment was made before the contracts were submitted to Parliament. The contracts were entered into six months before Parliament met last year, and nobody, of course, would think of repudiating a transaction which was completed. A good deal had been said about the quality of the rails; but about one-half of them had been purchased from the Mersey Company at \$54 26. There were other manufacturers who turned out rails much superior to theirs. The member for North York had ridiculed the hon. member for North Victoria for assuming to speak about the market for rails. It was a mistake to assert that because the hon. member for North Victoria was a lawyer he knew nothing about steel rails. The hon. gentleman had long experience in the business, and during the last few years had purchased over 15,000 tons, and was in constant communication with the large English iron brokers. Though this transaction had, no doubt, been made in good faith, this House ought to mark distinctly and emphatically its judgment upon a purchase made so far in advance of the necessities of the country and which was speculative in its character. Such a large transaction as this made so hastily, apparently under pressure, should be condemned. The very fact of going into the market in that way, and for such a large quantity of rails, was enough to realise a difference in prices and cause an advance in the market. Comparing the prices paid for the rails with the prices now ruling, and the ocean freight with the present low prices of freight, stated to be from ten shillings to twelve shillings a ton, the loss, including interest at five per cent, would be nearly a million of dollars. The Premier cited the neglect to purchase the rails for the Intercolonial in 1870, and the purchase at a higher price in 1871. This argument goes for nothing, as he stated also that the rails

were not then needed. He also alluded to the Welland Canal contracts which he said could now be made for twenty per cent. less than when they were entered into. This argument does not strengthen his case. If the contracts were made for work then to be undertaken at prices then ruling, and if they were made under the usual regulations, no blame can be attached to the Government if the prices of such work have since declined. The hon. members from Montreal West and Hamilton had given us a history of their own purchases, and they had been so much alike that we might have supposed that they had been operating in joint account. They had intended to justify the Government purchase by asserting that although prudent business men, they had lost money on theirs, and at the same time they had urged that the price of iron had not declined. In fact they had either proved too much or too little.

The hon. member for Welland thought it was not worth while to take up the time of the House with such a trifling matter. It might appear so to that hon. gentleman, but to persons of more limited ideas the sum involved, involving a loss of nearly a million of dollars, seemed quite worthy of consideration and discussion. Rails had been purchased for about 600 miles of railroad, apportioned at the rate of 90 tons per mile, but where was such a railway being built? There had been no route, no location determined upon. He wished that this railway would be vigorously pushed forward, he would be glad to see the work go on, but it was impossible under the circumstances to utilize within reasonable time the large purchase which was under discussion. He should feel bound to support the motion, and he did so merely upon the grounds he had mentioned, as a matter of duty and with great reluctance. He did not wish to cast the slightest suspicion on the conduct of any hon. gentleman on either side of the House.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) thought the discussion had elicited the fact that the price paid for the rails was reasonable.

Mr. SCHULTZ remarked that owing to the contradictory statements that

had been made by hon. members, who might be supposed to know something about these matters, it was almost impossible for any one not familiar personally with the questions at issue to form an opinion; in view of this difficulty, the only course left to pursue was to do as had been done in many other cases, give the accused the benefit of the doubt. Arraigned by his hon. friend from North Hastings, the Premier, while admitting a portion of the charge, had pleaded in extenuation that an urgent reason in favour of the purchase of these rails lay in the expectation that they would almost immediately be required for the Pembina branch. If this was the case, he would admit that the excuse was reasonable and a good argument, but he was obliged to take the hon. gentleman to task regarding this matter. Sometime since a deputation from Manitoba had waited on the Premier in connection with this matter and the erection of a bridge over the Red River, but while giving them a flat and not very courteous refusal to all requests made him, the hon. gentleman stated that it was useless to lay the rails on the Pembina and Fort Garry branch while there was no prospect of the rails being laid from St. Paul, on the Northern Pacific line, to connect with it. After this deliberate statement, scarcely had the gentlemen who composed that delegation returned to their homes, when they heard that a contract had been given for the transport of rails to be laid on this branch; and this was done without any other information being had that there was any change in the position of the railroad to which he had referred. Even supposing, however, that the hon. gentleman had received private informations during the month intervening, that it was likely these rails would be required, another difficulty arose: if they were needed, as the hon. gentleman stated, for the Pembina branch, how was it that the hon. gentleman had made the contract for the delivery of rails not for that branch but for the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Manitoba, where it crossed Red River, 23 miles away from any portion of the direct line between Fort Garry and Pembina? This showed clearly that there was

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nothing whatever in the argument used by his hon. friend, and this plea must be dropped by the hon. gentleman—as he thought it would be done—from the line of defence the hon. gentleman had chosen to take, when accused in this relation by his hon. friend from North Hastings.

A vote was taken with the following result:—

YEAS :

Messieurs

Baby,	Langevin,
Benoit,	Lanthier,
Blanchet,	Little,
Bowell,	Macdonald (Kingston),
Brooks,	McDonald (C. Breton),
Cameron (Victoria),	Macmillan,
Caron,	McCallum,
Cimon,	McQuade,
Colby,	Masson,
Costigan,	Monteith,
Coupal,	Montplaisir,
Currier,	Orton,
Cuthbert,	Palmer,
Daoust,	Pinsonneault,
Desjardins,	Platt,
Domville,	Plumb,
Dugas,	Pope,
Farrow,	Robinson,
Ferguson,	Robitaille,
Flesher,	Rochester,
Fraser,	Rouleau,
Gaudet,	Thompson (Cariboo),
Gill,	Tupper,
Haggart,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Harwood,	White (Hastings),
Hurteau,	White (Renfrew) and
Jones (Leeds),	Wright (Pontiac).—54.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Appl-by,	Huntington,
Archibald,	Irving,
Aylmer,	Jetté,
Bain,	Jones (Halifax),
Bannatyne,	Kerr,
Barthe,	Killam,
Béchar,	Kirk,
Bernier,	Laflamme,
Bertram,	Laird,
Biggar,	Lajoie,
Blackburn,	Langlois,
Blain,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Blake,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Borden,	MacDonnell (Inverness)
Borron,	Macdougall (Elgin),
Bourassa,	McDougall (Renfrew),
Bowman,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Boyer,	Mackenzie,
Brouse,	McCraney,
Brown,	McGregor,
Buell,	McIntyre,
Bunster,	McIsaac,
Burk,	McNab,
Burpee (St. John),	Metcalfe,
Burpee (Sunbury),	Mills,
Carmichael,	Norris,
Cartwright,	Oliver,
Casey,	Paterson,
Casgrain,	Pelletier,
Cauchon,	Pettes,
Charlton,	Pickard,

Cheval,	Pouliot,
Christie,	Power,
Church,	Pozer,
Cockburn,	Ray,
Coffin,	Richard,
Cook,	Roscoe,
Cunningham,	Ross (Durham),
Davies,	Ross (Middlesex),
DeCosmos,	Ryan,
Delorme,	Scatcherd,
De St. Georges,	Schultz,
DeVeber,	Scrifer,
Devlin,	Shibley,
Dewdney,	Sinclair,
Dymond,	Skinner,
Ferris,	Smith (Peel),
Fiset,	Smith (Selkirk),
Fleming,	Snider,
Flynn,	Stirton,
Forbes,	St. Jean,
Galbraith,	Taschereau,
Gibson,	Thibaudeau,
Gillies,	Thomson (Welland),
Gillmor,	Tremaine,
Gordon,	Trow,
Goudge,	Vail,
Hagar,	Wallace (Albert),
Hall,	Wood,
Higinbotham,	Workman,
Holton,	Yeo and
Horton,	Young.—124.

The House went into Committee of Supply—Mr. Scatcherd in the chair.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

On motion of Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT, the House went into Committee of Supply.

On item \$2,810,000, Pacific Railway,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said—In submitting this item to the Committee, I desire to make a very short statement in regard to the present position of the surveys and works of construction of the Pacific Railway, and the policy which the Government have in view for the future, as well as some reference to what we have had in view in the past. At the time we assumed office we found, notwithstanding our earnest protestations, the extraordinary obligations assumed by hon. gentlemen opposite staring us in the face. From that day to this our single endeavour has been to go as far as it was possible, having due regard to the resources of the country, in carrying out the solemn obligations to which the late Government had committed the Dominion. We have endeavoured to do this in the face of, perhaps, the most violent opposition that was ever offered to any Government—offered, too, by the very parties who originally created the obligation and caused all the trouble and expense to which the

country had been put. I cannot say I have been much surprised at this, though somewhat different treatment might have been accorded to a Government coming into office with such difficulties staring them in the face. We have felt from the first that while it was utterly impossible to implement to the letter the engagements entered into by our predecessors, the good faith of the country demanded that the Administration should do everything that was reasonable and in their power to carry out the pledges made to British Columbia, if not the entire obligation, at least such parts of it as seemed to be within their power and most conducive to the welfare of the whole Dominion, as well as to satisfy all reasonable men in the Province of British Columbia, which Province had fancied itself entitled to complain of apparent want of good faith in carrying out these obligations. In endeavouring to accomplish this result we have had serious difficulties to contend with, to which I shall shortly allude. I called the attention of the hon. members for British Columbia, in the first Session of this Parliament, to the utter impossibility of commencing the actual works of construction then. This Government succeeded to office some five or six months after the time had elapsed within which the Government of Canada were bound by the Terms of Union to commence the construction of the Pacific Railway. And yet, at that time we found that the surveys in no part of the territory, from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific, were in such a condition as to justify the Government in taking any steps whatever towards placing any part of the line under contract. I believed, and so expressed myself at all times, that it would be a fatal mistake to do what the late Government had done—give the contract for building the road to a mere speculative company that never intended to invest one dollar of their means in it, but merely to use it as a stock jobbing undertaking, without much reference to the ultimate operations to be carried out.

I also believed, so expressing myself at all times, and Parliament supported me in that opinion, that we were

bound to obtain a thorough exploration and if possible an instrumental survey of the country to be traversed by this long line of railway. Let me say so far as the work itself is concerned that I have always been an advocate of the construction of a railway across the Continent, but I have never believed that it was within our means to do it in anything like the period of time within which the hon. gentleman bound Parliament and the country. I believe the bargain was an act of madness—of utter insanity, and an evidence of political incapacity that has had no parallel in this or in any other country, that I am aware of.

Under these circumstances we had, as I have remarked, to face these difficulties imposed on us by the preceding Administration. After careful examination, I found that while there was comparatively little difficulty in ascertaining the probable character of the prairie country, say from Lake of the Woods westward to the Rocky Mountains, it must be a work of Herculean magnitude to ascertain the exact character of the country through British Columbia and from the Lake of the Woods eastward to Lake Nipissing. I have stated in my speeches on this subject in the country and during the first Session I had the honour of leading Parliament, that for the present we should abandon the construction of the road from the western end of Lake Superior to Lake Nipissing. Not that it should be entirely given up, but that for the present it was to be considered a part of the line altogether unnecessary to be constructed, and that in the meantime we should use the water which Providence has placed at our disposal with such munificence.

Mr. BOWELL—To use the water-stretches?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes, the phrase was not mine, though I used it; and I consider the idea is an exceedingly happy one. We desired as far as possible in the first place to utilize the Lakes on the east as a permanent highway, for perhaps many years to come, as a means of reaching the western end of Lake Superior, and afterwards to utilize the smaller lakes

and rivers in the interior of the continent, where they might lie in the line of the ultimate road, and be used temporarily for the purpose of furnishing a complete line of travel between the two extremities of the continent, pending the completion of the railway across the entire country. I am aware there has been a great deal of misrepresentation concerning our intentions with regard to the use of these water-stretches. It had been stated over and over again that we proposed to build a link of railway here and there, without any intention ultimately to make a complete all-rail route, or without considering the distances to be traversed between one point and another, which would ultimately become leading places on the railway when it was finished, if it ever were completed in our day. The shortest route had always been kept in view. British Columbia has felt herself peculiarly interested in this matter, more so, perhaps, than any other Province in the Dominion, and the Columbians were inclined to look upon the Terms of Union more as a contract to build the railroad within a given time than as a joint compact to be observed for the benefit of the Dominion. I need not further refer to our policy as it is sufficiently explained in the papers recently presented to Parliament, which papers continue the narrative from previous correspondence.

I have now to refer to the difficulties encountered in making these surveys. During the time which has expired from the initiation of the project to the present time, there has been expended in surveys the following sums, up to 31st December, 1875, east of the Rocky Mountains:—

From beginning, to June 30, 1872	\$194,125 40
June 30, 1872, to " 30, 1873	345,967 52
do 30, 1873, to " 30, 1874	199,156 29
do 30, 1874, to " 30, 1875	290,873 82
do 30, 1875, to Dec. 31, 1875	246,769 13

Total \$1,276,892 16

The amount expended in British Columbia:—

From beginning, to June 30, 1872	\$295,302 76
June 30, 1872, to " 30, 1873	215,850 92
do 30, 1873, to " 30, 1874	111,068 59
do 30, 1874, to " 30, 1875	183,656 07
do 30, 1875, to Dec. 31, 1875	204,137 04

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Making a total expenditure, west
of the Rocky Mountains, of..... \$1,010,016 38

The total expenditure on surveys
over the whole line \$2,286,907 54

So that the survey of the 600 or 700 miles west of the Rocky Mountains, cost within a quarter of a million of the entire amount expended from these mountains to Lake Nipissing.

Now, Sir, with regard to these surveys, let me say that when I first had to give my personal attention to this subject, it appeared to be all but settled that the Jasper House Pass would be the one by which we might pass the Rocky Mountain range, and that any road that was likely to be built would reach the point known as the Tête Jaune Caché to the west of this pass, and that it would diverge southward till we struck the North Thompson and, generally speaking, follow that river down to the Frazer River. Thence, it was believed, we should follow that river till we reached the delta below Westminster, or else that we should turn sharply to the west, 60 or 70 miles from Tête Jaune Caché, by the Clearwater Lakes, to near the mouth of the Chilcotin River, and from there seek an outlet at Bute Inlet, or some other point to the northward. It was supposed when the surveys were first commenced that a nearly direct cut from Tête Jaune Caché to the Chilcotin would be found, but the explorations developed the fact that on this particular line there were mountains 9,000 feet high, with enormous glaciers, interposing physical difficulties which it would be quite impossible to overcome. We therefore abandoned all attempts to seek an outlet in that direction. We afterwards made a careful examination of the Upper Frazer valley, as well as the Thompson River route. From Tête Jaune Caché, northwestwardly to Fort George the distance is about 200 miles; here the river turns gradually nearly due south. From this point downwards what is known as the Frazer Valley can scarcely be called a valley in the ordinary acceptation of the term. There is the water-shed of the Frazer, to be sure, traversed by numerous large rivers from east and west falling into the Frazer, but the valley itself is rather a gorge or cleft

in the plateau which constitutes the interior of British Columbia. The route by the Thompson and Lower Frazer Rivers, first mentioned, proved by the surveys to be the most expensive one by which to reach the ocean; but this much could be said in its favour, that better grades could undoubtedly be obtained by their taking that cleft and following it down to the sea than by any other route; but an enormous amount of tunnelling would have to be done, as well as a large quantity of other expensive works, such as high retaining walls and deep excavations in the hardest of rock. These difficulties proved to be so numerous and so great that we were, with considerable reluctance, obliged to seek a more favourable route. Our attention was then directed more particularly to the route from Tête Jaune following the Frazer River towards Fort George. The route along this part of the Frazer River, a distance in round numbers of about 200 miles, proved singularly favourable; that is so far as getting a comparatively easy grade was concerned, while the works would not be nearly so rough and heavy. From Fort George there were several routes possible, one was to follow up the Stewart river which flows almost due east into the Fraser at this point, and reach the upper branch of the Gardner Inlet at the mouth of a small river called Kemano. This was a very short route, it reached a part of the ocean which for all eastern, or as we might call it, western trade, it is doubtless the shortest line on the sea to Japan and the Asiatic Coast, while it is somewhat shorter by land; but the difficulty of obtaining an easy gradient for the last few miles proved almost insuperable although it is not impossible. It may, perhaps, be feasible, and we intend to make a further examination in order to satisfy ourselves more fully as to the rocky range on the sea coast at that point. In making the exploratory surveys, we have always borne this in mind that if they should turn out to be comparatively useless for railroad purposes, they give us an intimate knowledge not merely of the topography of the country, but also of its

agricultural resources, its mining wealth, the character of its rocks, and fauna and botany. This knowledge, if nothing else were gained, would undoubtedly be of considerable service to British Columbia as a province and through it to the Dominion as a whole. Another route followed the Stewart River a short distance, and then diverged southward, touching on the Nachaco River and reaching the south branch of Gardner Inlet by the valley of a small river called the Killope. This route has already been partially examined, and it is being further surveyed, but our information at present is not such as to justify us in coming to a conclusion as to the character of the line to be obtained there. The next route was one which crosses the Frazer River, also at Fort George, ascends the Stewart River till it reaches the junction of the Chilacoh river, which river it ascends to the junction of the Black Water River, and ascending to the head waters of that river very nearly due west, it reaches the valley of the Kamsquat or Salmon River, and descends into the north branch of Dean Channel. This, I may say, so far as our present explorations go, is shown to be the most favourable route for reaching the ocean from Fort George west. It traverses the same route for a distance of about 70 or 80 miles from Fort George, as that taken to reach Bute Inlet; then it trends directly westward, or very nearly so, from that route, and descends by a tolerably easy grade to the sea, at Dean Inlet. The highest grade upon this line is a little under a 100 feet to the mile, while highest grade on the Bute Inlet route is 107 feet. There is also a less distance to traverse with the higher grades on this line than by the Bute Inlet route; but the sea is reached at Dean Channel, through the Kamsquat Valley, by a distance of 50 miles shorter than the route by Bute Inlet. I have been thus somewhat particular in describing operations in British Columbia in detail, as they have a most material effect on the ultimate realization of the project of building the Pacific Railway and its ultimate use to that Province and the Dominion. There is this difficulty to be remem-

bered in comparing the Bute and Dean Inlet routes; that the former may be said to strike Vancouver Island very near the middle, while the latter, into which the Kamsquat River falls, is about 100 miles north of the extreme end of the Island, and that route traverses a portion of British Columbia which is little settled, if settled at all, except, indeed, where it passes down the Fraser Valley in the neighbourhood of the gold mines of Cariboo District and the settlements near the mouth of Quesnell River.

The Bute Inlet route was surveyed almost completely last year, except a distance of some sixty or seventy miles, regarding which we obtained some information after Parliament rose last Session. This route is one that we knew tolerably well last year. It has been somewhat carefully surveyed from the head of the Inlet by the valley of the Homathco River. Between thirty and forty miles from the head of the Inlet the river divides into two branches. The west branch was surveyed to Tatlayoca Lake. On this route we found the most favourable grade that could be obtained was about 115 feet to the mile, for a distance of about 15 or 16 miles, with a considerable amount of tunnelling. This river passes through a very narrow gorge. It is comparatively small, but in some places there are enormous canons to be encountered, with rocky sides rising several hundred feet above the water, perfectly precipitous. It was thought desirable to examine the east branch of the river during last year and make an instrumental survey of it. This has been completed, and we now know we can get a more favourable route by the east branch, the highest grade being about 107 feet to the mile, and that for a distance of 2 or 3 miles less than the high grade by the west branch, with the additional advantage that there is a level rest of about three-quarters of a mile in the long, steep grade which makes it very favourable. It requires, I think, somewhere about 70 miles to reach what may be called the summit level, or what we regard as that, the height there being about 3,460 feet. Between that point and the place where this line would touch

Stewart River, a few miles west of Fort George, the line is comparatively favourable, although a considerable detour will have to be made to avoid some hills that rise in the middle of the plateau. The lowest level reached in any place between the summit at Lake Tatlayoca and Fort George is 2,800 feet above the sea, and the highest point passed over is 3,750 feet. This was supposed last year to be the most favourable route that could be obtained. It is in some respects the most favourable yet.

We thought it advisable last spring to send out the Dominion geologist with a party to examine the country in various parts of British Columbia. That officer was also directed to make an exploration of the pass known to exist, and of which very little information could be obtained, except some of a comparatively little consequence from Indian tribes. This is known as the Pine River Pass, which crosses, or is supposed to cross the Rocky Mountain Range sixty or seventy miles south of the great bend of the Peace River where it passes through the Rocky Mountains. An examination of this locality developed the fact that at this point the Rocky Mountains practically disappear, and though the country is somewhat rough with an undulating hilly surface, there are no mountains properly so called. The highest hill examined was only 1,900 feet above the level of Pine River while that stream itself, at this place is probably 1,600 or 1,800 feet above the level of the sea. This party examined the Pass and also Peace River and the country bordering on it for a considerable distance eastward. Much of that information has been given in a lecture recently delivered, and by newspapers which had information from the party. I refer to that chiefly for this reason, that the attention of the Engineer-in-Chief was directed to this part of the country some years ago, and he dispatched one of his staff in that direction who obtained a considerable amount of information respecting the country near the Peace River, but not of the Pine River pass. The knowledge we now have is probably as much as can be gathered by a mere exploratory survey, and further inves-

tigation will not be proposed unless it should be found desirable or expedient in the public interest to undertake a more elaborate instrumental survey, with a view of adopting a new line further to the north.

Of course as you ascend to the north you traverse the continent by a much shorter route, as the lines converge towards the pole, and it is considered by many who are intimately acquainted with the country that the true line for a Pacific railway would be to cross the North Saskatchewan in the neighbourhood of Fort La Corne, proceed somewhat north of Beaver River and Lac La Biche, pass Lesser Slave Lake, crossing Smoky River, probably 15 to 20 miles from its junction with the Peace, and proceeding to Pine River Pass, reach the western slope of the Rocky Mountain Range, thence ascend the Parsnip River, which is the south branch of the Peace River, and from thence descend almost due south by Lake McLeod to Fort George. Fort George appears to be the objective point for all the lines converging from the east if the Thompson River, route is abandoned. I may say that a line taken this way is supposed to traverse the best agricultural country of the North-West, and is quite as short as the one we have adopted so far by Jasper House Pass, with this additional advantage, that it would cross the Rocky Mountains, or what was supposed to be that range, at a much less elevation. But this route is open to the objection that if we were to decide upon surveying that country, it would be practically putting off the construction for some time longer than would be necessary by adopting the line we have already surveyed. If British Columbia were to act with consideration for national interests with regard to the obligations assumed by the Dominion at the time of the Union, it undoubtedly would be the policy any administration would seek to carry out to examine the country more thoroughly before action. With the irritation that is felt by many in British Columbia, and the constant complaints made, it is doubtful whether the country would be justified, even for a permanent advantage, unless that were of so very decided and conclu-

sive a character as to be apparent at sight, in pursuing such a policy. Assuming, therefore, for a moment—and assuming what I may call almost a certainty—that the Jasper House Pass will be the crossing place in the Rocky Mountains, we have the line tolerably clearly defined from east to west.

I have observed from the debates in another place, that there has been an extraordinary amount of—I was about to say ignorance—if that would not be too strong a term to apply—I mean a manifestation of extreme want of information by certain gentlemen who have spoken with the greatest positiveness with regard to the route in the neighbourhood of Lake Superior. It has been assumed, as a matter of course, that it was a great mistake to begin building a road at Fort William, and that it necessitated a branch of from 70 to 100 miles long before it would reach the main line passing Nipegon River. The fact is in this particular quarter the main line can pass by a shorter route from Red Rock at the mouth of Nipegon River, onwards toward the west than it could by ascending the Sturgeon River and pursuing the tortuous course of that stream and its tributaries immediately west of Lake Nipegon. The line we have adopted now from Fort William will ascend the Kaministiquai Valley for about twenty miles, in round numbers. Then diverging somewhat sharply to the right and touching the north-east corner of Lac de Mille Lacs. Up to this point the gradients have been found most favourable and the country highly so. From that point westward to within forty miles of Rat Portage we have found, perhaps, the most favourable country for building a railroad that has been surveyed anywhere on the whole route, unless it be some parts of the prairie country, which, of course, cannot be equalled by any portion of the wooded region. The line here can be made so straight, the grades so easy and the construction will be so light that we will be able from Red Rock to reach Red River by a distance not any longer, certainly, and I believe somewhat shorter than by the former route that was proposed ascending Sturgeon River, near Lake

Nepigon, and proceeding in a northerly direction for a long distance in the effort to obtain a passable line.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Where do you strike the line between Thunder Bay to Red River?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—About that we have no exact information, as no exact surveys have been made from Nepigon to Dog Lake, but so far as we are able to form an opinion, at present, it will reach that line, probably 25 or 40 miles from Thunder Bay. It may be twenty-five, it may be twenty; we are not absolutely sure, but it will not be more than the highest figure I have given. It will be remembered, also, that east of Nepigon there is a long lake called Long Lake, which lies very nearly due north and south. The lake is sixty to one hundred miles long, its exact length is not determined, but any line must pass either north or south of it. The route originally surveyed passed north of this lake and had to take a sudden bend in a southwesterly direction in order to reach the crossing between Lake Nepigon and Lake Superior or pass to the mouth of Lake Nepigon. In 1874 we had a survey made from the Nepigon along the shores of Lake Superior to the Pic River where we found a line quite practicable. From that point the country has been partially examined on a line very nearly as straight as it can be drawn from Pic River to Lake Nipissing. Taking Fort William as the objective point, from there by the old line *via* Long Lake to the eastern terminus, the distance is 660 miles. From Fort William by the Pic River (the new line) the distance is about 620 miles. Then, if the line were to deflect from the Pic southward so as to follow the general outline of Lake Superior and reach the Sault and there traverse the borders of Georgian Bay to Lake Nipissing, the distance from Fort William would be about 720 miles, as near as can be ascertained. A party was sent out by the Chief Engineer to examine the country between the Pic River and the Sault. That work is not yet complete, nor is it in such a state as would justify us in giving any positive opinion upon it. I

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have no doubt, however, that it is practicable; but the other route I have indicated is one there is no doubt about. I believe it is quite as easy as the former one, while it is shorter.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Where are these 720 miles route ?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—From Fort William round by the Sault Ste. Marie to Nipissing; but by leaving Lake Superior at Pic River we can reach Lake Nipissing in 620 miles. The old line north of Long Lake was 660 miles.

Of course these distances in each case are based upon rough calculations. We know the exact distance from Nipigon to the Pic River, but from that point eastward the distances are calculated, allowing to a certain extent for curvatures. To this extent the eastern portion of the road, from Fort William to Nipissing, has been considered. Though that portion in the present condition of the country is not necessary, we still consider it desirable in the public interest to ascertain its probable route. The surveys, so far as they went, gave us a good deal of information about that country which may be of service in the future.

As to the present position of the works, the contractor for the Georgian Bay Branch, as has been stated to the House some time ago, has had his contract cancelled. He has, however, made a very considerable exploration of the country, and to a great extent, an instrumental survey; and as he would probably refer to this matter at another time in the House, he would now simply say this—that what was published in many newspapers, as to engineering difficulties encountered in this relation, was entirely fallacious. No difficulty had been experienced in obtaining the grade that was required in the original contract. The gradient not exceeding 26 feet per mile for the country eastward, and 52 feet per mile for the country westward. In only two places was there any difficulty in securing these gradients; and these, the engineer assures me, can easily be overcome. The explorations in the immediate vicinity of French River shows that the line traverses a rocky, though not a hilly country. The navigation of

this river is very good for 26 miles up to a bay known as Canton's Bay, and this might suit very well as a terminus of the road, especially as crossing the river at that point or one near it would ultimately be more favourable for proceeding westward than crossing at its mouth as was originally intended. The modifications required in the contract were so serious that the Government did not consider it proper to go on with it, and they therefore decided upon its cancellation. From Fort William westward, as I have already stated, we have found a singularly favourable country for constructing the road.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—What does the hon. gentleman propose to do with relation to that matter ?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will state that at a future time.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—To-night ?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No. For twenty-two miles west of Fort William the road is completely graded, at an expenditure so far of \$111,417. This, however, does not pay the entire cost of grading the twenty-two miles. A percentage has, no doubt, been kept back, but still it is pretty close to the real figure.

The 13th contract was to build 45 miles towards Lake Shebandowan, it being supposed that this would be the shortest route westward; but the explorations made show that it would have to wend northward, and we decided to stop short of it about 15 miles. The contractors had the option of taking those 15 miles in the direct line, but this they have declined to do, and at this distance the contract will now cease. From that point westward the road, passing by Lac des Mille Lacs, would become the subject of a new contract, if we consider it wise to ask Parliament to take this step. This matter must be considered at a future time. On the 14th contract, from Red River coming eastward, about 25 miles have been completely graded and a considerable amount of work has been done between that point and Cross Lake. The entire length of this contract is 77 miles. The expenditure on the 14th contract for these 25 miles

has been \$94,221, which very nearly represents the cost of the grading. The location of the line, it will be remembered, from Rat Portage to the junction of the 14th and 15th contracts at Cross Lake, has been carried on during the summer. It will be recollected that the Government asked authority, during the last week of the Session of last year, to let this as soon as we should complete the surveys. The tenders received for the contract as originally advertised were all so very high that the Government declined to accept them without making further surveys. Two lines have been surveyed during the last season—one to the south of the original line and the other to the north. The former presents a somewhat more favourable country, skirting the shore of the Lake of the Woods; but, on the other hand, it is the longest route by five miles. The line surveyed to the northward is fully longer also, and does not present a much more favourable appearance for construction than the original line. It is probable, therefore, that we will adopt the line originally intended, but raise the surface of the road in order to avoid, as far as possible, the excavation of rock, and we hope by this to very materially reduce the cost as compared to the estimates of last year.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—What is the number of miles?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Thirty-seven miles between Rat Portage and Cross Lake.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—No, no; from Red River eastward, and how many miles north?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Seventy-seven miles are already, and 37 miles more are to be placed under contract. The branch line from Pembina down to Winnipeg is all but completed for a distance of nearly sixty-five miles. The entire amount included in the last certificate paid for these sixty miles, is \$178,483, from which it will be seen that the grading of the road has been done with singular cheapness, and I am told that the character of the work is equal to the very best of English railways. A further expenditure of \$5,000 is, however, required to build some small bridges, not included in

the contractor's agreement. This contract has all been performed on schedule prices.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—What is the distance between Pembina and the main line?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—About 85 miles altogether. These three prices represent the amount of work and expenditure upon the only parts of the line, the grading of which had been proceeded with. The construction of the telegraph line has necessarily made a progress equivalent to that of the instrumental surveys. The section between Lake Superior and Red River is being built from both ends. The last certificate for work done amounted to \$47,907. The length from Fort William to Selkirk will be 414 miles. The work of erecting the telegraph between Winnipeg and the town of Livingstone, known as Fort Pelly, being very near the latter, has made considerable progress. The wire is now about hung from end to end of this section. Only a small gap requires to be completed at the crossing of the narrows of Lake Manitoba, and this, I presume, is finished by this time. Still, however, a considerable amount of chopping and cleaving has to be done in the wooded quarter through which the lines run. A large portion of this country has been found to be very heavily wooded, to a much greater extent than was anticipated, and the contractors have not cut out the full width of two chains, so that the chopping and clearing is not all done. The amount paid under this contract is \$56,677. The entire length of the line from Selkirk to Livingstone is 266 miles, and for this distance we have the survey of the railroad entirely completed. In profile this part of the country is perhaps the most favourable for the construction of a railway, as far as cheapness is concerned, known in the world. The line of the railway has been approximately located from Livingstone to the longitude of Edmonton, or near there, to a place known as the Hay Lakes. It will not go to Edmonton, but will strike the Saskatchewan at a small river, the White Mud River, about 15 or 20 miles south of Edmonton. The exact location survey is

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nearly completed to the Saskatchewan crossing, west of Edmonton, and the telegraph line is erected to a little beyond Battle River, a distance of 354 miles. This, added to the 266 miles mentioned, will make the entire distance over which the telegraph line is erected, 620 miles. The section from Battle River, westward, to the crossing at the Saskatchewan, where the line is not actually located, passes through an easy country, and although we have no profile surveys, may be said to be located. Last year it was supposed, judging from some passages in the work of Lord Southesk, that a route would be found up the valley of the Brazeau River from the junction with the Saskatchewan, and reach the valley west of the Jasper House Pass by a somewhat shorter line. Mr. McLeod's party explored this part of the country but found the information referred to was entirely erroneous and that no pass existed in that direction. We are therefore obliged to cross the Saskatchewan and turn somewhat suddenly to the northward, crossing the water-shed of the Frazer River and of the Saskatchewan some 30 or 40 miles from the latter river. We will then pass by Chip Lake across the McLeod and Arthabaska Rivers, somewhere about 50 or 60 miles northwest of the Jasper House Pass. From this point, westwards, we are at present directing our surveys. Parties are engaged there at the present time; and probably the survey will be completed within a few months. The telegraph line will again proceed westward from thence without difficulty, and be continued down the Fraser River. I may say that from Jasper House Pass, westward, engineers are engaged in the work of locating the line, and the instrumental surveys, as I stated before, have proceeded very favourably, considering the general rough character of the country through which the line passes in British Columbia. It will be seen from what I have said that the route of the railroad is practically determined from Lake Superior to Fort George in British Columbia, and assuming what I have stated to be the ultimate policy of the Government, which is more than probably, the total distance is about 1,730 miles. The construction of the tele-

graph line over this distance has made considerable progress, the lines having been strung over 700 miles. The distance from Fort George to Bute Inlet, assuming that to be the terminus, is about 300 miles, and I have already explained the various surveys which are being made and the results which are being obtained in that section. From Lake Superior, westward, as far as the line is located, the grades, both west and east, have been singularly favourable, the only places where physical difficulties have been encountered—and certainly they are very great—are on both sides of the Winnipeg River, or what is known as Rat Portage, for a distance of, probably, 40 miles on each side.

Before concluding, I will say a few words about the policy the Government has pursued in reference to letting out the contracts in regard to the purchase of steel rails, about which so much has been said to-day. Our policy was this: It is utterly impossible to commence the construction in British Columbia until we have overcome the initiatory difficulties by carefully surveying the country and ascertaining the line which would have ultimately to be adopted. From the statement I have made, it will be seen that an enormous force has been engaged and a large amount expended in surveys in that Province, and it is unjust in the people of British Columbia to complain that we have not prosecuted this work with all due diligence. Directions were given by the Government to the chief engineer, and by him to his staff, that everything that could be done, was to be done in order to push the work forward as rapidly as possible. But pending the settlement of the route in that section—pending the settlement of difficulties which necessarily arose in connection with crossing the Rocky Mountain range—the Government felt it was desirable in the meantime that we should make some progress with the work in other directions; and as it was comparatively easy to obtain labour, materials and surveys east of Red River, and to have the Pembina branch graded, we deemed it advisable to have these works carried out. The Act of 1874 prescribes that the Government may build the road

on contract in the ordinary way, or it may be built on the terms set forth in section 8, which provides that the Government may pay \$10,000 in money and grant 20,000 acres of land per mile, with four per cent. for twenty-five years upon any additional amount in the tenders, to a company to construct portions of the line. The intention of the Government was, as soon as the surveys were in a sufficiently advanced state, to invite tenders for the construction of such portions of the line as, in the judgment of Parliament, it might be considered desirable to go on with; and that in the meantime the money that has been spent in grading should be held to be a part of the \$10,000 a mile, referred to in section 8. Whether the Government would be in a position during the coming season to have contracts obtained and submitted to Parliament for the whole line at its next Session is, perhaps, problematical. We can only hope for the best, and by pushing on the work we are placing ourselves in a position to do this as rapidly as possible. All the money expended in the meantime will be a charge on the \$10,000 a mile for which we suppose we will be able to obtain some parties to construct the portions of the line which are most necessary as parts of the ultimate great Pacific Railway. Whether it would be wise to proceed with the construction of the railway west of Red River, which could be done for a considerable distance at a cheap rate, is a matter for consideration; but in view of its probable construction at an early day, it certainly is necessary that we should get steel rails carried into the interior of the country. It took the whole of last season to get 2,108 tons to the banks of Red River, and it will take a great portion of the coming season to get the same quantity carried inland, transportation being very slow.

With regard to the section of railway proposed to be built between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, an Act for the construction of which this House gave its assent to last Session, that question was determined when the Bill was thrown out of the Senate, and certain action on the part of the Government was rendered necessary, regarding which I do not deem it necessary

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

to speak to-night, for our policy has been sufficiently declared, and may form the subject of approval or attack by the hon. gentlemen opposite. It has been assumed that as this road is not to be constructed, the rails shipped to British Columbia are therefore utterly useless. That is a great mistake. If we are able to commence the work of construction this coming year in British Columbia these rails would be required. It may be said to be impossible to commence the construction of the road in British Columbia without having rails on the spot. From Bute Inlet up the Valley of the Homathco there is not an acre of ground for seventy miles where it is possible to grow anything for the sustenance of life; so all that is required in the way of supplies for the force will have to be transported to wherever they are at work. It fortunately happens that there is some good timber at almost every place where timber will be required. But anything else must be taken from the seaboard, and it is of the utmost importance—in fact a necessity—that the rails should be on the spot in order to enable us to proceed with the work and carry supplies and materials forward as the work proceeds. There are five thousand tons in British Columbia and if we have erred in sending them there, we have simply erred in our earnest desire to show the people of British Columbia that we are desirous of keeping faith with them, that our speeches were not mere empty promises and that we were resolved to place ourselves in a position they could not misunderstand. I will not say anything further to-night. I confess after a week's work I feel a little tired, and I shall be glad either on this or any other item of the Estimates, to offer the fullest information I can to any hon. gentleman who may desire it.

Mr. BUNSTER said he was astounded at this item being so small. In the place of its being a little over two millions it ought to have been five millions at least. It was well known that there was a large sum raised in England last season with a view of building the Pacific Railroad; therefore it could

not be on account of the want of money that the road was not proceeded with. The item was particularly small as it related to British Columbia. Another item he saw was *nil*, the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railroad. There had been a good deal said about it, and the sooner the Dominion set about building that road the better, as in his opinion it was part and parcel of the Canadian Pacific. He was glad to see there was a feeling growing in Canada that would force the Government to build this road and carry out its pledges to British Columbia. The sooner the Dominion Government built the Esquimalt and Nanaimo road the better. The rails were on hand, and he was sorry that the Government did not proceed with the work notwithstanding the adverse vote from the other House.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the Hon. the Minister of Public Works had given the Committee some very interesting details in regard to the progress of the survey, but he had left them in entire ignorance as to the policy of the Government, and he had been very careful to conceal any intention of the Government in reference to the work. They were then as completely in ignorance of what the Government proposed to do as they were when the hon. gentleman rose to address the Committee. He contended that the Committee could not pass this item until the hon. gentleman took them into his confidence with reference to the above question. The hon. gentleman had refused to take the Committee into his confidence and furnish them information relative to the Georgian Bay Branch and the intention of the Government with regard to the contract. That was the essence of the whole question.

He (Mr. Tupper) was prepared to show that if the railway were to be carried to Sault Ste. Marie, the expenditure on the route between Thunder Bay and Red River would be \$20,000,000, as completely lost as if it had been thrown into Lake Superior. The hon. gentleman should say what he proposed to do. Then, with reference to British Columbia, elaborate correspondence had been laid on the table shewing everything had been brought to a

dead-lock there; but he had not told the House what he intended to do to meet that difficulty. He could not ask this Committee to discuss this question without giving some slight insight into the policy of the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had stated distinctly the Government had no intention of building any portion of the road from Fort William to Lake Nipissing. The British Columbia question had been before the House for weeks, and was perfectly understood by everyone who desired to look into it. With regard to the Georgian Bay branch, the policy of the Government was in nowise changed.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had followed the hon. gentleman closely and failed to learn what was proposed to be done in regard to the great question of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The British Columbia papers merely showed that the Government had succeeded in bringing matters to a dead-lock, and the Premier was bound to tell the House, before asking it to vote this large amount, what he intended to do.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The last paragraph in the papers will show.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I said our policy from the first was to do everything in our power to keep the bargain the hon. gentleman and his friends made, and nothing will be lacking on our part to bring it to a successful conclusion in British Columbia. I have shown pretty conclusively that nothing I am aware of has been left undone that could be done. I do not know what the hon. gentleman wants.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said if the Premier insisted on going on with the discussion he would be obliged to address the House, even at this late hour. The hon. gentleman had begun his remarks as usual by denouncing the late Government for entering into serious obligations with British Columbia. According to the most recent declaration of the hon. gentleman on this subject, no such obligations were imposed upon him by the late Government. The difficulties were of his own assuming. Instead of lessening the obligations he had increased them in a most extraordinary degree. From the

day this Government was formed, down to the present time, they had floundered from one difficulty into another. Only the other day, as it were, the Premier quoted a resolution passed by the late Government, to show that whatever obligations were imposed upon the country by the admission of British Columbia were subject to certain qualifications. In a Minute of Council, dated Sept. 20th, 1875, the following appeared:—

“ It must be borne in mind that every step in the negotiations was necessarily predicated upon and subject to the conditions of the Resolution of the House of Commons, passed in 1871, contemporaneously with the adoption of the Terms of Union with British Columbia, subsequently enacted in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1872, and subsequently re-enacted (after a large addition had been made to the rate of taxation) in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874; that the public aid to be given to secure the accomplishment of the undertaking ‘ should consist “ of such liberal grants of land and such “ ‘subsidy in money or other aid, *not increasing* “ *the then existing rate of taxation*, as the “ Parliament of Canada should thereafter “ ‘determine.”

He asked the Premier if the Government could shelter themselves under that resolution, and at the same time continue to charge the late Administration with having imposed such enormous obligations on the country. Those who would read the able speech delivered by the honorable member for Kootenay would notice that the hon. gentleman had not only quoted that resolution, but shown that Mr. Trutch, who was present when it was passed, had expressed his entire concurrence in it. On the same occasion the hon. member for Kootenay had remarked that the people of British Columbia, provided a straightforward and systematic effort were made to redeem the country's pledge, would be entirely satisfied. But the Government on obtaining power changed their whole policy in relation to the Pacific Railway. Their predecessors had limited the obligations of the country to the use of certain limited and definite means for the construction of the railroad. When the present Government came into power they found, as they admitted in this Minute of Council, that the obligations of the country were qualified

and limited; that the road should be built by a private company, and the subsidy should not exceed \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. The Premier now spoke of some future effort being made to obtain a company to take it up, but he knew very well everything he had said when introducing his Bill relating to the construction of this work was calculated to deter any private parties from ever undertaking it. That was the first difficulty, and the Government were hardly able to take advantage of this resolution they quoted, in connection with the law they had now on the statute book. The preamble of that Act recited the resolution declaring it should not be done by the Dominion Government but by a private company. They then declared and quoted the resolution that no increase should be made to the existing rate of taxation. They then introduced another preamble declaring the rate of taxation had already been increased, and they went on to take power to build the road as a Government work. The effect of a law which conflicted with a resolution in the preamble was to destroy the resolution.

Then there came Mr. Edgar's mission, to negotiate new terms in British Columbia. The Premier had declared there was no obligation to carry the road west of the head of Bute Inlet. Mr. Edgar proposed to entail upon the country the cost of constructing the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railroad.

He (Edgar) coupled that announcement with a letter, in which he stated that the Ottawa Government would not secure any alteration in the terms without the sanction of the people of the Province. Here was such a declaration on the part of the delegate from this Government, and yet hon. members had the fact before them in connection with the proposal to abandon the whole of the arrangements made with Lord Carnarvon, with relation to the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, that the hon. gentleman withheld this information from the people of British Columbia although the elections were about to take place, until it was too late for the people themselves to have any opportunity of expressing an opinion regarding the matter.

A Bill was introduced last session for the purpose of providing for the construction of the branch from Nanaimo to Esquimalt. The hon. gentleman said that evening that the Government was unable to act upon it because it was defeated in the Senate. There was a very curious feature in connection with this question, and it was this: In the first place the hon. gentleman never required to go to the Senate with this Bill at all. The hon. gentleman had stated in reply to the hon. member for Bruce—now Minister of Justice—when the latter enquired what he proposed to do with regard to the terms agreed upon with Lord Carnarvon, that he (Mr. Mackenzie) had nothing to ask from the House; and that he relied upon the House to sustain the Government in the policy they might follow. The fact was, that under the Bill which the late Administration had placed on the statute book, the Government had the power to fix the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the Pacific coast, where they pleased, by an Order in Council—at Esquimalt for instance—and they could have constructed a railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt without further authority from Parliament, yet the hon. gentleman had come before the House, and having passed his Bill through it, sent it up to the Senate, where it was defeated by the friends of the Government—by the votes of the two of the strongest supporters they had in the House.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Twenty-two and not two defeated it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The twenty without the two could not have defeated it.

The majority that defeated the measure was secured by the support of two of the strongest and most confiding supporters that the Government have in that end of the building; and taken in connection with events which transpire in this House, the people of British Columbia might naturally come to the conclusion that this was not unexpected and not undesired by the Administration itself.

What was the next change in the programme, and the next blunder commit-

ted? The first was to have constructed this work as a Government work; and the repeal of the clause which protected this country from incurring any obligation whatever, or being brought into any ruinous financial difficulty in connection with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. While the terms were adhered to that the late Administration had embodied in the Statute Book, and while the resolution placed by them on the Journals of the House remained in force, it was impossible that the interests of Canada should suffer financially with reference to any obligation they had imposed on the country or assumed. The second blunder was the mission of Mr. Edgar, who was authorized to change the Terms of Union and add to the enormous work of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, the construction of a road from Nanaimo to Esquimalt. An hon. gentleman, who he believed was a civil engineer of very considerable ability, had given them the benefit of his opinion in reference to this matter; and what did the hon. gentleman say? That it was stated in this House that the Island road could be built at the rate of \$30,000 per mile, and that upon a survey being made it was found that it would cost nearly three times that amount. What would this add to the expenditure? Take sixty-five miles at \$90,000 or \$80,000 per mile, which was considerably within the estimates of a gentleman well qualified to judge, and it would be found that this Government had added to the cost of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway a work which would cause the expenditure of no less than \$5,200,000. He thought this was pretty good evidence that the position of the gentlemen on that side of the House who voted that the contract should not be made, and would have deprived the Government of the power of making it, without submitting it to the House, was well founded; they were well warranted in taking that course, and fully justified when the Government refused to bring before the House the information desired as to what the road could be constructed for, in withholding their support from such a measure. This was not all; they had the Geor-

gian Bay Branch. The Government had undertaken to construct this road through a section of the country on this side of the terminus fixed by Parliament for the Canadian Pacific Railway, involving the construction for 85 miles of roadway. He had at the time ventured to tell the Minister of Public Works, who professed to have such great familiarity with these matters, that this was a monstrous absurdity, and, to use his hon. friend's expression with reference to the late Government, "an act of insanity," to build a road 85 miles in length where no survey had ever been made, and over which no person had gone with a view of locating such a line. The hon. gentleman had, however, forced it on the House and insisted in making the contract. The hon. gentleman placed on the table of the House a document, binding the contractor to agree with him to complete this line within eighteen months. They had heard a good deal about the ten years' limit, and about the extravagance of supposing that it was possible by any power to construct a road to the Pacific within ten years. Yet the hon. gentleman was prepared to provide for the construction of the Canada Central line of 120 miles in length with a subsidy of \$12,000 per mile, and of 85 miles of railway through a most difficult country—so difficult, indeed, that despite the enormous subsidy offered by this Government, the contractor found it impossible to obtain money in England to go on with the work which he was obliged to abandon.

He would like to know whether the hon. gentleman had carried out the principle he (Mr. Mackenzie) had laid down, that contractors must deposit with the Government certain sums of money, which if their contracts were not performed were forfeited. The fact, however, remained that although the Government had such an enormous and gigantic undertaking on their hands, the hon. gentleman had, in addition, taken on his shoulders the construction of some 90 miles of railway—the length this Georgian Bay route turned out to be in reality, instead of 85—at certainly not less than \$50,000 per mile, which would involve the expenditure of \$4,500,000. The hon.

gentleman had also provided a subsidy of \$1,500,000 for the Canada Central; but this had been found insufficient—so insufficient, indeed, that not a blow had been struck, and not a mile had been graded, although only one year now remained, a six months of summer he might say, for the completion of this whole line of 225 miles in length, from Douglas to the Georgian Bay. The whole of these undertakings had so far ended in nothing.

The fact remained—the hon. gentleman himself made a contract and led this House to believe by making this binding agreement, which was laid on the table, that on the 1st of January, 1877, this road would be finished and in operation; and despite all this they were told that no progress had been made and that the matter was begun *de novo*, though they were denied information as to what the Government proposed to do; this, however, being essentially pertinent to the subject they had under consideration.

Then they had the Pembina branch. As if it were not sufficient to undertake to build a road 225 miles in length from Douglas to Georgian Bay in connection with the gigantic work of the Canadian Pacific, the hon. gentleman added to it the Pembina branch. The hon. gentleman might say that provision was made for this enterprise by the late Government. True, this was done, and very properly done, because the late Administration considered that the parties who undertook to construct for a certain amount the Canadian Pacific Railway from end to end, were entitled to connection at that point. It was then known that efforts were being made to bring the American railway down to Pembina.

And while he was entirely of the opinion that when this was effected it would be wise to have railway connection with Fort Garry and the Canada Pacific wherever it might be, there was no necessity whatever for the Government loading the public Exchequer and burthening the revenues of this country with the expenditure required for that work. An Act was placed on the Statute Book in reference to this matter—placed there through exertions of men of ability, of means and of influence in the money market of the

world—and all that was required was simply the passing of an Order in Council making this law and enabling these gentlemen to take up and complete the road for themselves, without the assistance of the Government, certainly, as far as money was concerned. All who knew anything of this question were perfectly aware that had the Government given 20,000 acres of land per mile in the North-West for the line from Winnipeg to Pembina, these parties, who had already obtained an Act of incorporation, only required in addition the passage of the Order in Council he had mentioned, to enable them to push forward and complete the undertaking; but as if determined to load the Exchequer down and destroy the country by an enormous debt, this Government had undertaken, in the first instance, to build these 65—which are now 85—miles, as a main line running along the side of the Red River; and this, too, when the people of that settlement themselves would have been better pleased if they had the opportunity of dealing with it themselves; and if a land grant had been made, no difficulty whatever would have been experienced in this relation.

Then there was this Thunder Bay Branch. The hon. gentleman that night had spoken in very harsh terms of the ignorance alleged to have been exhibited in another place by an hon. gentleman who had discussed this question. Did not the hon. gentleman think that there was some excuse for ignorance touching this matter? For this House down to the present moment, and during a long period, had not possessed a particle of information, either from the report of the Chief Engineer or from the Government, or from any other source as to what had been the result of the surveys made. He thought that the hon. gentlemen had forgotten himself a little when he charged people with such ignorance and with inability to debate these matters intelligently in the absence of such information. It now appeared that this binding contract had been abandoned; also, that at about 22 miles from Thunder Bay they had deviated from the route which had been chosen. He had followed the hon. gentleman as

carefully as he could; but he failed to see how he was going avoid increasing the length of this portion of the line by 70 miles.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—What was it then?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—How does the hon. gentleman calculate it?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER had taken the calculations of the surveyor, and he could take the map and show that the hon. gentleman could not build a line from Thunder Bay without traversing a distance of something like 70 miles; not only that, but there were 60 miles between Red Rock at Nipegon and the mountain. So they must either come down to Thunder Bay, according to the surveys and maps prescribed therein, lengthening the distance something like 70 miles, or have a branch of 70 miles. Then taking the 85 miles of railway from Pembina to the main line at \$40,000 per mile, and as the hon. gentleman himself had stated that the railway from Duluth to Red River traversing a prairie country had cost \$48,000 per mile, he would see that he was taking the figures the hon. gentleman had himself furnished in his speech submitting the Canada Pacific Railway policy, and that he (Mr. Tupper) was under the mark when he said this would involve an expenditure of \$3,400,000 in all, or something like \$17,000,000 in addition to the cost of building the Canadian Pacific Railway proper. Then they had the terms made with Lord Carnarvon. The hon. gentleman complained that although the obligations the late Administration had incurred were qualified by the resolution they found it very convenient now to quote, under this they could not shelter themselves; and notwithstanding that resolution, the hon. gentleman knew that the question was re-opened and that he (Mr. Mackenzie) had undertaken on the part of the Government to make a binding contract with Lord Carnarvon for the construction of this road, which according to the hon. gentleman's own statement that evening was over 2,000 miles in length from the shore of the Pacific Ocean to the shores of Lake Superior, within 15 years. Fourteen years of this period—up to 1890

—remained to expire, within which the faith of Canada was pledged, not only with British Columbia but with the Imperial Government to carry out this great work. Hon. gentlemen would observe that this agreement was entirely unqualified, and what had been placed on the Statute Book had naturally repealed the resolution passed by the late Administration to qualify their obligations. He had examined the papers submitted and had been unable to find any qualification whatever in these terms. The hon. gentleman had himself stated in Parliament last Session that the conditions imposed by Lord Carnarvon had been accepted, requiring an expenditure of \$2,000,000 per annum in British Columbia, the building of the road from Nanaimo to Esquimalt, and the completion of the line from the shores of the Pacific to Lake Superior by the year 1890. So that these hon. gentlemen who complained so loudly of the great obligations imposed on the country by the late Government and of the ten years' limitation had undertaken to make an unqualified contract with the Imperial Government and British Columbia to build these 2,000 miles of railway in the course of 15 years, of which 14 had yet to elapse.

They had in connection with that matter the statement that at the end of two years the hon. gentleman had succeeded in grading 2½ miles of road from Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan, and 25 miles from Red River eastwardly. Out of the 2,000 miles to be completed by 1890, according to the terms of the unqualified pledge given to the Imperial Government, they had now only 47 miles of the road graded in two years, and yet the hon. gentleman ventured to speak of the improvidence and insecurity of the late Government in making the engagements they did. There was a more important feature connected with this than any he had yet referred to. Before the hon. gentleman brought down his plan for carrying the road to French River, he (Mr. Tupper) hoped he would take into consideration the question of reaching the navigable waters of the Georgian Bay by a more expeditious and economical road. The completion of that portion of the Ottawa navigation, from

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

Ottawa to the Georgian Bay, between that Bay and Nipissing, could it had been estimated be effected for under \$1,000,000, probably about \$800,000. It was perfectly obvious that the proposition of the Government would cost from \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000. The line of railroad could only be operated during the summer months, and consequently the completion of the water route would be equally as available, and save to the country three or four millions of dollars. He could not see the object of having a road to French River, unless it was intended to carry it to the Sault Ste. Marie.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—My object is to get the cheapest line.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he would show the House that Sir Hugh Allan proposed, a long time ago, in a speech at Peterboro, that it would be a wise thing to carry a line to Sault Ste. Marie and there form a conjunction with the American lines. The *Globe* immediately denounced that plan as fatal to Canada, as it would leave Canada dependent upon a foreign country, and that if that policy were carried out it would only be a question of time as to how soon that vast North-West Territory would be a part of the United States. If that was good logic then it was good logic now. The *Globe* in commenting on this said, (Feb. 21st, 1873):—

“A very cursory examination of the country to be traversed by the American road from the head waters of Lake Superior will show how fallacious all such arrangements are, and how, not only the line through British territory may be carried through from strictly commercial considerations, but must be, if British authority is to be maintained on this continent, and our new Dominion made practically as well as in theory a great fact. Apart from all other considerations, the very fact that the line under consideration is through American territory would be a fatal objection to its being made the grand trunk line for the Canadian North-West. Those who had the command of it would in a very few years command the country. All the intercourse, both social and commercial, of the people of the North-West region would be directly with and through a foreign people, and what might at any moment become a hostile country. By a mere stroke of his pen a foreign ruler might lay an embargo upon the whole intercourse of that part of Canada with what lies to the east. The bonding system, as we have lately had hinted at in connection with a region nearer

hand, might be stopped capriciously, and on very short notice; the tide of emigration might be turned away from our border, to a certain extent at any rate, while everything would conduce to make the absorption of the whole territory by the States a mere question of time, and of time very short at the longest. The connection of all that region with the more eastern parts of the Dominion would be merely nominal, and when the pear would be ripe, it would naturally fall, as from the first had been desired, into the lap of our very astute and enterprising cousins over the way.....The proposed route for that undertaking is, on an average, four hundred miles north of that now being made from Duluth, and instead of being, as a large part of both American lines must be, through an irreclaimable desert, it runs through a country which in fertility and climate will compare favourably with any part of the North American continent.

"When this has been stated, nothing else is necessary. Any person of ordinary intelligence can see at a glance that a railway which never throughout its whole course comes within a hundred miles of the border lines of a country can do very little to develop the resources of that country. It is better than nothing, but that is all that can be said in its behalf. The immediate territory through which it runs would be benefitted chiefly and in the first place, and all beyond only incidentally, and after the lapse of many years.

"Instead of the fact that the 'North Pacific' is under construction, being an argument for allowing the Canadian project to lie in the meanwhile in abeyance, it affords the strongest reason possible for its being pushed through without delay. Politically, it is a manifest and pressing necessity, while commercially it is as evidently of the very highest importance for Canada. In this way alone can this country have any chance for her fair share in the lucrative trade with the North-West which will assuredly spring up, and in the varied traffic with the Pacific world which to a great extent will pass through Canadian territory, if once what will be the shortest and easiest route from ocean to ocean is in working order.

"Our neighbours know the value of the prize involved, and are making gigantic efforts to secure it exclusively for themselves. Our rulers will be traitors to their country and to British connection if they lose a single season in making it practicable and convenient for settlers to go to Fort Garry through our own territory, and in putting things in a fair way for the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is a question not merely of convenience but of national existence. It must be pushed through at whatever expense. We believe it can be so pushed through, not only without being a burden pecuniarily to Canada, but with an absolute profit in every point of view. Without such a line a great British North America would turn out an unsubstantial dream; with it, and with ordinary prudence and wisdom on the part of her statesmen, it will be a great, a glorious and inevitable reality."

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Has the hon. gentleman ever quoted from that before?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had, and he would keep it ringing in the ears of the people of the country until the Government were brought face to face with the fact that they would be branded as traitors if they subordinated means of communication between the great North-West and the older settled portions of Canada to the Northern Pacific Railroad. But the hon. gentleman has at last decided as rapidly as possible to build the road from Thunder Bay to Red River. The House must be glad to learn that the more that line was explored the less difficulty would be experienced to get it through. But what position would this country be in after expending \$20,000,000 on this line when the railroad was extended to Sault Ste. Marie? Would any one leave the railroad at the Sault, embark in a ship and spend days on the lake, then disembark at Thunder Bay and take the line to Red River, when he could continue his journey without changing his car by the Northern Pacific Railway and be landed at Winnipeg in two days.

The Premier was bound to announce his policy with reference to this extension to Georgian Bay, and whether that is a link of the chain to the Sault Ste. Marie. If the Government has not taken us into their confidence the *Toronto Globe* has announced their policy in the following terms. On the 21st of last month that organ of the Government says:—"The railway to French River is a part and a material part of the whole scheme. It is one link in the chain. Another will take us to the Sault Ste. Marie neighbourhood, and so on to the head of Lake Superior." This statement requires no comment. The other night the House had heard leading supporters of the Government, one after another, denouncing in the strongest terms the construction of the Pacific Railway on any terms, yet only two short years ago they had sustained the Government in putting a law on the Statute Book making it a Government work, and adding to it a provision for the construction of 360 miles additional.

Only a year ago the same gentlemen ratified an agreement with the Imperial Government to construct the whole of this gigantic work in fifteen years. It was too late, with the facts patent on the records of this country, to say that the undertaking of the late Government was not a rational one, and that the scheme of the present Administration was not extravagant and dangerous in the extreme. The people of this country would hold the hon. gentlemen opposite strictly responsible for wasting the public money and accomplishing nothing except to grade some forty-seven miles of road and purchase \$7,665,000 worth of steel rails. On a former occasion the Premier had stated the life of an iron rail was 8 to 10 years, and of a steel rail something longer; but the hon. gentleman did not seem to be aware of the fact that any rails last longer in moderate use than when they are piled up, as oxidation proceeds more rapidly in the latter case. The Premier would find it hard, with the facts now before the country, to show that economy entered into any part of his policy in relation to this great work.

Mr. COCKBURN expressed himself well pleased with the explanations of the First Minister as far as they went, but he would like to have heard the Premier's views on his intended policy with regard to the Georgian Bay branch. It appeared, however, that the hon. gentleman was determined to be reticent on that question to-night. With reference to the Government policy to be pursued in the remaining portion of this great scheme, he thought that the Government were doing all they possibly could to keep faith with British Columbia, a step he heartily approved of; and he desired here to express his sympathy and goodwill towards the people of that Province and their representatives in this House. He (Mr. Cockburn) strongly urged the Government to lose no time in constructing a railway from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, in order to provide a cheap and expeditious course into the heart of the Prairie Province. He thought that Canadians had just reason for feeling a strong national pride in the country of which

they are the happy possessors. We have the largest extent of unoccupied lands, well adapted to sustain human life, of any country in the world. The boundless fertile regions of the Peace and Saskatchewan Rivers of the great North-West, the vast wealth of timber, mines and fisheries of British Columbia were a great inheritance and demand the intelligent and energetic attention of our people with a view to their development at the proper time. Coming nearer home he was amused and astonished to hear the opinions of some prominent men in another place with reference to the expediency of the construction of a railway from the Ottawa Valley to Georgian Bay. It had been alleged that the country lying between the Capital and the Georgian Bay was worthless and would never furnish any traffic to a railway. He spoke advisedly in the emphatic contradiction of these views. There exists a large area of valuable lands for agricultural purposes, with groves of valuable pine scattered throughout. Even without any through traffic from the North-West or United States, a large local business will be done in the settlement of the country, the transportation of settlers and their goods, supplies for lumbermen and probably square timber and sawn lumber. His experience was that railways through a new, well-timbered country often paid better than lines through a pretty well settled country. This proposed line when built would confer immense advantages upon the Dominion, and upon the Province of Ontario in particular, but while he approved of the construction of a railroad from the Capital to the Georgian Bay, he did not think that the Premier had made a judicious selection of a western terminus and harbour. He would advise the hon. gentleman to change his terminus to a more southerly place where he would find everything well established, ready to hand, with an excellent harbour sufficient to accommodate the marine of all the great lakes; also with colonization roads in every direction, and the country pretty well settled and organized, which would greatly facilitate railway construction. But the greatest reason of all he urged in favour of

the adoption of Parry Sound harbour was that it would involve much less expense, as the mileage to this point was shorter than by any other route. He hoped that the First Minister would give these suggestions serious, impartial and favourable consideration, which would result in a large saving of money and afford satisfaction to the settlers of the free grant lands.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL enquired of the Premier whether the hon. gentleman alluded to him when he spoke of \$2,000 having been paid for the rent of a place where the iron for the Miramichi bridge had been stored for three years?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that he had merely referred to the hon. gentleman, knowing the iron was there, as placed on his property. They had paid the rent because they considered it was due, the material having remained there so much longer than was necessary before it was used.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentleman does not mean to say that the Government paid me any rent?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No; I merely said that an hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the House knew something of the matter.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL complained that \$2,000 had been paid to Clarke, Reeves & Co. which should not have been paid.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE stated that owing to the lateness of the hour, in answer to the hon. member for Cumberland, he would merely notice the salient points contained in the speech of the hon. gentleman. He trusted that the hon. members for British Columbia and elsewhere, and the country at large would thoroughly appreciate the declaration which the hon. member had made in opening his remarks, and which they were to assume, unless it was repudiated, was endorsed by those whom the hon. member frequently led in the House, and for whom the hon. member was an active and energetic spokesman. The hon. gentleman, on behalf of his late colleagues, stated that in connection with their obligations to British Columbia they were absolutely controlled by the resolution which had

so frequently been referred to. He trusted the country would now understand what was alleged by the hon. gentleman—that those were the terms comprised in the articles of Union providing for the commencement of this railway within a period of two years, and its completion within ten years; if they had found it impossible to do so without increasing the taxation of the country they would not have been under any obligation whatever to British Columbia to build a mile of this road. This, at present, was the statement of the hon. gentleman. He knew that the hon. gentleman had previously made the declaration in the country, but this was the first time when this interpretation had been made in the House by a gentleman occupying his prominent position in his party. With this he would contrast a statement made by the hon. gentleman's leader on the occasion of the general elections of 1874, when the the right hon. gentleman addressed his constituents with reference to a declaration made by his hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie) to the electors of Sarnia regarding the Terms of Union, to the effect that the compact made with the late Government was impossible of fulfilment, and that some relaxation of these terms was requisite. The right hon. member for Kingston then held that this declaration would entitle British Columbia to secede from the Union; that the faith of the country was pledged to the fulfilment of these conditions—not as the hon. member for Cumberland had qualified them a few moments ago, but to the commencement of the railway within two years and to its completion within ten years. He would also contrast the statement of the hon. member for Cumberland with another statement made by the right hon. member, and they knew these contrasts were sometimes of the most striking description. The hon. gentleman had made a speech during the previous Session with regard to the exposition of the Pacific Railway policy of the Government by his hon. friend the First Minister, and he had then alluded to the arrangements made with British Columbia which he qualified in another tone this evening. The hon. gentleman now held that the arrange-

ments made with Lord Carnarvon were onerous, extravagant and improvident, and that the contract made with the the Imperial Government largely increased the burdens of the country as they existed under the terms in question. On page 514 of the *Hansard* would be found these remarks, made by the hon. gentleman:—

“But, Sir, the fact that the engagements which the First Minister has just stated were entered into with British Columbia during the past season, sets at rest forever any question as to whether we are in a position that would allow to doubt and hesitate a single instant, what course to pursue. I am not going to call in question the propriety of this engagement for a moment:—onerous, extravagant and improvident and unnecessarily and largely increasing the burdens of the country, as the hon. gentleman now held should be. The hon. gentleman continued: I feel that the Ministry of the day are entitled to the support of this House, and especially the gentlemen who sit on the Opposition benches, in any measure which is required to carry out the pledge—perhaps a somewhat imprudent pledge—that was given by their predecessors in relation to this great work; and I feel they may look with confidence to this side of the House for the most energetic support of the measures they have taken—I believe wisely taken—for the redemption of that pledge.”

He (Mr. Blake) had not occupied the position of an enthusiastic admirer of the Carnarvon terms at that time, although a devoted follower of his hon. friend the Premier; he had never hesitated to say so, but the position taken by the hon. member for Cumberland then did not agree with the position he took to-day. While dealing with the question of past and present utterances, he would make another elegant extract from the utterances of the hon. member upon the second reading of the Bill touching the Carnarvon conditions. A motion was made by an hon. gentleman who sat behind the hon. member for Cumberland, that the Bill should not be read the second time that day, but that it be read the second time that day three months; the hon. gentleman and his leader voted against that motion, and for the second reading. Immediately afterwards the hon. member for Cumberland said:—“That although this road “from Esquimalt to Nanaimo was outside the obligations entered into by the “late Government with British Columbia, he regarded it as an effort made

“in good faith to arrange for the “redemption, as far as possible, of “pledges made with British Columbia, “and such being the case, he felt “obliged to give what support he could “towards carrying out those arrangements.”

The hon. member for Cumberland then stated that the measures wisely taken by his hon. friend the Premier received his hearty and energetic support and were entitled to receive such from his friends; nevertheless the great mass of the hon. gentleman's supporters voted against the Bill. He (Mr. Blake) had no doubt that the hon. members from Kingston and Cumberland did all in their power to secure a contrary result; after their public declarations this was their duty, and their situation was indeed painful. He was, however, obliged to hold the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House responsible for the loss of the Bill, because their friends in the Senate voted against it, with one or two gentlemen who usually supported the Government. The hon. gentlemen were in some embarrassment in dealing with the question of the construction of this railway owing to divisions in their ranks; and the opinion of the right hon. member for Kingston was known to be directly opposite to that held by the hon. member for Cumberland. The right hon. member for Kingston had publicly declared that he always thought that the road might be constructed and operated as a Government work; and that advantage had been taken by his absence at Washington on public business to introduce a contrary provision.

The hon. gentleman stated that the mission of Mr. Edgar to British Columbia had relation to an additional charge upon the people of this country with reference to the proposal to build the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, and also that the Government had the power by an Order in Council to fix the terminus at Esquimalt. Was there then an additional burden proposed? No. They stated that under the Terms of Union the Railway was not proposed to be carried beyond the bounds of the Pacific, and he said so still; but the policy of the late Government was to go beyond

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

the Pacific seaboard. Their policy was to go to Esquimalt, and it was unnecessary to consider what patriotic motives dictated that policy, what was the situation of members in the House, and what amount of pressure was brought to bear from British Columbia? It was surely extreme audacity for the hon. gentleman who deliberately added this to the other obligations of the country, to complain because a part only of that which he endeavoured to engraft upon the arrangements was proposed to the British Columbians with a view of getting some relaxation of the other too tightly arranged Terms of the Union. The hon. gentleman answered that very easily by saying that the pledge to the Province was of no consequence at all. The position assumed was that to construct the road by the Government was a ruinous undertaking, but it would be profitable for a company.

Then the hon. member stated that the Pembina branch was needlessly added when private enterprise would have constructed it. The line was valued at \$40,000 a mile, but he believed as it was being built, with rolling stock, it would only cost about \$13,000 per mile. The hon. gentleman also said the arrangements as to the Thunder Bay branch have already been altered and a binding contract broken up. The contract was a schedule one, and was prepared to meet the exigencies of the situation. The contractors were required to go as far as they could with the work, and their maximum amount of work was performed. Then, it was alleged that the arrangements made with Lord Carnarvon were extravagant. As to some provisions of that arrangement every one knew his opinion; he thought it an imprudently liberal bargain. The hon. member for Cumberland was in favour of the agreement last Session because he thought it wise, and now he opposed it because he thought it foolish. In their Minutes of the 20th December and the 30th March, the Government stated clearly and distinctly what they thought that arrangement to be—that in their view, as negotiators entrusted with executive powers, they were not enabled without the consent of Parliament to alter stipula-

tions, and they conceived that the terms were based upon the resolution that the taxation should not be increased in the prosecution of the work. Had it been otherwise they would have come to Parliament in order to obtain assent. This was the interpretation they gave to the Carnarvon terms and upon which they were prepared to act, as clearly stated in the papers, which had not, to his mind, been satisfactorily impugned. The hon. gentleman complained that the Minute of 20th September was withheld until after the general election. The papers brought down stated the facts on this point, which it was unnecessary to reproduce. It would be unworthy of the Government to answer such a statement as that made by the hon. member. The hon. member, if he held that view, should formulate his charge in a proper way, and not bring it up in debate at 2 o'clock in the morning. If they had been guilty of the alleged offence, let them receive the punishment, which, under the circumstances, would be due to them.

What was the policy of the Opposition, as the hon. gentleman propounded it? First of all, to affirm there never was a contract with British Columbia which bound this country to build a mile of railway, unless by a private company on the specified terms of \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. They had made no bid for the support of the British Columbia members. They had been longing to do their duty to the Province and fulfil their pledges. Their view of the resolution was that although it was not inserted in the contract, it had the same binding force as if it had been inserted. He had always stated that the country was committed to the construction of the road; but the Terms of Union did not imply that they should drag the country into ruin, and the Government would not do that. No power should induce them to bring down any proposition they conceived the country was incapable of bearing. But at the same time they would do what they could.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked what the Government would have done had the resolution carried which declared that the road should be built

by a private company, and not otherwise. What would hon. gentlemen have done had they been pledged to that course and been unable to find a private company to carry on the works. He proceeded to condemn the Government for taking the work into their own hands after their accession to power, and stated that he voted for the first reading of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway because he was satisfied the work would be put up to competition; but when they found the Government were going to assume all the power of making the contracts for the construction of the road, they claimed they were entitled to use all their influence in order to defeat the Bill.

But the hon. gentleman could not suppose that it was necessary to formulate an accusation against this Government. After what had been witnessed of the readiness of hon. gentlemen in this House, who, a few nights ago, were loud in their denunciation of any expenditure on the Pacific Railway, to endorse such a transaction as the purchase of the steel rails, the Government could court the gravest charges that could possibly be formulated, with a full assurance they would be sustained by their supporters. But charges would be formulated before a tribunal to which the Opposition had appealed, and not in vain, on several occasions during the past two years. The hon. gentleman must suppose his friends were easily convinced, if he thought to persuade them there was any parallel between a proposition to take money out of the public Treasury to build 65 miles of railway and a proposal which only required an appropriation of \$20,000 per mile for the whole of that line on the Island.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Where was the rest of the money to come from?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the hon. gentleman should ask Senators Christie and McMaster and the Minister of Customs behind him. All these gentlemen—his (Mr. Blake's) own friends—were fighting for the possession of this contract. While this was the case it would not do to say the proposition of giving 50,000,000 acres and \$30,000,000 was entirely an unpractical and sense-

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

less scheme, and this country would never see the Pacific Railway constructed by any other means. If that great work should ever be accomplished, as he trusted and believed it would be by wise and judicious measures, it would be by bringing the great capitalists of England into the scheme by means of a company, organizing immigration and utilizing the immense resources of the Saskatchewan country. There was every reason why a work of such national importance, not only to Canada, but to the empire to which we belong, should attract capital from abroad, but would it ever be done by a Government who abused the position they occupied by proclaiming to the world that this was so utterly ruinous that no persons would be found so senseless as to undertake it with a grant of 50,000,000 acres of land and \$30,000,000? If the people of British Columbia were ever to have a railway connection with Eastern Canada they must get it by the means provided by the late Administration, and by the people of this country bringing back into power men who had confidence in securing the success of the great undertaking.

At the request of Mr. DEWDNEY, the debate was allowed to stand over.

The item \$2,000,000 for Welland Canal was passed without discussion, and the Committee rose and reported progress.

Mr. SCHLUTZ requested permission to return to an item in the Estimates already passed for the purpose of asking a question. It would be seen that the enormous reduction of \$170,000 had been made in the vote for Dominion Surveys, while all the other votes which affected Manitoba had been decreased in the same alarming proportion. He desired to know whether the amount voted would be increased in the supplementary Estimates?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that it would not be increased.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that he must protest against such wholesale reduction in all the Estimates affecting Manitoba, and enquired whether the Government intended to increase any of these amounts in the supplementary Estimates?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the expenses connected with the Province were already so great that he could not increase any of these amounts in the supplementary Estimates.

The Committee rose and reported, and the House adjourned at Fifty Minutes past Two o'clock a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SATURDAY, April 1, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Two o'clock.

RAILWAY LANDS IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD introduced a Bill respecting Dominion Lands on the line of the Pacific Railway in the North-West. He explained that its object was to enable settlers to go on the land reserved on each side of the railway. Eighty acres would be given as a homestead on three years' settlement, and the settler could purchase as much as 320 acres, on the understanding that he would have to pay the price subsequently arranged by the Government with the contractors.

Mr. BUNSTER asked if this applied to the valuable lands reserved for railway purposes on Vancouver Island?

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said he did not understand the Government held any lands on the Island.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) thought it very desirable that settlement along the line of railway in the North-West should be encouraged.

Mr. SHULTZ was pleased that the Government had introduced the Bill, but regretted that homesteads could not be made in the usual way, and urged that no restrictions be placed on the portion applicable to Manitoba.

The Bill was read the first time.

RETURNS.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD complained of the delay in bringing down returns. Some 108 had been granted and less than one-half of them were before the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there were piles of returns being made out in the departments, which required some

time and supervision. He gave eighteen hours a day to attending to his duties, and the fact was the returns were brought down as rapidly as ever they had been in former Sessions. Many of them were merely nominal, having been moved for the purpose of bringing the questions they referred to before the House. It was utterly impossible to have all the returns asked for brought down promptly.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD replied that the trouble was his hon. friend represented a one-man power, fancying that he must surpervise and overlook everything. His hon. friend undoubtedly gave a great deal of time to his duties—probably more than the country could claim, or had a right to expect. His hon. friend need not take the course he did, for surely he could trust his colleagues. At the time his hon. friend (Mr. Tupper) moved for the papers, he (Mr. Tupper) enquired whether he should give his reasons; he replied, no, certainly not, as the discussion would take place when the return was made.

THE INSOLVENT ACT.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1875.

Mr. PALMER suggested that an amendment should be made to enforce the orders of County Court Judges in New Brunswick. It was entirely useless to empower them to issue orders which they could not enforce.

Mr. BARTHE suggested that sections 4 and 9 were somewhat anomalous, and he hoped that section 9, which was very hard upon many people in Lower Canada, would be repealed. He pointed out that the assignees got such a large percentage of the estates in their charge, that with the other numerous disbursements necessary, a very large proportion of the assets were swallowed up before a cent could be apportioned to the creditors. Since the Government appointed official assignees, the Government ought to pay them. This, at any rate, would meet the requirements of the smaller creditors; whether it would be equally welcome to the larger ones he doubted very much. He

also suggested a change in regard to the publication of insolvent notices, which he contended ought to be published, in at least, in one local newspaper as well as in the *Official Gazette*. The *Gazette* was but little read by the public, but if it were insisted upon that these notices should appear in that publication, the law ought to be that they should appear there once and once in a local newspaper. The great objection against the Insolvency Act in Lower Canada was that it was too expensive, and as one of the provisions which led to this result he called attention to the fact that an assignee could only appoint his deputy upon the order of the Judge. To get an order of the Judge required the services of an attorney, and of course the attorney required his fees. He suggested that this provision be amended so as to simplify the law and render the expense in question unnecessary.

The Bill was read the second time.

THE QUEBEC TRINITY HOUSE.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE, the House went into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:—That as the duties formerly discharged by the Trinity House of Quebec, whose warden was a salaried officer, now devolve on the Quebec Harbour Commissioners, it is expedient to provide that the said Harbour Commissioners may, from time to time, appropriate out of the Harbour Revenues, a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars to the payment of an annual indemnity to the President of the Board of Harbour Commissioners.

The resolution was agreed to in Committee and reported, and notice was given that it would be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the Trinity House Bill.

PLANTING TREES IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD moved the second reading of a Bill to amend the Dominion Lands Act, which he explained was intended to encourage tree planting in the North-West. In the United States, and especially in Minnesota, they had done a great deal in this direction, and about half a million of acres had been set apart for that purpose. From the reports which had

been published on the subject, it appeared the attempt had, on the whole, been eminently successful. As to the desirability of doing something in the same way in our own North-West, he quoted from the report of Mr. G. W. Dawson, of the North-West Boundary Survey, and he mentioned that to the suggestions of that gentleman were owing the leading provisions of this measure. There were other provisions in the Bill which would be explained in Committee.

In reply to Sir John A. Macdonald,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD stated that the Law was pretty much the same as in Minnesota, but scarcely so exacting.

The second reading was carried and the Bill referred to Committee of the Whole—Mr. Young in the chair.

Clauses 1 and 2 were carried without discussion.

On clause 3,

Mr. SCHULTZ thought the provisions were very unfair to the recipients of bounty warrants, to whom the grants had been made without any such conditions as were now proposed to be imposed.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said if these warrants were in the hands of those to whom they were originally granted, there would be some force in what was said by the hon. member for Lisgar; but, unfortunately, they were too frequently in the hands of speculators who held them for speculative purposes and prevented settlement.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was manifestly unjust to any party who had purchased these warrants that their acquired rights should now be interfered with in this way.

Mr. SCATCHERD agreed with this view of the case, and could not understand upon what principle his hon. friend could propose such an interference with vested rights.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD contended that it was in the interest of the country that there should be some restrictions upon the power of speculators holding those warrants to prevent settlement. If the rule laid down by the right hon. member for Kingston were to be strictly applied, it would prevent the reservation of lands for railway purposes in the North-West.

MR. BARTHE.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) urged that there should be some means of preventing speculators from locking up whole townships, which there was a tendency to do with a view to holding them until settlement around them would make them more valuable, which really interfered very seriously with populating the country.

Mr. SCHULTZ said he had studied the section over the more carefully on account of the anxiety of the hon. member for Selkirk to have it passed, and that anxiety was accounted for by the fact that it affected the Hudson Bay Company's lands, and which could thus be held until they were surrounded by settlement, and thereby greatly enhanced in value.

Mr. SMITH said his hon. friend had at one time likened him to a celebrated character in history, "the ancient mariner." He might liken the hon. gentleman to another character of some note—a character who was always professing his readiness to fight—he referred to Sir John Falstaff.

Mr. SCHULTZ suggested that the following words be added to the clause: "After the passing of this Act."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the clause would be allowed to pass *pro forma*, and the amendment of the hon. member for Lisgar, as well as one suggested privately by the right hon. gentleman from Kingston, would be considered before the next stage of the Bill was taken.

The 4th and 5th clauses were passed without discussion.

On the 6th clause, providing that claims to homestead rights on account of actual settlement must be made to the local officer within three months from the completion of the survey,

Mr. SCHULTZ thought the time was too short.

The section, after some discussion, was allowed to stand over.

On section 9, with respect to settlement by communities,

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) suggested the addition of the following words:—"Provided always, that in such community the provisions respecting improvements by cultivation and otherwise shall not be less stringent than

"those exacted in the case of individual homesteads."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE promised that the suggestion would be considered before the next stage.

The remaining clauses of the Bill were passed with little discussion.

The Bill was then reported, and the amendments read the second time.

The Bill was then read the third time and passed, an amendment having been added providing that the provision referring to county warrants would refer only to those issued after the passing of the Act.

SUPPLY.

The House then went into Committee of Supply—Mr. Scatcherd in the Chair.

Item 88, providing \$160,000 for St. Anne's Canal, was agreed to.

On item 89, \$330,000, Carillion and Chute à Blondeau Canal,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the progress of the contractors was very unsatisfactory, and he had been doing all he could to hurry them up.

On item 90, \$200,000, Grenville Canal,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was hoped the whole work would be completed this year. The late Minister had left a very disagreeable legacy upon his hands in this connection, but the work was now progressing very satisfactorily.

On item 91, \$6,000, Rideau Canal,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said this work would undoubtedly demand the attention of Parliament at an early day. Its usefulness was now nearly at an end, the railways having taken away its traffic. It cost the country a considerable amount more than its revenue, and it was neither useful nor ornamental.

On item 92, \$35,600, Culbute Canal,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said a greater amount would be required to complete the canal than was now asked, but the vote under consideration would, he thought, enable them to have the canal open for navigation. His information was not very distinct, but he understood that during the coming year the canal could be used.

Item 93 was passed without discussion.

ST. PETER'S CANAL.

On item 94, \$50,000, St. Peter's Canal, and in reply to Hon. Mr. Tupper,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated he had directed enquiries to be made as to the larger sizes of vessels likely to pass through this canal, and it was very probable the plans would be changed to meet the case. He could not say exactly what the width would be, but in all probability it would be such as would accommodate all the vessels in question.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he was glad to hear there was a probability of such a change, but he took the opportunity of protesting against the principle involved in the decision of the Premier. He admitted the right of the hon. gentleman to change the plans of his engineer, but after this House had agreed to vote a sum of money for a public work, based upon certain specifications, he held that it was unconstitutional and deserving of censure to alter these specifications. Here was an instance in which this had been done, and the result could not fail to be a considerable loss to the country.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there would be no loss.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER contended that loss must inevitably result from the change, it having been made not only after Parliament had voted an appropriation for it, based upon certain specifications, but after the work was under contract.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman evidently did not know what he was talking about.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said it was a habit of the First Minister to throw insulting taunts across the House in this way, and if other hon. gentlemen had made up their minds to tolerate it he for one was not going to submit to it without complaining and protesting. He appealed to this Committee to know whether he was stating that which commended itself to their judgment—

Hon. Gentlemen—No, no.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said hon. gentlemen were ready to "yes" or "no" just as their leaders on Treasury Benches directed, and upon this occasion they had not waited to see whether what he was about to say commanded their approval or not. What he did desire to know was whether he was not saying that which would commend itself to the judgment of the Committee when he asserted that the change of a plan by the Minister of Public Works after it had been passed upon by Parliament, and after the work to which it had reference was under contract, was not likely to result in loss to the Public Treasury. And when he made that statement the First Minister told him he did not know what he was speaking about. The hon. gentleman's information on this subject was evidently deficient, and when he (Mr. Tupper) put it to the House whether the course being taken was not likely to involve a loss of public money, the hon. gentleman had no answer to give except that he (Mr. Tupper) knew nothing concerning what was under discussion. Conduct like this was unbecoming any person holding the position of Leader of the House, and was calculated to degrade Parliament in the eyes of the country and of the whole world. It was calculated to degrade the House itself.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had only to reply that nothing the hon. gentleman could say would degrade any member of the House.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the language of the First Minister was unbecoming any member of Parliament, and especially unbecoming the Leader of the House. It would not be tolerated in the British House of Commons, where even Dr. Kenealy would be protected from such insults as were thrown across this House. In fact, the language was not fully characterized when it was called insulting. The hon. gentleman forgot himself—forgot the position he held, when he used language of that description. It would be unparliamentary in a private member to utter such expressions, to say nothing of the gentleman who was the guardian of the rights and privileges of the House. During his (Sir John's)

long experience in Parliament he had never known of a case of more wanton insult than that of which the First Minister had been guilty just now. He condemned the policy of interfering with plans after money had been voted to the works to which they referred, and held it to be an abuse which might lead to very disastrous consequences. It was, in fact, as much an unauthorized expenditure as if there had been no appropriation at all. The Government might as well decide that a railway for which Parliament had set aside certain moneys, believing it was to be a 4½ foot gauge railway, should at their pleasure be changed to a narrow gauge.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not even know the width of the canal at the time the vote was taken, nor until the dimensions had been reduced and the House had met. The estimate was based upon the schedules, without any reference to plans. As to the lecture read by the member for Kingston, he thought he could find the right hon. gentleman some specimens of his own language which would show he had little room to speak. The hon. member from Cumberland never spoke without wounding the feelings of hon. gentleman upon this side of the House, and if he thought he could indulge in those offensive epithets—a kind of warfare that would disgrace a Hottentot Legislature—without hon. gentlemen retaliating, he was much mistaken.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER appealed to the House to say whether he had used any expression justifying the language of the Hon. the First Minister. When the hon. gentleman was at a loss for an answer he fell back upon insults, and if he persisted in that course, he (Mr. Tupper) would, not fail upon every occasion to bring it before the House. He called attention to a discrepancy between the explanations of the First Minister with regard to St. Peter's Canal and the statement of the hon. member for Richmond, who was reported in the Official Report on the occasion of his having brought the subject before the House to have stated in the most distinct terms that the plans and specifications were before

the House when the money was originally voted for this purpose. The hon. member had upon his arrival at Ottawa this Session invited his (Mr. Tupper's) co-operation in this connection, and he had a right now to sustain what had been said.

Mr. FLYNN said he felt grateful to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tupper) for the assistance he had received from him, as would every hon. member for Cape Breton. In 1874 he (Mr. Flynn) had inspected the plans of the St. Peter's Canal, and during that Session \$75,000 was voted for the work based upon those plans. This was what he had said upon that subject. With regard to what the hon. gentleman said about inviting his (Mr. Tupper's) co-operation, he had met the hon. gentleman after arriving here, and was informed by him that he had a motion prepared on the subject for submission to the House. He (Mr. Flynn) had then suggested to the hon. member that the subject would be better brought up by a member from Cape Breton, which was agreed to between them. Beyond this he had not invited the co-operation of the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman had also stated that it was the intention of the Government of which he was a member to carry out the plans of Mr. Perley. There was no discussion at the time these estimates were passed in 1874 and 1875.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE quoted from the reports published in the newspapers to show that, in 1874, when asked for the plans and specifications, he had distinctly stated there were none then prepared.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the hon. member for Richmond had stated distinctly that "plans were then laid on the table of the House," which was certainly a contradiction of the Premier's statement. The hon. member had correctly stated the arrangement that had been mutually made as to bringing this matter before the House. This work, however, was not a local or Provincial undertaking, or only affecting local interests; it was a Dominion work, and the hon. member was aware that the Provincial Government of which he (Mr. Tupper) was a member

was the Government which had constructed it, and that it was being rapidly carried to conclusion at Confederation, after which it was followed up by the then Dominion Government. He repeated the history of the circumstances which had led to this matter being passed over without explanation for the past two Sessions, showing that it was laid aside, from time to time, at the request of the Premier. He had heartily co-operated with the hon. member in respect of this work, for which he had been repaid by having his motives in agitating the subject impugned. He hoped the hon. member would not abuse a favour of this nature in the future no matter by whom given. He remarked that it was perfectly evident the Minister of Public Works had based his advertisements for tenders upon the information before the House in 1874.

Mr. MACDONELL (Inverness) said the same assurances given to-day upon this subject had been given already. He saw no good arising out of this discussion. In fact, it was clear that it was brought about for some other object than merely to forward the interests of the people of Cape Breton. The hon. gentlemen had referred to unparliamentary expressions, and in the same breath he had insulted hon. members by telling them they were ready to say yes or no to anything the Government might desire. If the hon. gentleman did not speak of what he did not know, he would have remembered that only the other day the Minister of Public Works had distinctly stated that the schedules only were laid upon the table when the vote was asked for in 1874.

Mr. FLYNN said in his remarks asking for papers regarding the St. Peter's Canal, he had made use of the term "plans and specifications," and had said these were laid upon the table. It would be remembered, however, that his complaint was directed to the width of the canal, which had been reduced, and although he made use of the terms in question, what he meant to have spoken of was the engineer's report. He thought this explanation would be sufficient to meet

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the charge of contradictory statements as between himself and the Hon. the First Minister. He was ready to give the hon. member for Cumberland all due credit for what the Government, of which he had been the leader, did for the St. Peter's Canal, but the work had been undertaken, although for certain reasons abandoned, before the hon. gentleman was in public life.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) said the members from Cape Breton were satisfied with the explanations of the Premier, and so should the member for Cumberland, who appeared to be very deeply concerned about that county, for what reasons it was easy to understand. He thought they might well say, in the agony of their spirits, in this case, "save us from our friend."

Mr. MACDONALD (Cape Breton) said he was not satisfied with the explanations of the Premier, and he was doubtful if all the other members from Cape Breton were. This discussion was caused by the Minister denying that in 1874 the dimensions of the canal were known and fixed. It was according to his (Mr. Macdonald's) remembrance that in 1874 these dimensions were publicly stated, and that the discussion with regard to them was taken part in by several members from Ontario. It was currently reported that the Premier had changed the plans, not only without consulting the members from Nova Scotia, but even without consulting his own colleagues. That statement was not contradicted up to the present time.

The item then passed.

Item 95, \$10,000, miscellaneous canals, was passed without discussion.

THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

On item 96, \$331,000, Public Buildings, Ottawa,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that he hoped the library would be completed within the fiscal year. \$18,900 was a revote which had not been expended, and there was a new vote of \$6,000, which it was roughly calculated would suffice for the completion of the work. The amount of \$296,000 was required for the extension of the Western Block, now under contract, and that building would be

fully required for the accommodation of the engineering staff of the Public Works Department. He remarked that a mistake had been made in laying out the interior of the Departmental Buildings from the beginning. The rooms were too small, and in most cases quite unfitted for the work to be done in them. There ought to have been several large rooms where the majority of the clerical work could be done, and where supervision would be much simpler and more complete. This had been attended to in the new wing.

The item was agreed to.

MILITIA ESTIMATES.

Unopposed items under the head of Militia were then taken up. Items 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67 were passed without much discussion.

On item 68

Mr. IRVING suggested that some militia officers, young men not below the rank of captain, might have accompanied the Major-General in his trip across the country, and the cost of it would have been small in comparison to the advantage. The Major-General might at an early day go to some other quarter of the globe, and the information he had acquired would thus be lost. Instances of this kind happened already.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL desired some information as to the expense of that trip, which the Minister of Militia said he would give, but it would not be in the Public Accounts until next fiscal year.

Mr. BOWELL called attention to the inferior character of the cloth used in making the uniforms of the force, on which subject he quoted from Major General Smyth's report. He also stated with regard to that report that it contained many excellent practical suggestions, from a man who evidently knew what he was writing about, more so, indeed, than was shown by any similar report presented to Parliament.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the defect in the cloth to which the hon. member for Hastings had called attention required some explanation

from the Minister of Militia. There could be no excuse for this, and he was sure if it had been inspected by Col. Walker Powell he would never have allowed such clothing to be taken from the hands of the contractor. There was no reason why cloth should be accepted that a single rain would change from scarlet to black, and reduce the caps to pulp. The Minister should explain who was the contractor, who was the inspector, and how such articles were allowed to pass.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the object in the first place in getting the militia clothing made in this country was to give to Canada the benefit of the work. It originated before he came into office, and he was happy to endorse that policy. Tenders for cloth manufactured in Canada had been extensively advertised, tenders to be received by sample, the lowest had been accepted and the contract was carried out in good faith. It must be understood that Canadian manufacturers had not arrived at the same degree of proficiency in making cloth as they had in England, especially scarlet cloth, which was the most difficult in the world to manufacture so as to stand the effects of sun and rain. The fact was the Canadian cloth had not come up to his expectations. As to the caps, they had been bought cheap as an experiment, as a substitute for the Glengarry caps which in hot weather exposed the men's necks and faces to the sun too much.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) objected to the statement of the Minister of Militia going abroad respecting Canadian cloth, as it would have a prejudicial effect. Canadian cloth was equal to cloth made in any part of the world. It was quite true that we had not arrived at the same proficiency in dying as they had attained in the old country, but it did not necessarily follow that because British soldiers wore scarlet uniforms that our militia men should be dressed in scarlet also. Why not dress our men in national grey cloth, that could be produced here most effectively. Give the manufacturers a chance and they would produce an article equal to anything manufactured in the world for durability and comfort.

The item was carried.

On motion of Mr. MILLS, the time for receiving reports of Committees on Private Bills was extended until the 8th of April.

The House adjourned at Ten minutes past Six o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, April 3, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

INSOLVENT ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. CARON moved that the Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1875 be read the second time on Thursday next.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE questioned whether such motion was in order without due notice being placed on the paper, the Bill having been negatived on a previous occasion.

After some discussion,

Mr. SPEAKER not having had time to consult the authorities, was disposed to rule that the motion was in order.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE then moved in amendment that all after the word "that" in the motion be struck out, and the words "three months" inserted instead thereof.

Mr. CARON said non-traders were excluded from the operation of the Insolvent Law of 1875, and if it were decided that this provision must continue a portion of the Act, it was only fair that they should not be obliged to accept any compromise or composition which might be apportioned to traders under that Act. If they could not avail themselves of the advantages of the Act, if advantages they were, they ought not to be subjected to its disadvantages. What would be the result if they were? The result would be that while a farmer was compelled to accept a compromise—to accept a very small proportion of the debt due to him—he was himself compelled to pay to the very same class of men one hundred cents on the dollar, and could be forced to pay whatever balance might be due at any time he could be got at. It was but right and just under the circumstances that a farmer should only be compelled

to accept a dividend upon an insolvent estate as part payment of the debt due to him, and that he should be entitled at any opportunity to claim payment in full.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) said it was very clear that the passage of this Bill would simply render the Insolvent Act utterly inoperative, and would prevent a merchant who had got into difficulties from getting a new start. A non-trader refusing to give discharge would prevent an insolvent trader from getting a settlement, and from beginning business again. He thought it a great pity that minor amendments should be forced upon the consideration of the House in regard to a law so recently passed. He had received many suggestions from his constituents for amendments, but he regarded it as the better course to take all these suggestions into consideration during the recess, and if alterations were necessary, to have them made after the law had been fairly tried.

Hon. Mr. POPE was quite in favour of providing that the farmers should not be put in a position to become bankrupt, but he also thought they should not be obliged to accept as a final payment of a debt any compromise which might be offered by an insolvent trader. If the farmer was to be compelled to accept of such a dividend as final payment, he ought to himself have the benefit of the Insolvent Act.

Mr. COLBY did not think the Insolvency Act was for the public benefit, but if we were to have it at all, it would be better not to engraft such an amendment as this upon it. With such a provision as this he could not conceive of a more mongrel law than the Insolvent Act would be.

Mr. PALMER thought it would be a pity if such an arbitrary precedent as that which the motion of the Minister of Justice constituted were to be established. He, however, thought it a perfect monstrosity to pass such an amendment as this, and he was in favour of giving the farmer the benefit of the Act, if any benefit there were.

Mr. POULIOT supported the Bill upon the ground that the farmer was

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at present placed in a very unfair and unjust position, and ought not to be compelled to accept a dividend of an insolvent trader as final.

Mr. WOOD said this matter was referred to a Special Committee last year and received very careful consideration and the Bill as reported also received careful consideration by the House. He thought therefore it would be unwise to tamper with the measure now. If the law was changed as proposed they might as well sweep it off the Statute Book altogether. It would be a great calamity to allow any farmer to go into insolvency. The law should not be interfered with until after a proper trial as to its utility.

Mr. WHITE saw no objection to the amendment, and indeed thought it would be in the interests of the agricultural community. It was only just that farmers should have the same rights and privileges as merchants, and he hoped the hon. Minister of Justice would allow the motion to carry.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said during his long Parliamentary experience he had never heard a motion like that of his hon. friend for Quebec County objected to before. When the motion was placed on the Orders of the Day would have been the proper time to introduce the amendment. The course of the Minister of Justice might introduce an undesirable precedent.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE thought the right hon. member for Kingston was scarcely correct in suggesting that the course was unprecedented, and gave two instances of similar motions. He quite agreed that they should not avail themselves of such an amendment unless the House had an opportunity of discussing the matter; but this bill had already been debated and decided adversely. There was another Bill in respect to the Insolvent Act which was now in Committee. The Government had declared its policy in regard to this Act at an early stage in the Session, which was to allow it to operate for another year with only the slight amendments which it was generally necessary to incorporate into such measures. He thought the second reading of the Bill in question having been negatived, he

was consulting the convenience of the House and country by proposing to reach a conclusion at once on the subject.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER suggested that the motion should be allowed to go on the Notice Paper, when the principle for which the Hon. Minister of Justice was contending could be more properly discussed.

Mr. GALBRAITH thought the farmers, who did not come within the provisions of the Act, had no right to suffer from its operation. Wholesale merchants in dealing with the agriculturists generally realised a large profit, but the latter made very little by these transactions, and he did not believe it was fair or right they should suffer.

Mr. SPEAKER quoted from the English *Hansard* of 1864 with regard to the question of procedure, and ruled the present motion in order.

Mr. SCATCHERD thought the question invoked by this Bill had received but little consideration; at any rate it had not been brought forcibly to his attention before. He did not understand the principle that one man should be discharged from his debts and another man should not have the same privilege. He was opposed to the Insolvent Law, which he did not think was required in this country, and as the motion was in the right direction and favoured the placing of the farmers on an equality with the mercantile community, he would vote against the amendment.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE withdrew his amendment, and the motion was carried.

SEWING MACHINE SHUTTLES.

Mr. COLBY moved the second reading of the Bill to enable Ozro Morrill to obtain a patent for certain inventions and improvements in sewing machine shuttles.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Department would take means of satisfying itself that the improvements were of such a nature as might reasonably cause a doubt to be entertained as to whether the former patent did or did not cover the object sought by this measure. If not, the patent would be granted, but otherwise the

present arrangement would not be interfered with.

With this understanding the Bill was read the third time and passed.

LONDON AND CANADA LOAN AND AGENCY COMPANY.

The House went into Committee on the Bill to amend the Act 35 Victoria, chapter 108, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the London and Canada Loan and Agency Company (limited)"—Mr. Mills in the chair.

The Committee rose and reported the Bill, and the third reading was fixed for to-morrow.

ST. LAWRENCE BANK.

The House went into Committee.—Mr. Bowell in the chair—on the Bill to amend the charter of "The St. Lawrence Bank," and to change the name of the said bank to that of "The Standard Bank of Canada" (as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce).

The Committee rose and reported the Bill, which was read the third time and passed.

DIOCESE OF RUPERT'S LAND.

On item four being called,

House in Committee on Bill (No. 71) ---An Act to incorporate the Synod of the Church of England, Diocese of Rupert's Land (as amended by Standing Committee on Private Bills,)

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said this Bill, with measures of a similar character, had been under the consideration of the Government, and he would suggest to his hon. friend from Cardwell the expediency of not proceeding further this Session. It would be within the recollection of the House that a year since a measure was passed to incorporate the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, giving them power to hold lands throughout the Dominion, and to carry on their operations. Another measure was introduced at an earlier period, containing similar provisions. These measures were not much debated at the time, but there was considerable doubt on the part of the legal members as to the constitutionality of the

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Federal Parliament dealing with the subject. It was obvious that if this present unsatisfactory condition of affairs continued, the difficulties surrounding such legislation would become greater, year after year, as those applications would become more numerous and the demands with reference to land holding, &c., would become more exacting. The Government proposed, during the recess, to look into the question of constitutionality, and to obtain an opinion on the subject from the Judges. If it were determined that Parliament had the right to grant the powers asked by this and other Bills, a general law dealing with the question would be introduced. To attempt to pass an Act this Session would, in a measure, defeat the end of carefully considering the subject, and would leave the door open for injurious consequences.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) said he would not press the measure in the face of the objections raised by his hon. friend the Minister of Justice. He, however, remarked that this Bill really provided for nothing which was not contained in the Bill for the union of the Synod for the Lower Provinces with that of the Upper Provinces, which had been agreed to in this Parliament. He moved that the order be discharged.

Mr. MILLS said, with the amendments proposed, he had supported the measure in the Private Bills Committee, but the hon. member for Cardwell would remember that he had already expressed an opinion adverse to it on the constitutional point.

The order was then discharged.

MISCELLANEOUS PRIVATE BILLS.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Bill to incorporate the National Loan and Life Assurance Company of Canada—Mr. Blain in the Chair.

The various clauses of the Bill were agreed to, and reported with some verbal amendments.

The Bill was then read the third time, the name having been changed to the Union Assurance Company of Canada.

The Bill to incorporate the Canada Assurance Corporation also passed through Committee of the Whole, was read the third time and passed; as were the Bill to incorporate the Chartered Bank of London and British America, and the Bill respecting Loans by the British American Land Company.

BRAS D'OR LAKE LIGHT-HOUSE.

Mr. TREMAINE enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to build a dwelling for the keeper of MacKenzie's Point Light House, north side Bras d'Or Lake, County of Victoria, N. S., and if so, when?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is the intention.

VETERANS OF 1812.

Mr. BARTHE enquired why the Government have refused to pay to the Veterans of 1812, who reside temporarily in the United States, their share of the *bonus* voted in 1875, the Act making no distinction? Why the Government have refused to pay to Michael Heroux, of the Parish of St. Robert, County of Richelieu, the amount of his claim?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—I stated some time ago in answer to a question, that we found the English practice is not to make payments in cases of this nature, and I fancy the same principle will apply with propriety in Canada.

QUEBEC POST OFFICE.

Mr. CARON enquired why, and in accordance with what instructions does the Postmaster of Quebec refuse to sell postage stamps at the said office, contrary to the Act regulating the Postal Service? Also, whether it is the intention of the Government to provide a remedy for this breach of the law?

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The Government has no knowledge that the Postmaster at Quebec refuses to comply with the law. On the contrary, the Government is under the impression that he is acting in accordance with the law.

Mr. CARON said he doubted if the Postmaster General understood the question, from the nature of his reply.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON—The Government is under the impression that the Postmaster of Quebec is acting according to his instructions.

MINERAL RESOURCES OF CAPE BRETON.

Mr. TREMAINE enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to send a geologist to Cape Breton to report upon the mineral resources of the Island.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—The Department has had a geologist in Cape Breton for the last two years, and it is probable there will be one there for a short time this season also.

DUTY ON BRITISH COLUMBIA FISH.

Mr. DECOSMOS enquired whether negotiations are now pending or do the Government intend to open negotiations with the United States with the object of extending the Treaty of Washington to British Columbia, in order that the fish and fish oils of that Province may be admitted into the United States, duty free?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There are no negotiations pending at the present time with that object. Very recently it was decided by the United States Government that the Columbia fish could not be admitted to their markets under the Washington Treaty, which opinion was coincided in by the Imperial Government. I may add, however, that we will be very glad to do anything we can to have the privilege extended to British Columbia also.

ST. OUR'S LOCKS TOLLS.

Mr. CHEVAL enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to continue in force the unjust law regulating the amount which each steamboat has to pay in order to pass through the St. Our's Lock, under which two steamboats of the same size pay, the one 32 cents and the other \$1.95?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The intention of the Government is, of course, to conform to the law. As I understand it, some of the vessels have been measured under different Statutes, and in this way an apparent injustice arises. The matter has been under the consideration of the Fishery Department and the Department of Justice.

REPRINTING OF THE STATUTES.

Mr. POZER (in the absence of Mr. Béchard) enquired whether it is the intention of the Government to cause to be printed in French and published in a separate volume, all the Criminal Laws relating to the Dominion; as was done in English last year? Also, whether these two volumes, English and French, will be distributed like the ordinary Statutes?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the circumstance which called for the reprinting in English of the Criminal Statutes last year arose out of the admission of British Columbia, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island after the passing of these laws. Application for the Criminal Statutes had been made by some of these Provinces, and the reprinting was mainly to meet this want. The attention of the Government had not been called to the subject suggested by the hon. member's question.

RAILWAY TOLLS.

Mr. OLIVER rose to move that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolutions:—

"1st. That whenever the tolls on any Railway in Canada, now or to be hereafter constructed, and subject to the jurisdiction of Canada as respects the matters hereinafter mentioned, are reduced or raised by by-law in accordance with the provisions of any Act of the Legislature of the late Province of Canada, or of the Parliament of Canada, such reduction or raising of the tolls shall in no case be made to apply to any particular section of the railway, but shall apply *pro rata* to the entire length thereof.

"2nd. That every railway company shall, according to their respective powers, afford all reasonable facilities to all corporations and individuals for the receiving and forwarding and delivery of traffic upon and from their railway; and no company shall give or continue any preference or advantage to any particular corporation or individual in any respect whatsoever, nor shall any Railway Company subject any particular corporation or individual to any prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatever; and any agreement made between any railway company and any corporation or individual contrary to the foregoing provisions, shall be unlawful, null and void.

"3rd. That if any railway company, or any officer, servant or agent of any Railway Company in any way contravenes the provisions of the next preceding sections, such railway company, or such officer, servant or agent, personally, shall, for each such contra-

vention, incur a penalty not exceeding *fifty dollars* over and above the actual damages incurred, which penalty may be recovered with costs, in a summary manner, before any Justice of the Peace, by the party aggrieved by such contravention, to and for the use of such party aggrieved.

"4th. That every railway company heretofore, or which may be hereafter incorporated, or whether their railway has been heretofore constructed or is hereafter to be constructed, having granted any facilities to any express company, shall grant equal facilities on equal terms and conditions to any other express company now incorporated, or hereafter to be incorporated in Canada, demanding the same."

In doing so, he said this subject had already engaged the attention of the House on two occasions. It had also engaged the attention of the Committee on Railways and Telegraphs; and from statements made by Ministers last Session before that Committee, he had no doubt it had also entered into the consideration of the Government when they were preparing their Common Carriers' Bill—a Bill which in his estimation was of very great importance to the people of this country. He very much regretted that the House was not to have an opportunity of passing the measure in question through this Session. He had no doubt some of the resolutions he had put upon the notice paper some time ago found their way into that Bill, although what he conceived to be the principal one did not. The subject had commended itself of late to the earnest consideration of the commercial community, and the Dominion Board of Trade had it brought before them at their late meeting in this city the following resolution:—

"Mr. Farrell, then moved, seconded by Mr. Lukes:—'That, considering the injustice done to the majority of shippers of produce in Canada, a memorial be presented to the Government, asking them to take the subject of preferential railway freights into their consideration.'"

This resolution had been carried, and although he was not aware that it had been pressed upon the attention of the Government by the Board, he had come to the conclusion that the simple fact of their having passed such a motion was enough to impress the Administration with the reasonableness of the proposition. Another very important body, the Millers' Association, at their meeting in Toronto last year, had also arrived at similar conclusions

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in regard to the existing state of the carrying trade, and agreed to the following motion on the subject:—

“Whereas some railways of the Dominion being largely subsidized by public funds are in the practice of giving preferential shipments and rates on foreign freight; also, private preferential rates and shipments on local and through freights to certain individuals of the Dominion, the former being a manifest injustice and flagrant breach of faith towards the people of this country by the diversion and use of public moneys for purposes which were never intended or designed—the latter as being unfair toward the majority of producers, manufacturers, and shippers by monopolizing prices, markets, and freights. And, whereas, the aggrieved parties who are daily suffering and being imposed upon are powerless in their individual capacity or influence, to remedy the abuses, that this Association do instantly and earnestly call the attention of the House of Commons and the Government to the palpable injustice to the community at large.”

It appeared, however, that instead of pressing this wise resolution upon the attention of the Government, instead of coming down here and asking for justice with respect to railway rates, they had petitioned Parliament for protection.

There were many grievances against the railways of which the people of this country very justly complained in regard to the carrying trade. Foreign freight was carried at a very much lower rate than Canadian freight, there were local differential rates distinguishing between places in Canada where there was and was not competition, and different individuals even, although residing and doing business in the same town, were accorded different rates. The rolling stock of the through railways were for the most part employed in carrying foreign produce to the markets of the Eastern States, and it was impossible for the Canadian shippers to get accommodation. These complaints were heard upon every hand, and referred to in strong terms in the public prints. That the produce of the Western States was carried at a very much lower rate over Canadian railways than was Canadian produce would not be presumed be denied, but he would point out a few notable cases. Let us take the article of wheat, and it would be found that it had been carried over the Grand Trunk from Chicago to Liverpool for less than Canadian railways carried it from

Guelph to Toronto—less, indeed, by one cent and a half per hundred pounds. This was stated, not only on his (Mr. Oliver's) own authority, but upon the authority of Mr. Boulton, a prominent gentleman engaged in the grain trade, whose opinion was thus reported in the newspapers:—

“Mr. Boulton said that the railways were continually apologizing for the necessity of their cultivating a through trade, but he did not see how the rates could pay them; if they did, then by the local rates they must be making fortunes. He said that wheat had been carried from Chicago to Liverpool at one and a half cent less than it had been carried from Guelph to Toronto.”

It was also stated upon good authority that grain had been carried from Detroit to Portland over the Grand Trunk for \$13 per car load less than from Toronto to the same place. Pork had also been carried from Chicago to Ottawa for 25 cents per barrel less than from the city of London to Ottawa. It was stated upon authority which could not be disputed, that the freight per barrel of flour from Chicago to Portland was 69 cents, while from Toronto to Portland it was 70 cents. At a manufacturer's meeting in Toronto recently, it was stated that the invariable practice of the railway companies in this country was to carry all kinds of manufactured goods from the United States to all points in Canada at a less rate than they carried goods manufactured in this country. If any one were inclined to dispute this, they had but to examine the published proceedings of the annual meeting of the Great Western Railway Company in London. It was there stated that there were eight through freight trains from the west to the east and but two local freight trains. The earnings of the through trains were 60 per cent. of the whole, while the earnings of the local trains formed 40 per cent., thus showing that each through train only earned $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the income from freight, while each local train earned 20 per cent. There was no room to doubt that the rolling stock of the Canadian railways was being used to convey foreign freight to our own and foreign markets, to the utter neglect and great disadvantage of our own products. It would be remembered that a

few years ago the City Council of Montreal appointed a Committee to investigate this matter, and a very valuable report was published, in which there appeared a correspondence which had taken place between themselves and the Manager of the Grand Trunk. At that time it was proved that the commercial men of Canada had lost an immense sum of money in consequence of the proportion of our Canadian rolling stock employed in carrying the produce of the Western States to the markets of England and the Eastern States, to the exclusion of Canadian produce. At non-competing points it was ascertained that freight had to wait the convenience of the railway companies, and that the necessary facilities were afforded only after the Western produce had been carried to market. That was a grievance of which the people of this country had a right to complain. The people were being yearly taxed to a great amount on account of these railways. The Grand Trunk owed us, principal and interest, some thirty millions, having received a subsidy of \$15,000,000, or \$15,000 per mile; and we loaned money to the Great Western, cancelling \$1,250,000 in the settlement of the debt. Surely when all this was remembered it would be admitted to be a fair and reasonable proposition that these railways should carry the products of this country upon at least the same terms as they offered to foreigners.

Another complaint made by millers was that the railways gave preference to wheat as compared to flour in the matter of rates. The milling interest in this country was of great importance. We have about 1,000 mills of different capacities, in which there are perhaps six millions of capital invested, giving employment to some 16,000 or 17,000 hands directly and indirectly. It was stated upon good authority that during the time navigation is closed, the railways did everything in their power to favour the English manufacturer of flour, and that they carried 220 pounds of wheat for 25 cents from Toronto to the seaboard, while for a barrel of flour of the same weight they charged 40 cents. This was a direct bonus to the manufacturers of England

Mr. OLIVER.

and the Eastern States, and operated injuriously against the millers of this country, without benefitting the producer of wheat a single cent. He took three points on the Great Western Railway as an illustration of the unfair system upon which rates were levied. Barley, per 100 pounds, from Paris to Detroit, 160 miles, costs 16 cents; from Woodstock to Detroit, 140 miles, 19 cents; from London to Detroit, 160 miles, 13 cents; thus showing that there is a preference given to competing points against those which are not. Another instance was quoted by the President of the Millers' Association of a dealer who had a contract to fill a large order for a firm in Boston. He had a quantity of flour at Guelph and another at Rockwood, seven miles to the east. The freight from Guelph to Boston was 50 cents per barrel, and from Rockwood to Boston 78 cents. What this trader did was to ship that portion of his consignment lying at Rockwood to Guelph, re-shipping it from thence to Boston, and thereby realizing a handsome profit.

Dairy producers, in his (Mr. Oliver's) constituency had to ship their cheese, intended for export, to London—a competing point—and thence re-ship it to Liverpool, in order to have the advantage of a reasonable rate.

He might also state that it was found on certain sections of the Great Western Railway, in consequence of the enormous rates for local freight, more profitable to resort to the old system of conveying articles of manufacture from one point to another, and not to make use of the railway at all. As an instance he quoted from a Dundas newspaper the following extract:

Mr. J. P. Bellington, of Dundas, who is extensively engaged in manufacturing grain drills, and who sells largely in Waterloo and Wellington counties, is now shipping his drills to Galt, Preston and Guelph by teams and saving about \$1 on each drill; and this, too, over bad roads and with tolls to pay every five miles."

It was unnecessary for him to go over any more instances wherein railways had been unjust to the people of this country. It was universally admitted that such was the case, and that the injustice was done, not simply to one interest, not simply to one locality, not simply to particular indi-

viduals, but to the general public. He would make one honourable exception. He found the Canada Southern, built with foreign capital, and controlled by Americans, did more justice to the people of this country than roads which were built with Canadian capital and worked by parties sent out from the old country to manage them.

It was easy to see how one district was placed at disadvantage as compared with another. London, for example was a competing point. Every effort was made to draw traffic to that city. It was an easy matter, when a railway company owned property in any town or city which it was desired to make valuable, to draw traffic to that point at the expense of other places. If one commercial man had the ear of the company, too, it was quite possible for him to drive all his competitors out of the market. This was more especially the case in the commission business. In this way one or two men were able to control the markets in the towns, and get prices regulated just to suit themselves. Mr. Boulton, of Toronto, in a recent letter to the press, gave the following instance :

"Within the last fortnight two brokers were negotiating for the purchase of a lot of flour for shipment to the Maritime Provinces. One of the parties on application to the Grand Trunk agent here, was refused a concession of five cents per barrel which would have enabled him to fill an order for the purchase, and his chance fell through; the other, for some reason best known to himself, was granted the very same abatement. Surely it is a glaring impropriety that these discriminations should be made in matters of personal competition; but I contend, moreover, that the public, from their peculiar interest as investors in the Grand Trunk stock, have a right to insist that from the highest to the lowest all should be treated alike."

It was stated it was nothing but fair and right that competing points should have the advantage of reduced rates which competition gave them. That might be very well if the railways were private commercial undertakings, but they were the property of the people, and more or less under the control of the legislature of this country. In Oxford County they paid about \$12,000 interest yearly on the debt of the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways, and yet they had

to pay \$50,000 a year more for the carrying of their produce than if they were placed at a competing point. So long as these railways were built in the interests of the people, they ought to deal with the public in all sections upon equal terms. It was stated in extenuation of the conduct of the railways that they were bankrupt, or, at any rate, in greatly reduced circumstances. He need scarcely ask from what this arose. He need not inform the House it was not in consequence of carrying the freight of Canada, but of the ruinously low rates at which they carried the freight of other countries. The recent investigations with reference to the Great Western and Intercolonial Railways revealed a sort of management which, if the same were carried out upon all the railways in Canada, it was no wonder they were bankrupt. Why, the Great Western had invested in some of the most extraordinary and unproductive works. When the idea of building the Canada Southern was mooted, the Great Western undertook to prevent it, and, failing in that, built a competing line from Glencoe to Fort Erie, which was quite unnecessary for their work. The toll by-law was a dead letter, in so far as it was supposed to afford protection to the public interest, for the railway companies just charged what they pleased.

He might be allowed to say that he was not wedded to the resolutions he had placed on the paper. A grievance existed, and he was not particular as to the remedy so long as one was applied. His resolutions were not introduced, as had been stated by some hon. gentlemen, with a desire to bring about a *pro rata* Bill; they simply provided that if any reduction took place it should be *pro rata*, and that if there was any increase it should be *pro rata*. So far as the people were concerned, he believed such an arrangement would remove their grievance. If any hon. members had a more preferable position, or if the Government would state that they would take the matter under serious consideration, he would be perfectly satisfied. In certain sections the people had endeavoured to cure the existing evil themselves by building local railways to compete with the

Trunk lines. But the latter brought all their power to bear on the destruction of those projects. Even when the inhabitants of various sections were willing to tax themselves for the construction of lines, with this object the Great Western and Grand Trunk railways tried in every way to defeat that laudable object—even going as far as to destroy the railway credit of the country in the English money market. We were at present, and would be for some time to come, at the mercy of the Trunk roads, and every effort should be used to break up their disastrous monopoly. The Local Government of Quebec had done all they could in this direction, coming down with a bold policy, and declaring they would not have the local lines, which were calculated to benefit the people, destroyed in consequence of the influence of the Grand Trunk road in the English market; and they introduced a scheme by which those lines should be constructed by the Local Government. In Ontario certain lines had remained in abeyance owing to the exertions of the trunk railways, and would probably not be completed until these were willing to withdraw their opposition. There was no other remedy but an appeal to the Federal Government at the present time, and he trusted they would make every effort to assist the people in this very desirable way. It had been stated at Boards of Trade and Miller's Association meetings that the Government have no control over railways, but no railway in this or any other country could be constructed without the permission of the Government; railways could not levy a dollar toll without the consent of the authorities, and were, in fact, completely under their control. The same grievances from which Canadians were now suffering were experienced in England. Previous to 1873, all disputed cases were referred to the courts, which was found a tedious operation, but in that year commissioners were appointed to investigate into every grievance from railways, canals and shippers, and such matters are dealt with promptly at the present time. If our Government would follow the example of Great

Britain in this particular, as we ought to follow it in everything which would conduce to our good, he was confident they would confer a great boon on the country. When prices went up in England or in Boston and other eastern cities, we are at the mercy of the trunk lines; we cannot get our products into those markets in time to be benefitted by the advance. The productions of the Western States are carried in until the markets become glutted, and we have to wait until it suited the convenience of the railways which the people of Canada built to transport our products. This was a state of affairs which should be remedied, and he trusted the House would favorably consider the resolutions he now moved.

It being six o'clock, the House took a recess.

AFTER RECESS.

On the debate on Mr. Oliver's motion being called,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he quite admitted many of the grievances complained of by his hon. friend from North Oxford, and had hoped that they would have had an opportunity to discuss those matters relating to the carriage of goods upon a Bill, which, however, had not passed the ordeal of another place, and would consequently not be brought before them for discussion. He supposed from the remarks of his hon. friend that he also expected to reach a debate upon the introduction of that Bill promised in His Excellency's Speech to Parliament. At present he could only say to him that they had had the matter under consideration, and would have it again under consideration, but he was not able to say precisely what they might be able to do in the premises. It was, however, entirely too late in this session to attempt to introduce any measure with the slightest prospect of success, and while he was not prepared to say that the Government would be able to do anything except to direct the attention of the proper officer to the table of rates and charges of the respective railways, he hoped he might ask his hon. friend not to press the motion upon the House at the present

time. The hon. gentleman could accomplish nothing by it; he had brought the subject very fully before the House and the country, and had exposed the necessity that to his mind existed for some change which would ensure absolute justice to every person having goods to carry on the railways. He did not agree with the hon. gentleman that it was possible to obtain a *pro rata* system throughout, because our leading railways have to contend with leading railways carrying the produce of the Great West to the ocean, and greater or less divergence from the *pro rata* system was necessary, in order to give them any business to do. With regard to the carrying trade within our own borders, the case might be different. He was aware the *pro rata* is in existence in regard to passenger traffic, with a slight difference in favor of long distances, and while it was more difficult to apply it to articles of merchandise carried on local railways, still there might be abuses that could and ought to be redressed, and so far as they could effect that purpose, the Government were willing to direct attention to it.

Mr. IRVING (Hamilton) said the question was one of considerable difficulty, in consequence of the impossibility, or rather impracticability or want of will on the part of Parliament to legislate at variance with what are recognised as vested rights. We had in the first place chartered railways, giving them authority to collect tolls at certain rates, viz., tolls which they shall fix subject to the assent, or disapproval of the Governor in Council. Having permitted the railway to borrow money upon the faith of those tolls, it became almost an impossible task to a Legislature such as this to legislate in a way which might almost be looked upon as confiscation. But although the railways generally in the cases complained of did not levy tolls to as high a rate as they could by law, the difficulties arose by reason of their charging freights which are too low in one sense, and yet not low enough for those localities which have not the benefit of competition. The question that was open to examination was whether or not the rates they levied are at variance with that branch of the law which directs that they

shall not levy tolls giving preference to one party over another. The law is that "the same tolls shall be payable at the same time and under the same circumstances upon the goods of all persons, so that no undue advantage, privilege, or monopoly may be afforded to one person or class of persons by any by-laws relating to tolls." Many of the complaints which the hon. member for North Oxford made resolved themselves into an undue preference given to certain classes of traders, therefore the only way of altering that was by giving the public some simple and easy remedy whereby the difficulties complained of might be easily adjudicated upon. At present there is no tribunal by which the suitor or wronged party can conveniently take up the matter. So seriously was this felt in England that a tribunal of three experienced men was appointed to sit all the year round as arbitrators, to examine into the details of these questions, and make certain rules which are capable of being carried into effect. He was not proposing that this very expensive system should be introduced into Canada, but he thought some simple practice and procedure might be adopted whereby judges of experience might have the power to deal similarly with a question of this kind subject to appeal to some tribunal in cases of doubt. He was inclined to think if the Government took up this question they would allay very extensive dissatisfaction which prevailed among all persons who are in the habit of shipping goods over railways. There would be nothing revolutionary in such a system; it would be but the providing of means to carry out the law, and would in no way encroach upon the vested rights of the railways. It would prevent them from making mistakes on the one hand, and shippers from making unjustifiable claims on the others. With reference to the statements of the hon. member for North Oxford, we only heard of those matters from newspaper letters and correspondence. There had not been, that he was aware of, any petitions emanating from Boards of Trade and so forth, calling upon Parliament to take up the question. No

doubt some of those newspaper statements had some foundation in fact, but he was not aware that ever the matter had been brought before the attention of Parliament in a way that it might be considered a living, burning question except through the occasional remarks of the hon. mover. He thought the matter was of sufficient importance, however, to induce the Government to give it full consideration by the next Session of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon member for Hamilton had referred to the inopportuneness of the time for making those charges, considering the position of the several railways as a very important element in the discussion. Some of the leading companies, as was well known, were in financial difficulties on account of the depression in the carrying as well as other trades, and any legislation looking to an abrupt termination of rights, if exercised at the present moment, might have a prejudicial effect on railway securities.

Mr. IRVING said nothing would justify interference with their vested rights, but his argument was that if they were required to carry out the law, it should be carried out in its integrity, and there should be no discrimination.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government had given their attention to obtaining accurate railway statistics, which seemed to him to be the first requisite to enable them to deal with the railways. Those statistics had hardly been obtainable up to this time, and it was scarcely possible yet to obtain them without statutory power. They might find it necessary to have some further authority to obtain the perfect information required, and which it was in the interest of the public in the first place, and ultimately in the interest of the companies, should be furnished. He had given some personal attention to this matter, and intended to devote even more attention to it. In the meantime it would be in the public interest if the hon. member for North Oxford withdrew his resolutions.

Mr. OLIVER said he was aware it was too late in the Session to press an important measure of this kind upon

Mr. IRVING.

the House. He was also cognizant of the fact that if it were pressed now it could not reach maturity. He might state that the hon. First Minister was rather mistaken with reference to the meaning of the resolutions. He did not ask for a *pro rata* rate, but that the rates fixed by the Governor in Council should be adhered to, and if any deviation took place, if a reduction was sanctioned, then that reduction should be *pro rata*, and the same with any increase. That was the real meaning of his resolutions, and his opinion was that instead of being injurious such arrangement would be beneficial to the companies. The country was not opposed to the rates fixed by the Governor in Council, but they were opposed to one individual having to pay those rates and another getting his freight carried for about one half. With reference to the statement of the hon. member for Hamilton that the companies had obtained money upon the assurance that those rates would be continued, he did not think that was the case. He believed every railway charter was subject to any legislation that might in future take place with reference to such railways. The hon. member stated that no petitions had been presented to the House. Very strong resolutions were passed by the Board of Trade in favour of the idea embodied in the resolutions, and an expression of an important body like this was equivalent to a great number of petitions to Parliament. He hoped that the Government during the recess, would take this subject fully into consideration, and ere long give the country the benefit of a proper Common Carriers Bill. At the request of the First Minister he would ask leave to withdraw the resolutions.

Leave was granted, and the subject dropped.

THE SUGAR REFINING INTEREST.

Mr. DESJARDINS moved for copies of correspondence, petitions and memorials relating to the Sugar refining interest. He said that some remarks were necessary with a view to the proper understanding of this matter. It was a well known fact that after the Budget Speech of the Finance Minister the most important sugar refinery in

the country had to close its doors, leaving useless an invested capital of over \$1,000,000; and 300 men permanently employed were left without further occupation. The census of 1870-71 shows that the annual products of that establishment amounted to \$2,620,000; \$2,400,000 being the value of importations; that the salaries then paid in the establishment amounted to \$71,000; that \$120,000 was paid annually for cooerage, and \$14,000 for iron works and general repairs. When the establishment was in operation 14,000 tons of coal, carried by our ships from the Pictou Mines, were annually consumed. In view of these facts it would be idle to contend that in this case a private interest merely is concerned. On the contrary not only was our home trade seriously affected thereby, but also our commerce with foreign countries, more especially the West Indies. Moreover, our merchant navy was deprived of the benefits to be derived from the transport each way of material. After the abolition of the Treaty of Reciprocity in 1875, when it became known that the American market was closed to our productions, a Commission was appointed by the Government then in power to visit the West Indies, Brazil, and other countries, with a view to ascertaining whether it would not be possible to establish direct commercial relations with them, in order to replace the trade until then maintained by the intermediary of the United States. It was then established beyond doubt that if we could export some of our produce, such as timber, beef, &c., and bring a return cargo, we could diminish the cost of transport, and compete successfully with the United States and other countries. The principal product of the West Indies being sugar, the attention of the Government was directed to the fact that by establishing and encouraging the development of sugar refineries here, a fleet of vessels would find employment in carrying home produce to the West India Islands, while they brought return cargoes of raw material for the refineries. There already had existed for a number of years a refinery at Montreal, which the census of 1860 shows manufactured to the value of

\$450,000 only. It would, therefore, be evident that trade had very considerably developed up to the year 1871, when, at Montreal, the value of sugar refined there rose to nearly \$4,000,000. Since that period, instead of increasing, this branch of industry had languished year by year, and one establishment, that of Messrs. Molson and Smith, had to be closed. The cause of this decline is very generally attributed to the changes which were made about that time in the tariff. The other refinery continued in operation with some difficulty, while petitioning at frequent intervals for an alteration in the duties. For some months past the latter establishment had struggled for existence in the hope that that had been awakened by supporters of the Government, that this Session would bring with it the much required change in the tariff. Unfortunately for that establishment and for the country, they were deceived in their expectations, and the establishment has been compelled to close rather than to carry on at a direct loss. In order to show that by the closing of this establishment more than the proprietors and employees were the losers, he would read from a letter already brought under the notice of this House. It was addressed to his hon. friend from Montreal West, and signed by the largest sugar importers of Montreal. They said:—

“ We desire to bring under your notice, and, through you, under that of the Minister of Finance,—the difficulty—we might say, the impossibility—which we experience in carrying on direct trade with Canada and the West Indies. The difficulty to which we refer is the want of modification here for Mascavado sugar, which constitutes the main export of the West India Islands. This article, which must be regarded either as a raw material for manufacture or as a necessary of life, is now subject to a combined specific and *ad valorem* duty equivalent to about 50 per cent. on its first cost. It may fairly be estimated that, were the tariff modified as we suggest, not less than 75 additional vessels would annually arrive at Montreal and Quebec.”

Since 1872 our commerce with the West Indies has been stationary, never exceeding \$6,700,000. But in the four years succeeding our trade amounted to \$25,000,000, being \$16,000,000 worth exported against \$9,000,000 imports, leaving a balance

in our favour of \$7,000,000. The transport in connection with this trade was done by Canadian ships, which adds to the balance in our favour. The importance of fostering by every means in our power relations with the West Indies, and of promoting and extending this trade, could not more forcibly be shewn than by the figures just quoted. As to the manner in which the maintenance of sugar refineries in this country affected the interests of retailers and consumers respectively, he quoted from the letter of a gentleman, who, from his long experience, was eminently qualified to form an opinion.

Mr. Alex. McGibbon in a letter lately published, says:—

“The question is now asked, Will the consumer be as well served with or without a refinery of our own? After a long experience it can be said without a doubt that should the refinery have finally to close up, the consumer will not be as well served as if in full working order, for, so soon as it is closed, just as sure will prices advance.”

In the same letter, dealing with the objection that sugar has never been cheaper than at present, he says:—

“I would remark that when Redpath made dry crushed or broken loaf, it was supplied at the same prices as the ground sugar; the price of the latter is now; *Redpath's*, 8½¢; *Imported*, 8¼¢ to 8½¢; but the moment Redpath stopped making dry crushed, the price of the imported advanced to a cent, and sometimes a cent and a half more than the ground.”

Thus the general interests of importers, retailers and consumers are clearly shown to be identical; and the bounden duty of the Government was to afford the necessary measure of protection to this struggling branch of industry, which had so repeatedly been asked for. Amongst the anomalies pointed out as the cause of so much of the uneasiness that prevailed, was the difference in duty on raw material, and imported refined sugar. While the imported refined article is taxed only 40 per cent, the low grade is only taxed at 50, giving thus an advantage to foreign industry. Add to this the heavy drawback accorded by the United States Government to exporters, and it can easily be understood at what disadvantage Canada is obliged to compete. As regards the workmen employed in these establishments, claims on the consideration of Government are very strong. After some years'

labour in this line, a man became totally unfitted for any other branch of trade, on account of the high temperature in which he is accustomed to labour: so that the closing of the refineries would have the effect of driving him to seek elsewhere a field for his labour, which could not be had at home. Our annual expenditure for immigration being so considerable, there could be no reason why a diminution of revenue should not be suffered rather than permit these valuable hands to quit the country. To conclude, protection in this case cannot meet with objections from free traders, since it implies not taxation, but reduction of taxation in favour of the consumer. He concluded by moving his motion.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) stated that he had listened to the observations of the hon. member for Hochelaga with great interest, and he only regretted that the hon. gentleman had spoken in a language which all the hon. members did not understand. His hon. friend and himself did not usually agree on public questions, but at last they were able to meet on common ground. The considerations involved in this question did not apply to perhaps any other branch of trade, and in it the Maritime Provinces were largely and peculiarly interested. It had a Dominion aspect besides, as it very closely affected our foreign trade, and undoubtedly if we lacked this, the progress of this country would be very seriously retarded. An honorable member had suggested the importance of opening up trade relations with the West Indies by means of subsidies to be given lines of steamships; but he (Mr. Jones) contended, that the only means of establishing such a traffic in a satisfactory manner, was for the Government to arrange the sugar tariff so as to enable our ships to bring return cargoes. The trade of the Maritime Provinces with the West India Islands amounts annually to three and a half millions of dollars. Previous to the existing depression, this branch of our commerce had been in a flourishing condition, but the change in the tariff had considerably interfered with it, and at the same time he had heard that since the change he had mentioned had occurred, the consumers in

this country have been obliged to pay a higher price for their sugar. The French and Belgian Governments having established drawbacks in favor of their refiners, a deputation representing the British sugar interests had waited on Lord Derby and represented that the trade relations of Great Britain with the West Indies would be seriously affected by their continuance, and the Imperial Government announced that while they were willing to trade with all nations on fair terms, they were not willing to allow foreigners to possess undue advantages over their own manufacturers, nor to consent to the utter annihilation of English interests. A correspondence took place with the French and Belgian Governments, and the result was a convention and the abolition of these drawbacks, the agreement having taken effect on the 1st of last March.

While a Free-Trader he (Mr. Jones) thought that they had abundant proof that whereas in this case on the raw material 50 per cent. duty was paid, only 40 per cent. was paid on the refined article, affording foreigners a very considerable advantage. The Government would be justified in asking the House to authorise them to impose on refined sugar a duty equal to the bounty granted to their refiners by foreign governments. He was willing that we should trade with the United States on fair terms, but if by a bounty system they tried to control our market and utterly ruin our interests, it was the duty of the Administration to levy such duties as to place Canadian on an equal footing with foreign manufacturers. He gathered from the observations of his hon. friend that the abolition of the sugar duties had had the effect on the sugar refinery at Montreal which he had anticipated, and the result had been an advance of one per cent., or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, on the sugars manufactured in this refinery. This was natural and was to have been expected. The qualities of sugar which had been manufactured in Montreal were excellent; and it was to be remembered that inexperienced people could, with ease, be led to believe that sugar was of high, when it was in reality of an inferior quality. A Custom's duty and

a bounty were very different things, and were to be dealt with very differently. He was happy to find that the session had not been allowed to close without discussing this very important question.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had at last heard a speech from his hon. friend from Halifax to which he had listened with very great pleasure. There was a time in the past when the hon. gentleman and himself were sufficiently in accord to enable him to listen to all his utterances with pleasure, and from the sentiments which he had just given expression to, there was apparently room to hope that such a time would come again. As to the question before the House, he contended that if this Dominion is ever to secure this valuable West Indian trade which lies ready to be secured, if proper steps to that end were taken, it must be by adopting the policy just enunciated by the hon. member for Halifax. Canada furnished all the staple articles imported into the West Indies—fish, coal and lumber—and we had the shipping of our own to convey them there. He was not now going to discuss the question of consistency or inconsistency, and he hoped that, having the able co-operation of the hon. member for Halifax, the advocates of this policy would be able to make a stronger impression upon the Government than they had succeeded in doing heretofore. The hon. mover of the resolution spoke in a language with which he (Mr. Tupper) was unfortunately not very familiar, and the hon. member for Hochelaga would therefore excuse him, if in his remarks he referred more particularly to what had been said by the hon. member for Halifax. It was not unimportant to see that capital should be kept in this country, and not carried away and invested in foreign nations. If that result were to be obtained in this instance, it must be by a radical change in the legislation of the Government. We had a practical illustration of the ruinous effects of that legislation in the removal from this country of the skilled labour necessary to produce refined sugar, which went to build up the manufactures and commerce of our neighbours across the line. With a

wise policy on the part of the Administration, the vessels which transported our staple articles to the West Indies would be able to take return cargoes of raw sugar, whereas they were now compelled to come back in ballast, or take freights for United States ports. It was important in this connection to know that such a reduction in the rate of duty on the raw material as would enable this industry to be carried on in our own country would not necessarily decrease the revenue. As a practical proof of the correctness of this position, he referred to the case in which Sir Robert Peel made such a large reduction in the sugar duties, the result being such an increase in the consumption of the article and the amount of duty paid thereon, as to actually leave the revenue from that source in its normal condition; and he contended, as a general principle, that any reduction in the cost of the necessities of life necessarily stimulated the consumption to a very great extent. The reduction of duties and the increase in consumption having, in England, pretty well kept pace with each other, he thought the same thing would hold good in Canada. The duty upon this article in England had been greatly reduced until it was altogether removed, and in that ratio the amount consumed had gone on increasing. Sugar was not a mere luxury, but necessary to the health and comfort of all classes of the community, and a re-adjustment of the tariff in order to secure the successful prosecution of the refining business was what the country and the country's interests called for. His hon. friend from Halifax had called the attention of the Government to a very strong illustration of the necessity of a change of policy in the closing of the Redpath refinery in Montreal, which had already had the effect of increasing the cost of certain brands of sugar in that city, and he would ask the hon. gentleman to say if the same principle did not apply with equal force to other industries in this country. Had the hon. gentleman not adduced the most cogent reason that could be adduced that we must foster our young and struggling industries in order to enable them to live?

Hon. Mr. TUPPER.

Mr. JONES—Other industries have a tariff of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in their favour, while this one has ten per cent. against it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the principle was still the same. The hon. gentleman had given an illustration, and he could not confine it to this particular case. Perhaps the principle applied more strongly here than to the others, but the illustration was pregnant of information as to the inevitable consequences of persisting in a policy which drives our own manufactures out of the market and leaves us at the mercy of foreigners. It was quite evident by taking the other course we should be protected from loss in the long run. Although no gentleman could possibly have gone further in his advocacy of protection than had the hon. member for Halifax upon this occasion, still it was hoped that there would be no hesitation on the part of Free Traders in joining hands with Protectionists in regard to this matter. He believed himself that the Government should be armed with power to meet such exceptional legislation on the part of foreign countries as that which affected our sugar refineries at the present moment in a fitting manner—come that legislation from where it may—so that they might be enabled to exercise that control which would preserve to us one of our most important industries, an industry by means of which a very large foreign trade might be built up.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said, as might have been expected, this question had received a fair and most dispassionate discussion by the hon. member for Hochelaga. He had not heard the whole of the hon. gentleman's argument, but he assumed its effect was that the policy of this Government had closed up the sugar refineries of the country, and put an end to our manufacture of the article in Canada. But when the fact was known that the manufacture of sugar had for a considerable time been confined to one establishment, and that one doing a very limited business in comparison to its capacity, the result would appear much less startling. The Government, indeed, had undertaken,

at the expense of considerable unpopularity, to reach out a helping hand, and endeavoured to keep that one establishment alive. It would still be fresh in the memory of hon. members how the Administration were attacked last year when, with this end in view, they had given that refinery all the assistance it was in their power to give without going that extreme length which was resorted to in the United States. Immediately after this arrangement was made he (Mr. Huntington) met the leading partner of the Company in Montreal. The latter remarked that the Government were being very much abused for what they had endeavoured to do on behalf of the sugar refining interest of Montreal, but there was nothing that could be done for them which would enable them to get on—

Mr. JONES—Except my proposal.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said the gentleman had not mentioned that proposal, but had simply stated that nothing the Government could do for them would enable them to continue in face of the drawback system of the United States. So long as the Americans were prepared to sell sugar to the people of this country at the expense of their Treasury, he (Mr. Huntington) believed it would be a very difficult matter indeed for us to establish sugar refineries. The extent to which the Government went last year in their endeavour to preserve and protect this industry was the utmost limit to which they would feel justified in going, and yet we had the evidence of the refiners themselves that it was impossible for them to continue with the United States system of drawbacks.

Mr. WOOD rose to congratulate the House upon an important acquisition to the Protectionist party in the person of the hon. member for Halifax, and from the able way in which the hon. gentleman had presented the question to the House it would no doubt secure the support which it so clearly deserved. He (Mr. Wood) hoped that by the meeting of Parliament next year the tariff would be so rearranged that justice would be done to all parties, and that then the hon. gentleman would be willing and able

to support a measure which would be fair to the manufacturing industries of this country. He would be ready to support the hon. gentleman upon this question, and hoped there would be reciprocity to the extent which he (Mr. Wood) had demanded from the House on more than one occasion.

Mr. YOUNG understood the hon. gentleman from Halifax disclaimed asking for protection to the sugar interests in the case he had just presented to the House. At the same time what his hon. friend asked would have the effect of raising the price of sugar throughout the country, and would be a direct violation of the principle that the people should not be prohibited from buying in the cheapest market. The argument in favour of protection to the sugar refining interests was very small indeed. In fact, the industry in question was in quite a different position from any other throughout the length and breadth of Canada. There was but one refinery in the Dominion, and but about three hundred people found employment, either directly or indirectly, in connection with it. There was not a single one of what were termed our struggling industries on behalf of which so little could be said. It must be remembered, too—indeed, it was perhaps the most important consideration in discussing this question—that a very large proportion of our whole revenue is derived from the duty upon sugar, and if we consent to such a rearrangement of the tariff as would compel the people to consume sugar manufactured in Canada, that large proportion of our revenue would disappear, and additional taxation to meet the deficit—taxation of a more burdensome nature, too—would at once become necessary. It was stated by the hon. member for Cumberland that the direct result of the reduction of sugar duties in England, by Sir Robert Peel, had been to produce a corresponding increase in the consumption of the article. The same result would not necessarily follow in Canada, for the simple reason that the purchasing power of our people was considerably greater than the purchasing power of the people of England, especially in the time of Sir Robert Peel, and therefore not so

easily affected by slight reductions in the cost of an article of this description. He (Mr. Young) felt satisfied that the arrangement of the tariff as proposed, would cause a serious falling off in the revenues of the country, and entail the imposition of fresh duties upon a great many other articles. If the effect were to give employment to a large number of men, and the investment of a large amount of capital to build up the trade of Montreal, there would be at least a stronger ground for the appeal now made to the House and the Government; but to make such an appeal on behalf of an interest which only, at the highest calculation, gave employment to some 300 men, would be simply absurd. It was, in fact, a proposition to compel the whole people of Canada to pay more for an article of which they each consumed a large amount daily in order to give employment to 300 people, and make fortunes for the one or two individuals who would reap the profits. He could scarcely think the hon. member for Halifax would advocate legislation of such a purely and strongly Protectionist character. He had only to say in conclusion that those who really believed this interest ought to be protected, so that we could produce the article consumed by our people in Canada, should go in for protecting everything brought into the country; for the Protectionist argument with respect to this was weaker than when applied to any other interest in the country.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said he might be labouring under a misapprehension, but he understood the hon. member for South Waterloo on a former occasion, when he introduced his motion relating to the West India trade, to allude to sugar refining interests as likely to be greatly benefitted thereby. If the hon. member was in earnest in his proposition to subsidize a line of steamers then, he could not understand his position now. The hon. gentleman had said that but 300 persons were interested in the sugar trade, but if the number of vessels engaged in this large commerce with the West, and the men indirectly connected with the business were taken into account, we would find that number swell into

Mr. YOUNG.

thousands. He thanked the Hon Postmaster General for the stand he had taken on this question. If the refinery in Montreal could have worked under the present system no application would have been made, but it had been sufficiently demonstrated that it was impossible to keep open refineries in the face of the bounty allowed by the United States. It was no use tinkering with the tariff, but the Government should be prepared to deal with the American system which was annihilating our trade. When \$2.50 duty per 100 pounds was paid, and a drawback of \$3.60 was allowed, which was equal to half a cent per pound, it was plain to be seen that no tariff would enable a refinery to exist in Canada. Unless a duty was imposed equal to the bounty it would be no use trying to do anything. He was glad to hear through the Postmaster-General that the Government comprehended the situation, and he hoped that they would deal with it in a way which would build up this important industry.

Mr. MILLS drew attention to a statement made by the hon. member for Cumberland, that the United States Government had allowed sugar refiners a large drawback, and that it was impossible, under these circumstances, to carry on this business in this country, unless we granted a bounty or some other compensation. He (Mr. Mills) was unable to perceive that any drawback was given in the States, and he would quote figures from the Trade and Navigation Returns which proved that this was the case. No refinery in the Dominion could be closed owing to the policy pursued by the American Government. Supposing that the American refiner obtained 55 cents of drawback per 100 lbs., this put \$2.50 into the Public Treasury. What system must be followed to secure, instead of 70 lbs. or 88 lbs. of the highest quality, 13½ lbs. of inferior variety, and 11¼ lbs. of syrup from 100 lbs. of the unrefined article? and if an inferior article was used a larger quantity must be produced to obtain the same result. This was sufficient to show that the statement with reference to the bounty afforded under that system was postposterous. With regard to the

tax on sugar he found, from the Trade and Navigation Returns, that on the sugars ranging above No. 13 Dutch standard a duty of something near 43 per cent. was levied; or Nos. between 13 and 9, 40 per cent.; and on Nos. below No. 9, something like 39 per cent., while on Melado the duty was 36 per cent.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) could not agree that this question should be put off till next Session. He could not at all understand the object of the remarks of the hon. member for Waterloo, who said in effect that because it would only help a few hundred people, therefore they should not receive fair play, neither could he understand the figures laid before the House by the hon. member for Bothwell. Looking at the question in a plain matter-of-fact sort of way, he (Mr. Jones) thought when we were paying 25½ per cent. per pound on the commonest grades of sugar coming into this country and the United States were allowing a drawback of 2½ to 3½ per cent, they were thereby ruining us. Not only were the manufacturing industries depressed by such a policy, but our shipping trade was not fairly encouraged. We were losing the West India trade by the course we pursued, and what was true of the sugar interest, applied to other industries. A readjustment of the tariff was necessary in all, because drawbacks were allowed to everything manufactured in the United States. He felt that the Government of the day had not done their duty with respect to the tariff. The last hours of the session were approaching, and hon. gentlemen were beginning to say we must leave this matter until next year, but the Government ought to have taken it in hand promptly and given relief to the suffering industries of the country.

Mr. BLAIN expressed the great satisfaction with which he had seen certain gentlemen adopting the principle of political economy he held, and he hoped he would soon be able to congratulate the Government on a protective policy—on a desire to legislate in the interests of the country regardless of what might be in the interest of other nations. It was idle to talk as

the hon. member for Bothwell was disposed to do, about settling this question by figures; the question to be answered was—Why did the refinery close? There was a logic in this event proving a fact which no amount of figures could destroy. If the Government admitted it was their duty to legislate on this question, the whole principle of protection was conceded by them. If it was found that it is our duty to put on a drawback equal to the bounty allowed by the United States, that would be conceding all the Opposition had claimed on this question of protection. He congratulated the House and the country on the reversed action of supporters of the Government in this respect.

Mr. WORKMAN was glad to find that the hon. member for Hochelaga had brought forward this question, which was of the utmost importance, and he hoped that it would receive most earnest consideration both from the Government and the House. The astute calculations of the hon. member for Bothwell had been founded on the results of a commission of American experts; but it was well known to those who were engaged in the business, that these experts had laboured purely in the interest of American Refiners, acting on false principles, and not giving a correct statement of the facts of the case; consequently the hon. gentleman's deductions were erroneous. If the large American bounty did not afford a profit to the American refiner, how was it that their trade had increased so enormously? And to such an extent had this been the result, that they had closed up many British refineries owing to their large exportations to Great Britain, despite the great facilities it offered to its refiners. The Americans notwithstanding the cost of exportation, realized a large profit; and the export of sugar had advanced from one million to eight million pounds per month. It had been said that only 300 persons had been employed in the refinery at Montreal, but the Premier had in his possession a petition in this connection, signed by 2,800 persons, who had been either directly or indirectly employed by the proprietors of this establishment. Two refineries

had formerly existed in Montreal—one was compelled to close owing to the change in the tariff, and the other had lost money during the past five years, the operations failing to realise five per cent. on the amount of capital invested. It had also ultimately been obliged to shut down, necessitating the discharge of its employes, and producing a great deal of distress and misery in the city. The interests of our commercial marine were largely concerned in this matter, for if the sugar refining business was transferred from Montreal to New York, our West Indian trade, which was very important, would be wholly destroyed. If the hon. member for Waterloo had stated that 30,000 instead of 300 men were given employment in connection with this business, he would have been much nearer the mark. The refineries in Canada did not demand protection, but they simply asked to be placed on the same footing with other manufacturing industries in this country. At present a direct bounty of 30 cents per 100 lbs. was given by the American Government on sugar exported into this country; and it was quite impossible, under these circumstances, for the Canadian to compete with the American refiners.

When the French and Belgian Governments granted large drawbacks to their refiners, what did Lord Derby do?—He warned them that if this system was not altered, a duty equal to these bonuses would be imposed on their sugars imported into Great Britain; and what was the result?—these drawbacks were at once removed. The consumption of all sugar, including that of the maple, in this country, amounted to something like 27½ lbs. per head, compared with 56 lbs. per head in the British Isles. It was true, that this consumption had there increased enormously when the duty was abolished, but nevertheless it was to be borne in mind that the British refiners could not compete at present with those of the United States. If the Government did not introduce some measure with a view to counteract the depressing influences he had mentioned, our West Indian trade, as well as our Canadian sugar refining business, would be totally annihilated.

Mr. WORKMAN.

Mr. SNIDER did not consider it wise to adopt the system asked by the refiners. Sugar was never sold so cheap as it is to-day, and he did not see why the majority of the people should be taxed for the benefit of the few. His principle was to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. In his opinion the Government had acted wisely with regard to the tariff, and they deserved a great deal of credit.

Mr. PLUMB said the hon. member for North Grey had enunciated one of those popular fallacies which had taken public attention for many years in regard to all questions of free-trade and protection. It was easy to say we should buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, but all the conditions of production, and the necessities of taxation and the tariff were to be taken into consideration when that maxim was announced. Until we knew these conditions we did not know how to deal with this question.

Mr. DAVIES said no doubt the sugar refiners had a great deal to complain of as compared with other manufacturers. Take the manufacturer of iron for instance. Pig iron came in free, but the raw material of sugar had a duty of 17½ per cent. imposed. If that duty were taken off we would see a number of refineries spring up. But where would we get our revenue if that policy were adopted? We would have to resort to direct taxation, and allow everything to be imported free. He could not agree with the hon. member for Halifax, and would indeed be sorry to see a system of bounties inaugurated.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) said he merely advocated the imposition of duties equal to the American bounty.

Mr. DAVIES said that was the same thing. It would be bad to establish a principle of that kind, as other manufacturers would apply for bounties. We had better adhere to the principles of free trade. The Province he came from was isolated for manufacturing purposes, and it would be hard for them to pay extreme duties in order to bolster up manufactures in other parts of the Dominion.

Mr. DESJARDINS thanked the hon. member for Halifax for giving the weight of his influence in support of the resolution. He was surprised at the attitude assumed by the hon. member for Waterloo, which was antagonistic to the position he took in regard to the West India trade on a former occasion. All they had asked was to diminish the duties upon the raw material and those qualities of sugar that enter into the consumption of the great mass of the people. This question involved large interests, and he was glad of the general concern which had been manifested in it.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he had no objection to the motion going, but he was afraid it would not obtain all the information he desired. The correspondence on the subject had been rather limited; there had been a good deal of verbal discussion, but not much correspondence. With respect to the general question, he would simply say that the consideration of the Government for a considerable time had been given to the two-fold question of whether they could make any alteration consistent with the present tariff, and also to see what could be done for the encouragement of the direct trade with the West Indies, which, as the House was well aware, the Government were naturally anxious to encourage. At the same time he might remark that where a revenue of \$3,000,000 was concerned, the House under the present circumstances of the country must necessarily proceed with very great caution. A very small reduction in the duties now imposed would cost \$500,000 to \$600,000 to the country, a loss which we were not at the present moment in a position to stand. As to the assertions made with respect to the consumption per capita of sugar, and the large increase in the price within the last few days in Montreal, all he could say was, that very different assertions had reached the Government. They were informed on equally good authority that this increase, if it existed, was entirely local, and this was a matter which would settle itself one way or the other in a very short time. In regard to the direct question involved, whether they could safely reduce the duty

with the expectation of deriving proportionate terms from the increased consumption which might follow, he entertained great doubt whether this would result. The consumption per head in Canada was, if not as large as that in England, much nearer to it than the House was probably aware. During the years 1864 to 1868 the highest point reached in England, while they had any considerable tax, was about 40 lbs per capita. In Canada, in addition to the consumption of sugar imported from abroad, there was a very considerable, although uncertain amount of maple sugar manufactured. This had been put as high as 20,000,000 to 24,000,000 lbs per annum. He was not prepared to say these figures were literally correct, but he believed the amount was much more considerable than some hon. gentlemen supposed. Then there was another thing to be considered. We imported nearly \$1,000,000 worth of molasses, which answered in many respects the purposes of sugar, and which was larger relatively than the amount imported into England. In estimating the amount of saccharine matter consumed by our population, we had to take these two points into consideration, and when this was done our total consumption per capita would not fall short of that in England. Then the consumption of meat in the two countries was very different, and it was not to be supposed that our people would consume, even if it were free of duty, as much sugar in proportion as the people of England. Taking all these things into consideration, he thought the House would see that no great reduction in the duty on sugar could be effected without a considerable loss of revenue, and that we are not in a position at the present time to encounter. There was no doubt, on the other hand, that the duty on sugar—which is one of the necessities of life—is high, and if the circumstances of the country would admit they would be glad to reduce it; but whether it could be reduced in the direction indicated by hon. members on both sides of the House was another question, and one on which at the present moment he must reserve an opinion. With respect to the report

of the American experts referred to, without at all pledging themselves to its accuracy, he might state that it was made in the special interest of the American Government and had resulted in a reduction, although not a large one, of that drawback which the United States have been in the habit of giving on refined sugar. Whether this drawback does or does not exceed the duty paid on the quality of sugar manufactured by refiners, was a very moot question; but however that might be, taking any scale of figures the House liked, he thought they would find that the duty paid on the raw material used in manufacture is considerably less than the duty we levy on the products of that raw sugar imported into this country, and the higher the American drawback is, the higher would be the import on the products of each 100 lbs imported here. Therefore, in any case, he thought it would be found that the Canadian refiner is not heavily weighted down in the competition with the American. The United States are much nearer to the sugar producing countries, with which they carry on a large trade, and it was possible in this way they obtained advantages over the Canadian manufacturer. He was glad on the whole that this discussion had occurred. It was desirable that the attention of the House and the country should be directed to this question and that it should be ventilated as much as possible. Every one knew that the question was one of the most complicated and perplexing in the whole realm of finance, and that the British Government were to a great extent influenced in their final determination to abolish the duties through the extreme difficulties they found in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to their mode of levying them on that article.

THE WALLACE ACCOUNTS.

Mr. BERTRAM moved for an Order of the House for a statement of the condition of the Wallace Accounts, shewing whether they have been balanced or not, said Accounts being a record or part of the Canadian Pacific Railway Survey expenditure.

Mr. WALLACE (Norfolk) said before this motion was put to the House,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

he desired to say a few words. He agreed with this step, because the more thorough the investigation, the better it would be for him. He had no fear of investigation, for he knew nothing could be truthfully shown that would prove he had done a wrong in connection with this matter. If this had been a question personal only to himself, he would not have intruded upon the House, but would have sought redress elsewhere and in another way; but he felt it was due to the constituents he had the honor to represent, who had so generously sustained him in the face of the basest calumnies, that he should exonerate himself from the blame attached to him in this particular. It was said he was a defaulter to the extent of something like \$60,000, and this was stated upon the strength of a letter written by the hon. Premier. Although the letter that gentleman wrote might not have justified the inference drawn from it, when he saw, as he must have seen, the infamous use which was made of it, the First Minister had not the manliness or honour to come forward and declare the inference was incorrect, but allowed it to go abroad throughout the country that he (Mr. Wallace) had been guilty of misappropriating the public funds of the country with which he had been entrusted. To endeavour to secure the election of a supporter by unworthy and dishonourable means, as the Premier had done, was a wrong to Norfolk and to Canada, and unworthy of that hon. gentleman himself.

If he had sought revenge, he had got it, when, having written this letter the Hon. Premier stated in this House, that he did not know there was any deficiency in his (Mr. Wallace's) accounts, when he said he did not know there was any charge against him, and when before the Committee he said in reply to a question from the hon. member for North Hastings, that he had no reason to suspect Mr. Wallace of peculation, and that he never said so or thought so.

It must, he thought, be evident to every one that the letter was written to influence the election in Norfolk. It was especially unjustifiable when he was sustained by so large a majority in this House. All men are liable to err,

but he is a true man who acknowledges and apologises for his wrong. This the Hon. Premier never had done, and his conduct in this matter had been degrading to his high position and to his country. The Committee formerly appointed to investigate the matter had found no deficiency in the accounts, and for the Premier to prefer an infamous charge against him was unworthy of him and the position he held.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE was surprised at this ebullition of the hon. member for Norfolk. He (Mr. Mackenzie) stated the accounts were shamefully mismanaged, and he repeated it now. He had alleged nothing improper against the hon. gentleman other than that, and the accounts proved that fact beyond question. The hon. member drew money from the department of Public Works without his knowledge, and held public money in his name at one of the banks at a time when it ought to have been paid over to the country. This fact was developed in the Committee, and he said it was an improper transaction. He never alleged any other impropriety.

Mr. WALLACE said the accounts were not shamefully mismanaged. Every cent of the money he had received had been accounted for; and as to having money in one of the banks, he had no settlement with the department. He could tell the hon. gentleman that the department owed him money in connection with the survey.

Mr. BERTRAM said he had endeavoured to get down to the motion some time, but had been only able to reach it to-night. It would be remembered that a special committee inquired into this matter last Session, when it was found impossible to obtain any definite and complete knowledge as to the condition of the accounts. The ledger could not be balanced by \$116,000, and an accountant was engaged to write up the books. It was understood that this operation would take some time, and what conclusion had been arrived at? He had placed his motion on the paper in order to have put on record the statement of that clerk. It was quite as much in the

interest of the hon. member for Norfolk, as the public, that a proper statement of the accounts should be made.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD had no doubt the hon. member for West Peterborough was anxious to have this matter cleared up; his kindness was worthy of appreciation, and he had no doubt it was appreciated. It was unfortunate, however, the hon. gentleman did not move this before, and not have postponed it until the end of the Session when there was no opportunity of having the matter thoroughly examined. The hon. member said they had not come down to the motion before, but that was not the case. They had gone over the list several times and the hon. gentleman said "let it stand."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was due to the hon. member for West Peterborough to say that he had asked to have this statement on the Public Accounts, but he was informed that it had no right to a place there, not having any connection with the current year.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the hon. gentleman had had an opportunity of moving this motion over and over again. The House appreciated his kindness in making it at the present time.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said this motion was never reached before. It was agreed one night to go over the unopposed motions, and when this notice was called the hon. member for Norfolk got up to speak, and it was passed over.

Mr. PLUMB said the Premier had admitted there was no imputation of a stain upon the character of the hon. member for Norfolk. It was a mere matter of account. It must be satisfactory to the hon. member to know that even the First Minister was now fain to admit that no more serious charge could be issued against him than a mere irregularity in his accounts.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I said impropriety.

Mr. WALLACE—I know that no attempt has been made to balance these books. I know that they must

and can balance. I know that when the Departmental clerk who appears to have charge of them was before the Committee, he said he had only once gone over the ledger, and that he had not undertaken to compare it with the entries in the journal. We are told they are writing up new books from the same data. The thing is an absurdity. If the data of the books can be used to make new books balance, there is no reason why the old accounts should not be balanced without new books. Whatever may be the opinion of the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government as to my book-keeping capacities, this I do say, I defy any man to say that I have done anything wrong, anything of which I have reason to be ashamed, in connection with this transaction.

Mr. BOWELL said there was another consideration involved in this matter with which he thought this House had to do—something beyond the vindication of the personal honour of the hon. member for North Norfolk. He (Mr. Bowell) was a member of the Committee on the Wallace accounts, and when the hon. member for West Peterborough stated that these books would not balance, he ought to have stated that even up to date of the sittings of the Committee, all the accounts necessary to make the books balance had not been sent in to the Department, and that when the hon. member for South Norfolk ceased his connection with the Pacific Railway survey, it would be impossible to have the accounts squared. The Premier had distinctly stated before the Committee that he never had any suspicion that the hon. gentleman had done anything wrong, and the Chief Engineer went even further, stating that the hon. member for Norfolk had only been too economical—that if he had not been so strict and so saving of the public money, the probabilities were that the books would have been written up and balanced.

But the point to which he desired to direct especial attention—what the House and the country had to complain of—was this:—That the Minister of Public Works, leading the Government of this country, should have lent himself to the furnishing to a candidate

at a Parliamentary election of information that could have been only within his own knowledge, and for the purpose of influencing the election. In 1872 the First Minister placed upon the Journals a resolution declaring that it was not only improper, but that any Minister of the Crown who would interfere or use his influence to assist in the election of any candidate for a seat in Parliament, deserved the condemnation of this House; and yet we find the same gentleman actually furnishing information that it was impossible to find except from his own books—furnishing it to a political supporter of his own in order to influence the electors of South Norfolk. A few evenings ago the Premier had informed an hon. member that he had no right to see the books of any Department, and yet what was refused to a member of this House was considered quite a proper thing to give to a political supporter during an election contest. Whether this was consistent with the professions of the Hon. First Minister, or the principles which ought to guide a Minister of the Crown, he would leave it to the House and the country to judge.

There had been a regular system of persecution of the hon. member for South Norfolk, which was unworthy alike of those who inaugurated it, and those who followed it up. He was not going now to enter into the manner and mode in which the investigation by the committee had been conducted. If the gentleman who acted as chairman had a seat in the House, as he did not now have, he (Mr. Bowell) would have no hesitation in expressing an opinion of that matter freely, and it was enough to say that the manner in which the hon. member for South Norfolk had been treated was something of which there was great ground for complaint. If he were a defaulter, as the letter of the Minister of Public Works indirectly intimated, it was the Minister's duty to prosecute for the crime. It was all very well after that letter had failed in its object, and after every effort to ruin the character of the member for South Norfolk had turned out to be fruitless, now to turn round and say he had done nothing wrong. That was neither a just mode,

nor a mode which would satisfy the country, of receding from a charge which had been fulminated with so much recklessness and to a certain point prosecuted with so much boldness.

Mr. MILLS said he was not going to make any observations with regard to the manner in which the accounts in question had been kept, for he knew nothing about that. It was, however, a proper subject of inquiry if they had been irregularly kept, although such an inquiry implied no imputation upon the character of the hon. member except that he kept his accounts badly. But there was another aspect of the case which appeared to him to be very much more serious. At the time Mr. Wallace was keeping these books he was a Member of the House of Commons. There was a law upon the Statute book which made it illegal for any hon. member of this House to hold an office of emolument under the Crown, and yet the hon. member for South Norfolk while representing a constituency in Parliament was drawing a salary from the public treasury. Whether the books were properly or improperly kept, the other was an act which was not only illegal but wholly unjustifiable. The hon. gentleman ought to have resigned his office the moment he became a candidate. But the law went further than that, and enacted that a penalty of two thousand dollars per day should be imposed for every day any hon. member sat under such circumstances. That in his opinion was the most serious aspect of this case.

Mr. MACDOUGALL (Elgin) said he had heard the Premier's letter referred to frequently before. He desired the hon. member for South Norfolk to say whether he was prepared to say that the allegations contained in that letter were false in fact. As to the inferences which might be drawn from the document, the Premier was not responsible for them. The impression had been attempted to be created outside of this House that the allegations were false in fact, and if the hon. member was prepared to say so, or any one was prepared on his behalf, now was the time to say so.

Mr. MASSON said that was not the question, nor was it the question whether his hon. friend from South Norfolk had the right to sit in this House and hold that office. The question before the House was—Why did the Premier write that letter? When he (Mr. Masson) became aware of its contents, he must confess he came to the conclusion that there was something wrong about the accounts. Both the Premier and his friends had been afforded an opportunity of giving the necessary explanations, but had not taken advantage of it. The real question before the House was as yet unanswered.

Mr. BUNSTER hoped this matter would be dropped and the more important business of the House gone on with.

Mr. BERTRAM desired to make a personal explanation with regard to what had been said by the right hon. member for Kingston, but was not allowed to proceed.

Hon. Mr. POPE said it appeared to him clear that the Premier's letter was written with the intention of affecting the election, and the hon. gentleman was bound to make any explanation respecting it. Although the First Minister was forced to admit the hon. member for South Norfolk had done nothing wrong, still he had not apologised in any way. The Committee on Public Accounts last year, doing what they had never done before, had appointed various Sub-Committees mainly to enquire into charges against the predecessors of the present Ministers, and to one of these Sub-Committees was referred the Wallace Accounts. After a most rigid examination into the matter, they dared not make a report against the hon. member for South Norfolk, yet after a whole year had been passed over, the subject must again be dragged up by the hon. member from West Peterborough, and that not early in the session either, but at the last moment when hon. members were getting impatient and desirous of returning to their homes. And then he spoke of the hon. member for Norfolk as if he were a criminal worthy of being held up to the reprobation of the people of this country. The hon.

member for Peterborough had gone a little too far, and it was anything but creditable to the hon. gentleman to stir this matter up again.

Mr. CHARLTON said he had imputed no dishonesty to the hon. member for South Norfolk, but the position in which the case now stood reminded him very much of the boy when he went to see the elephant. He was very anxious to "see the menagerie," and he got his father's consent. He got up very early in the morning, would wait for no breakfast, and instead put a piece of gingerbread in his pocket. On arriving at the menagerie he saw the elephant, and going up close to inspect him, the animal quietly put out his trunk and took the gingerbread from the boy's pocket. The boy was astonished. There was the trunk on one end and there was the tail on the other. "Confound you" said our young friend, "if I knew which end of you was your head I would hit it." So it was with the accounts of the hon. gentleman from South Norfolk. He could not tell which end of his financial elephant the head was. The fairest way to treat this question was, perhaps, to say that these accounts got so hopelessly muddled that they could not be straightened up, and that they furnished an evidence of wretched book-keeping rather than of dishonesty.

The motion was then carried.

SEIZURE OF NETS BY INDIANS.

Mr. COOK moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of documents relating to the forcible seizure and detention of nets and fish belonging to British fishermen by Indians residing on the shore and Islands of Georgian Bay, and all correspondence resulting therefrom.

The motion was carried.

HALIFAX STATION—IRON ROOF.

Mr. CARON, in the absence of Mr. Domville, moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a copy of the contract for the iron roof of the Station House to be erected at Halifax, together with tenders for the same.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. POPE.

ALLEGED VIOLATION OF THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence between the Government of the Dominion and the Government of the United States respecting the alleged violation of the Treaty of Washington. In making the motion, he said that last year he called the attention of the House to what was admitted by all hon. members who took a part in the discussion was a gross violation of the Treaty of Washington, with regard to the duty which the American Government had placed upon packages containing certain kinds of fish. The Government then promised to draw the attention of the Washington authorities to the subject; and he now moved for the correspondence in order to ascertain in what position the question stood at the present time.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the cause of the correspondence was that a vessel attempted to land a cargo of, he thought, canned lobsters at Philadelphia, and duty was charged upon the cans. If the owner of the vessel had paid the duties under protest, it would have left the Government in a better position to deal with the difficulty than they were in as it happened; but instead of that, the owner withdrew his invoice and left it open to the United States authorities to allege that the lobsters were cured in oil, and therefore subject to duty. The pretence that they were able to charge duty on the packages was another branch of the subject. For this they excused themselves by quoting an Act of Congress passed since the ratification of the Treaty. They seemed to attach more importance to their own law than to treaty obligations, whereas their statutes expressly gave precedence to treaty provisions.

It seemed to be all but impossible to procure an enlightened carrying out of the Treaty of Washington by the Americans. The papers would show how the various difficulties arose, as well as the fact that had the Treaty been worded differently with respect to canals we might have had a better hold upon them. A disposition had

been manifested to give as little as possible and take as much as they could. This must be attended to in future negotiations, so that no obligation could be avoided.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—Will the United States Government levy this duty in future?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am not in a position to say exactly, but I think it would be better that our people should act as if they had no right to levy it, and if it is insisted upon, appeal to their own Government for protection.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said the first Minister was right as to the effect of withdrawing the cans, which left no question to be submitted to the American authorities. The suggestion of the Premier was the right one. He believed the Canadian Government would be quite justifiable in pressing the matter before the Supreme Court of the United States. Treaty obligations were considered by all countries paramount to their own laws, and were the question tried before the Supreme Court of the States—a tribunal which was above suspicion—he had no doubt it would be so decided. The wording of the Washington Treaty in regard to the use of the canals, was the same as in the original Reciprocity Treaty.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the wording of the 30th clause of the first mentioned Treaty, when used in connection with the wording of the 27th, placed us at a disadvantage. The 27th provided that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty undertook to urge upon the Government of the Dominion to secure the use of the Welland, St. Lawrence and other canals in the Dominion, to the citizens of the United States on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion; while the Government of the United States engaged that the subjects of Her Majesty should enjoy the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal, and further engaged to urge upon the State Governments to secure to Her Majesty's subjects the use of the State Canals connected with the navigation of the lakes or rivers traversed by or contiguous to the boundary line. On the other hand, in

the 30th article, we had this express provision :—

The Government of the United States may suspend the right of carrying, granted in favour of the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty under this article, in case the Dominion of Canada should at any time deprive the citizens of the United States of the use of the canals of the said Dominion, on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the said Dominion.

No matter what the United States might do, they were not subject to any penalty or bound to represent to the different States anything further than giving us the use of their canals contiguous to the boundary line. Under the provisions of the Treaty American vessels now came up the Hudson, the Champlain, Chambly and Ottawa Canals, and could be seen loading at our wharves in this city every day, while our vessels were compelled to unload at Whitehall when carrying freights for the same destination. The authorities of the State of New York, when applied to for the use of their canals, very promptly and liberally informed the Government that there was no restriction in their State Law which would prevent Canadians using their canals, and they also offered to pass any measure which might be considered necessary in order to give us that advantage. But the Federal Authorities, who at first shielded themselves behind the State Authorities, immediately upon this decision being arrived at, found that their Customs Laws—which they placed ahead of their Treaty obligations—prevented any of our vessels passing the first port on American territory, where they had to unload. At first, when remonstrated with, they denied that any of our vessels had been prohibited from going freighted through the first port, and when the Government of the State of New York replied that no such hindrance had been imposed by them, the Canadian Government were asked for evidence. That was furnished, and it was then that it was discovered that their Federal Laws did not allow vessels of a foreign power to pass the first port without unloading. Subsequently they found a law upon their own Statutes which permitted this to be done; but it had never been allowed, and it was not likely to be.

Mr. JONES (Halifax) asked if the Treaty granted them the use of our rivers? If not, we had the matter in in our own hands.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said when we granted the use of the canals, he thought we must also grant the intervening space. It was only the parts above the canals there could be any doubt about.

Mr. MILLS said the question really seemed to him to be whether any other canal than that which belonged to the State of Michigan was meant. He thought more than that was intended.

In reply to Mr. Jones,

Hon Mr. MACKENZIE said he was inclined to think a number of entries of canned fish had been made, since the cargo to which he had referred in an earlier portion of the discussion, upon which no doubt the duties had been paid under protest, but the information had not yet reached the Government in an official way.

The motion was then carried.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY.

Mr. OUMET moved for an Order of the House for copies of all official correspondence and of all instructions issued in relation to the completion or finishing of the buildings and out-buildings of the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul (Quebec), and in relation to the building of a house for the keepers and employees of the said Penitentiary; also a statement showing the amount expended for repairs on the residence of the Warden of the said Penitentiary—the whole from the establishment of the said Penitentiary to 1st January, 1876.

The motion was agreed to.

HARBOUR ON LAKE ERIE.

Mr. STEPHENSON moved an address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all Reports of Engineers, plans and correspondence in possession of the Government relating to the construction of a Harbour at some point on Lake Erie between Rond Eau Point and the Village of Clearville, in the County of Kent.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

ESQUIMALT AND NANAIMO TELEGRAPH LINE.

Mr. BUNSTER moved for an address to His Excellency the Governor General for all correspondence between the Government of British Columbia and the Dominion Government respecting the construction of a Telegraph Line from Esquimalt to Nanaimo; also all Orders in Council or correspondence with any other officer or person respecting the same.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was not aware that there was any correspondence on the subject. If there was any, it would be brought down.

Mr. DEWDNEY said he was under the impression that application had been made for the construction of the line. He believed such a line would be in the interest not only of that section of the country, but of the whole Dominion, for the existing cable, which was laid in a very unfavourable part of the channel cost, \$9,000 or \$10,000 last year. A much more favourable route could be found between Nanaimo and Burrard Inlet.

The motion was carried.

THE APPLE BARREL.

Mr. OLIVER moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolutions:—

1. A barrel of apples or other fruit shall, from and after the first day of July, 1876, be held to mean a barrel of the following dimensions, that is to say: Diameter at each head seventeen inches, diameter at midlength of the stave twenty inches, length between the heads twenty-six inches, or of such other dimensions as will give a capacity of not less than twenty-five gallons.

2. Every bargain for the sale and purchase of apples or other fruit by the barrel shall be for barrels of the above dimensions.

3. Any person who shall use for packing apples or other fruit, for sale, barrels of less dimensions or capacity than are herein stated, shall be guilty of an offence, and shall for the first offence incur a penalty of five dollars for every barrel so used, and a penalty of double the amount for every subsequent offence.

4. All such forfeitures and penalties shall be imposed and appropriated in the same manner as forfeitures and penalties are recoverable and appropriated under the Weights and Measures Act of 1873.

He said the resolution required no explanation. He had been petitioned by those of his constituents interested in this matter to make the amendment in question to the law last year, but it was then too late to think of it. The resolution would compel those selling apples to use a uniform size of barrel. The amendment had the sanction of the Acting Minister of Inland Revenue.

Mr. GOUDGE said there was a Statute of Nova Scotia regulating the size of the barrel in that Province, with which this might conflict.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER also urged the same objection, which he claimed was worthy of great consideration in view of the importance of the apple trade in Nova Scotia.

The resolutions were then agreed to in Committee, and a Bill founded upon them introduced and read the first time.

THE POSTMASTER OF BLOOMSBURY.

Mr. WALLACE (Norfolk) moved for an Order of the House for all correspondence with the Postmaster General or with the Department, in reference to charges preferred against the Postmaster at Bloomsbury, in the County of Norfolk; also for the evidence taken by the Inspector who investigated the charges, together with his report thereon. He said the investigation in question had revealed sufficient to justify the dismissal of the Postmaster, yet he was still continued in office.

The motion was carried.

DOMINION LANDS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. BUNSTER moved:—That owing to the location survey having been made on Vancouver's Island, B.C., for the railroad from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, the Government are enabled to select their lands according to the Carnarvon terms, which have been agreed to on the part of this Government and the Government of British Columbia, it is very desirable that the Dominion Government should at once

take steps to have the Dominion lands of the Island sold, and that the Government instruct their agent in the Province to dispose of them to intending settlers and purchasers with the utmost facility.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government could not allow this motion to pass, and it was withdrawn.

OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. BOWELL, in the absence of Mr. Kirkpatrick, moved that the Clerk do lay on the table a statement shewing the ages, names, present salaries and length of service of each officer and permanent clerk in his Department.

Also the age, names and salaries of the Extra or Sessional Clerks at present employed in the service of the House of Commons.

Also a statement shewing the ages, names, salaries and length of service of the Officers, Clerks, Book-keepers and Messengers of the Department of the Sergeant-at-Arms whether employed permanently or otherwise.—Carried.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DIFFERENT PROVINCES.

Mr. BUNSTER moved for an Order of the House for a return of the revenue and expenditure on account of Consolidated Fund for each year since Confederation in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and in the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia for each year since they became Provinces of the Dominion; also the amount of expenses in each of the said Provinces yearly during the same period on Capital Account.—Carried.

BOARDS OF TRADE.

The amendments made in Committee to the Bill amending the Act relating to the incorporation of Boards of Trade were read the second time and concurred in, and the Bill read the third time and passed.

RETURNS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government had been charged with being remiss in bringing down returns. He had taken the trouble to compare the results of the present with

previous Sessions, and he found the following facts to bear out the position he took when formerly attacked: At this period of the Session in 1868 there 49 returns brought down; in 1869, 33 returns; in 1870, 26 returns; in 1871, 46 returns; in 1872, 44 returns; in 1873, 45 returns; in 1874, 41 returns; in 1875, 49 returns, and in 1876 (the present Session), 52, being three more than the highest number that had ever been brought down in the same time. Some of the returns this year were very voluminous, too. The highest number previously granted was in 1874, when 104 were allowed, and 41 brought down up to the same time.

The House adjourned at Five minutes past Twelve o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, April 4, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

MONTREAL HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE introduced a Bill respecting the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal. He said the Bill of last Session was amended in the Senate only a day before the prorogation, and it was to remove doubts as to that amendment that this Bill was introduced.

The Bill was read the first time

CUSTOMS IN MANITOBA.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE introduced a Bill to amend the Act relating to customs in Manitoba. He explained that its object was to empower the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, under certain circumstances, to issue licenses to persons carrying liquors into or out of the North-West Territories.

The Bill was read the first time.

THE DESJARDINS CANAL.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE introduced a Bill respecting the Desjardins Canal. He said the charter of the company which constructed this work would soon expire, and by its terms, the canal would then become the property of the people. This Bill was to empower

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

the Governor in Council to deal with the work as was thought best.

The Bill was read the first time

THE NORTHERN RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE introduced a Bill to amend the Act of last Session respecting the Northern Railway Company. He explained that it was simply to extend the time in which they should furnish the amount specified in the Act of last year.

RAILWAY STATISTICS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE introduced a Bill to amend the Railway Statistics Act. He explained that it was to enable the Government more effectively to carry out the Act of last Session.

RAILWAY LANDS IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Hon. Mr. Laird moved for a Committee of the Whole for to-morrow to consider the following Resolution:—

"That it is expedient to make special provision respecting Dominion Lands withdrawn from the general provisions of the Dominion Lands Acts, as to sale and settlement, for purposes connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to provide that two-thirds of all cash received for such Lands shall be carried to a special fund for such purposes as aforesaid, to be dealt with in such manner as may be deemed expedient by the Governor in Council."

Carried.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved, that for the remainder of the Session Government Measures shall have precedence of all other business after Routine Proceedings.—Carried.

THE INDIAN LAWS.

The House resumed consideration of the Bill entitled "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians," in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Young in the Chair. Clause 86. Whenever any Indian man, or unmarried woman, of the full age of twenty-one years, obtains the consent of the Band of which he or she is a member to become enfranchised, and whenever such Indian has been assigned by the Band a suitable allotment of land for that purpose, the local Agent shall report such action of the Band, and the name of the applicant to the Superintendent-General; whereupon the said Superintendent, if satisfied that the

proposed allotment of land is equitable, shall authorize some competent person to report whether the applicant he or she is an Indian who, from the degree of civilization to which he or she has attained, and the character for integrity, morality and sobriety which he or she bears, appears to be qualified to become a proprietor of land in fee simple; and upon the favorable report of such person, the Superintendent-General may grant such Indian a location ticket as a probationary Indian, for the land allotted to him or her by the Band, being taken up.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated, that after three years of probation, if he remembered right, the Indian would obtain under this Act full title to his property; consequently he might sell it at any time, and white men purchasing might intrude on the reserves. He knew that this had been the objection to the law as it now stood, and which was enacted in 1869. The consent of the band to enfranchisement would not be obtained for this reason: it would introduce whites on the reserves, and bring about all the evils which followed the mingling of the two races. Great difficulty, at least, would be experienced in obtaining the assent of a band to the enfranchisement of one of their number fitted to enjoy this privilege. He was aware of the delicate nature of this question, but it nevertheless must be settled. They should have in view the gradual enfranchisement of all the Indians living amongst us. He thought that the intention of the Government was good, but he did not consider that the result would meet the views of the Minister of the Interior. He drew attention to these matters, because this clause of course contained the principle of this section of the Bill.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD agreed with a great portion of the remarks of the hon member for Charlevoix; but in the first place the Government thought that it would be very undesirable to frame any scheme for enfranchisement which would not be acceptable to the Indians. If this were done regardless of the consent of the band, confusion, want of harmony, and dissatisfaction would be

produced. They knew from experience, and from the deliberations of the Council held the other year at Sarnia, that the Indians generally in these Provinces, were willing to accord enfranchisement to intelligent members of these Bands. By the 88th clause of the Bill, while the enfranchisement enabled them to hold their lands in fee simple, they also had the right to sit in Council and draw their annuities; and this was precisely what the Indians desired. The hon. member remarked that white men might settle on the reserves if these provisions were enforced; but if the great privilege in question was not accorded they would run counter to the whole policy of the Government regarding the surrenders which had existed for years. It was our boast that we did not take an acre of land from the Indians without their consent; and if this privilege were denied them, they would have a right to complain. This Act was in entire harmony with the surrender principle; and he did not think that much trouble would be met in carrying it into effect. The Six Nation Indians did not seem quite prepared for it, but when they saw other Bands accept it, they would soon follow their example. As regarded the North-West Territories, Manitoba and British Columbia, they did not expect that these provisions would be applicable to the Indians living in these regions for some years to come. This was the best that they could do under the circumstances; and while they could offer counsel and advice to the Indians at all times, he thought that they should not attempt to act in any way contrary to the views of the Indians, at least as far as their rights to property were concerned. This was the policy of the Administration.

Mr. PATERSON remarked that in 1857 the right hon. member for Kingston had introduced a Bill, in which this feature of enfranchisement was recognised. This law was amended by the hon. member for Charlevoix in 1869, and though the principle was recognised, the law had remained inoperative—in fact a dead letter in this respect. Only one Indian he believed had sought to obtain this privilege under it, but when he had secured it,

no land was allotted to him. The Minister of the Interior dwelt upon this subject in his report in language full of eloquence and of truth, stating that he was firmly persuaded that the true interests of the aborigines and the State alike require that every effort should be made to aid the red man in lifting himself out of his condition of tutelage and dependence. It was the duty of the Government then to consider whether every aid was given the Indian seeking enfranchisement. He feared that in some of the tribes the consent of the majority of the Band required by the Acts would not be given, and thus the desire of the Indian seeking enfranchisement be denied.

He would suggest that it should be so amended that when the majority of the tribe refused to allow one of their number the right of enfranchisement, he could have the right of appeal to the General Superintendent; without such a remedy the Bill would, he feared, be defective.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said this Bill was found to meet the wishes of the Indians themselves, and consequently they expected it to be more effective than the Bill of 1857. If it was found after a year or two that the suggestion of the hon. gentleman would be any improvement the law would be easily amended.

Mr. FLEMING said the Indians of the Six Nations were too shrewd and intelligent to accept of the enfranchisement offered under the Acts of 1857 and 1869. If we would enfranchise the Indians we must offer them such inducements as would make it worth their while to ask for. They should first be located on their reserves; first decide what land they should have, and let them feel that this land was theirs forever, but do not give them the power to alienate it to white men, and as soon as they knew exactly what they possessed then they would look for enfranchisement; but the most intelligent Indians were debarred from it by this clause, which would put them in a worse position than they now occupied.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that as the discussion on this Bill had already occupied much time, he would content

himself with making some observations generally on the clauses under the heading of enfranchisement. The clauses under this head, he thought objectionable for the following reasons:—They are merely a repetition in a modified form of existing rules which have been found to be utterly inapplicable, and are so complicated and cumbersome that it would be next to impossible for an Indian, however well qualified otherwise, to become enfranchised under them; and this is proven by the fact that although the law has been long in existence, no Indian, as far as he knew, has ever availed or attempted to avail himself of its provisions. Again, these clauses would make enfranchisement contingent, not only on the breaking up of the reserves into separate freehold allotments, but also on the Indians ceasing to be Indians under the meaning of the Statutes. It would therefore follow that Indians, no matter how wealthy, intelligent or well-educated, must continue to be without civil rights, unless they comply with rules which, even if they could be complied with, would have the effect of breaking up the whole system of Indian management, thus depriving the Indians of the protection they have hitherto enjoyed, and it is well known, or at least, generally supposed that these rules were adopted in the first instance, with a view to breaking up the tribal system and enabling the white man to get possession of the lands of the Indians.

Again—these causes being, as proved by practical experience of similar ones, inapplicable, will continue to be inoperative, in fact a dead letter, except in so far as that they will, as heretofore, deprive a large number of very deserving people in Ontario at least, of civil rights, and a well-to-do Indian will still have the mortification of seeing his white labourers voting at elections, while he, the son of the soil, finds himself in an inferior position, branded in fact as an outlaw, and unfit to share in the common privileges of a white man. The Act will thus have the very opposite effect to that which was no doubt intended. Instead of imbuing the Indians with a sense of self-respect, and leading them to feel that when they

have advanced in civilization they are to stand on an equal footing with the white man, it will have a tendency to degrade them in their own eyes and in the estimation of those around them. The Indians are everywhere so attached to their tribal system that they will not abandon it, and some way should be found of leading them to civilization and independence without trenching on this, their most cherished institution. In Ontario the Indians have, in many cases, passed the probationary period and are in a position to exercise the franchise as judiciously as the majority of white men.

The interpretation of the word "enfranchisement," section 3, subsection 5, does not make the matter any better, but the clause might be relieved to some extent of its objectionable features by using the words "freehold" and "freeholder" for "enfranchised" and "enfranchisement;" and it should be left entirely to the Provinces to say who shall, or who shall not vote at elections, which is the spirit at least, of the present election law.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said that the term "enfranchised" was defined in the Bill, and in view of his hon. friend's representations he proposed introducing an amendment.

Mr. SCHULTZ said he was aware of it, but the definition did not relieve the objectionable features of these clauses. However, he was glad to learn that, in view of the different condition of the Indians of the North-West as compared with those of the older Provinces, the hon. Minister intended to make an amendment to the Bill, and as he (Mr. Schultz) had before explained the different circumstances of the Indians of the North-West, he hoped the amendment would be of such a character as would render the Bill applicable to both.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the Minister of Interior would agree with him it would not be wise to give the Superintendent General the power to enfranchise Indians who had been refused that privilege by the band. It would be better to fix a time—say a period of fifteen years—at the expiration of which all the members of a band should be enfranchised.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—They would not all be fit.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said there were many white men who were not fit for enfranchisement, yet they enjoyed all the rights of freemen. By being educated all the members of a band would become fit for taking their places in Society. The object of this Bill was to keep the Indians, with the exception of a few, in a state of tutelage. Looking to the future of the race, he believed the true policy should be to do away with that system, by the gradual emancipation of all the Indians who lived in villages and were settled on lands.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said that would offer no inducement to them to become fit for enfranchisement. Under this Bill they were given some aim to better themselves, and he believed that was the true policy.

Mr. PATERSON said at the same time it struck a blow at the very root of the tribal relation. The very fact of an Indian seeking enfranchisement implied that he no longer wished to be recognized as an Indian.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD—An Indian is not cut off from his band by enfranchisement. He belongs to the tribe as much as ever he did.

Mr. PATERSON said it was impossible at the same time to preserve the tribal relations and facilitate the enfranchisement of the Indians. If the Government were prepared to take the position that the tribal relations must continue for all time to come, then it was a mistake to do any thing in the way of enfranchisement at all. It was evident the proposition of the hon. member for Charlevoix would have to be adopted ere long—a time must be fixed when all Indians living in the midst of civilized communities and refusing to move to the North West, must be enfranchised. Take the Brant reserve for instance. The Indians there are increasing rapidly, and something must be done to meet their case. They would not remove to a larger reserve, and there remained only the alternative of enfranchising the whole band at a certain time.

The clause passed.

On the 88th clause,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD proposed an addition providing for the child's right to the land, if, at the end of the probationary period the Indian was not qualified for enfranchisement.

The clause, as amended, was carried.

On the 89th clause.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD proposed to add a clause to carry out the principle of the preceding provision, declaring the form in which the child should hold the land.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked if it would not be well to introduce a clause to allow a medical man or educated Indian to hold land and have the privileges of enfranchisement outside of the reserve of his own land.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained that there was nothing in the present law to prevent an Indian enjoying this privilege.

The clause, as amended, was carried.

The 90th clause was carried without discussion.

On the 91st clause,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD moved to strike out the words "allow for each single Indian a like proportion."

The clause was carried with this amendment.

Clauses 92 and 93 were carried without discussion.

On clause 94,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD introduced a new section, providing that this enfranchisement clause should not apply to Manitoba, British Columbia, or the North-West, until by proclamation of the Governor in Council.

The clause, as amended, was carried.

Clauses 95 and 96 were carried without debate or amendment.

The 98th clause, the Governor may, from time to time, appoint officers and agents to carry out this Act, and any Orders in Council made under it, which officers and agents shall be paid in such manner and at such rates as the Governor in Council may direct out of any fund that may be appropriated by law for that purpose, being taken up.

Mr. COSTIGAN called the attention of the Minister of the Interior to a matter which he had previously brought before the Committee. The

Mr. PATERSON.

appointment of the agent in New Brunswick was at present not convenient to the Indians, whose money to a large amount was used to pay this officer, who resided at a great distance from the reserve. He had understood from the Minister of the Interior to-day that no change had been made because this state of things existed under the late Government. This was correct. The late Mr. Howe had divided the Province of New Brunswick for these purposes into two districts, to which he had objected at the time without avail. The Indians had afterwards petitioned against it with a like result; and he had during the following Session directed the attention of the Government to the question, showing the inconsistency of appointing an officer with a high salary to do what had been performed by resident commissioners previously without salary. A Mr. Craig, who lived on the reserve, was to have been appointed when the late Government was defeated; and that gentleman unfortunately died before any steps were taken in the matter. He had then fully discussed this question.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD fully appreciated the hon. gentleman's remarks. The state of affairs with reference to the New Brunswick agencies was not satisfactory, but as yet he had not been fully prepared to recommend any change until the Superintendent had settled on a certain plan regarding this Province. It did not seem desirable to dismiss officers or lower their salaries. An official report was required before anything could be done, and the mapping out of the whole Province with a view to a new arrangement. He had thought that he would have been in a position last summer to visit that section of the country for this purpose; but this had been impossible, and he would send an agent of the Department to look into the matter. It was not a pleasant thing, as the hon. member for Cumberland knew, to dismiss officials.

Mr. COSTIGAN added, that complaint was made because this matter seemed so difficult to deal with; he did not ask for the dismissal of any officer. A Commissioner, resident on the

reserves, could be appointed with a salary of \$100 a year, whereas the present officer received \$400. He could not see why they should wait for a change until the locality was visited by a Minister or an agent. He had received a number of letters on the subject, during the present and the last Session, expressing a hope that a resident Commissioner would be named. The sum of \$1.—a very high rate—per thousand was now paid on the reserves for stumpage, and the agent in addition charged 98 cents per thousand for travelling expenses. The only party who was benefited under the present system was the Commissioner. He had drawn up petitions in this connection, and previously stated the facts of the case; nearly three years had elapsed since the question was first mooted, and the Indians could not understand why their demand could not be granted.

The clause was passed.

On clause 66,

Hon. Mr. LAIRD said he proposed to amend it so that any person selling an article to an Indian who could not advance more than one-fourth or one-half the payment should have the right to take security for the balance on such article alone. For instance, a person selling an Indian a horse, and receiving one-fourth down, could take security on the animal for the remainder.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said that while they generally treated the Indians as children, in this matter it was proposed to treat them as men, which was inconsistent with the general policy.

The Committee rose and reported the Bill with amendments, which were concurred in.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were read the third time and passed:—

An Act to amend the Act 31 Victoria, Chapter 5, as respects the Public Accounts.

An Act to amend the Act 31 Victoria, Chapter 3, respecting the indemnity to Members of both Houses of Parliament.

An Act to remove doubts under the Acts therein mentioned respecting the

Corporation of the Quebec Harbour Commissioners (from the Senate.)

SUPPLY.

The House went again into Committee of Supply, Mr. Young in the Chair.

At Six o'clock the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

The House went again into Committee of Supply—Mr. Young in the Chair.

MILITIA ESTIMATES.

On the item \$40,000 for military stores,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained the item had been reduced from \$60,000 to \$40,000, which was the smallest sum that would answer for the purpose.

The item passed.

On the item \$52,000 for public armories and care of arms, including the pay of storekeepers and caretakers, storemen and the rents, fuel and light of public armories,

Mr. MASSON asked if it was the intention of the Government to carry into effect the recommendation made by the Major-General—that a skilled armorer should go round and see to the arms—and whether it was their intention to follow the suggestion made by Col. Jackson with respect to the care of arms?

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the suggestion was a good one, but he could not say whether it would be carried out.

Mr. MASSON said it was a recommendation made last year, and the House ought to know whether it would be acted upon or not.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said it would be carried into effect as soon as the Government thought it was for the advantage of our militia system.

Mr. FLESHER said a great deal of the deterioration of arms arose from climatic causes. They were stowed away in places which were unfit for the purpose, and being exposed to damp were speedily covered with rust. Proper places should be provided for the storage of arms.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said some 636 armories would have to be built if that suggestion were adopted.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought the Minister of Militia had not treated the hon. member for Terrebonne fairly in not stating specifically whether the Government intended to adopt the recommendation of their responsible officer or not.

Mr. BROWN did not see how the present system could be improved upon without a large increase in the expenditure. The captain of a company was held responsible for the arms. He received \$40 or \$50 for looking after them, and this money was paid to some trustworthy man to discharge the duty.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) enquired what had been the result of negotiations between the Minister of Militia and Defence and the corporation of the city of Ottawa, respecting the present armories, which were quite inadequate for the purpose?

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied that nothing definite had as yet been done. The matter was certainly important in the interests of the city, and he could not but say that the armory and drill shed were in a disgraceful condition.

Mr. FLESHER thought that it was neither expedient nor necessary to establish new armories at every point; but he fancied that the arms in those which now existed could be better preserved by securing greater isolation from the damp, at slight expense.

Mr. BOWELL thought that it would be more satisfactory to the House and country if something like an answer were given to the question of his hon. friend from Terrebonne. The suggestions in question were not new; they were made last year with reference to the care of arms, and the appointment of sergeant-majors or permanent adjutants, in the different districts, to look particularly after Government property. The hon. gentleman stated that he had the matter under consideration; one year had passed, and he supposed that another year must be allowed. The Major-General reported that a large portion of the arms were unfit for

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service. It was impossible to take arms to and from, and use them at camps without injury; and the saving that would be effected in the department by a skilled armorer would far exceed the remuneration received. A great waste was due to the circumstance that volunteers were permitted to retain their military clothing in their possession, particularly with regard to great-coats, which were used for common wear. He supposed that they would be compelled to be satisfied with the reply which had been obtained.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—We ought to have a more explicit answer.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The hon. gentleman has stated that he has taken the matter into consideration.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I do not think that this is an answer which a free Parliament should be satisfied with. The hon. gentleman should say whether he intends to carry out the recommendations of a responsible officer or not. The hon. gentleman has no right to make the reply he has given.

Hon. Mr. VAIL—I am afraid that no answer which I can give will be satisfactory to the hon. gentleman. It is not the time to appoint a permanent salaried officer when we are reducing the expenditure in connection with this item. This is a very good reason for not doing so at present; another is, that \$40 is allowed per company, which is paid on certificate of the Brigadier-Major, who is responsible for the arms. The matter will be looked into and the suggestions in question will be taken into consideration.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I quite approve of the explanation as far as it has gone. I do not think that it is desirable to add additional officers to the staff of the militia, and I believe that if a good many of them were discharged it would meet with the approval of the country. I understand that the hon. gentleman does not intend to accept the suggestions of his responsible officer. I hope, however, that whatever he may do, he will not increase the expenditure with relation to the militia service, or add to its charges on the revenue of the country.

Mr. MASSON said the reply of the Minister of Militia was almost an attack upon himself, that he had recommended a course that would create a great deal of extra expenditure on the Militia force. He had had some experience in Militia affairs, and had to see that the officers under him took care of their arms. If the hon. gentleman thought this was not a proper time to take care of these arms he would tell him it would be far better to withdraw them from the force, and store them in the Government armories. The arms could not be properly taken care of without the expenditure of money, and he feared if the course he had suggested were not adopted the House would see next session the arms would be reported as being in bad order.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said the Captain of each particular Company should be held responsible for the good condition and state of the arms in his charge.

Mr. BOWELL said he fully concurred with the Hon. Minister of Militia that this was not the time to add permanent officers to the staff. He thought it was already too large and expensive for the work which they had to perform. He had understood the Hon. Minister of Finance to state a few minutes ago that there were 636 armories through the country to be looked after, to each of which he proposed to give \$40 towards looking after and taking care of the arms. That amounted to \$26,440. Two or three well skilled armory sergeants could perform the duty more satisfactorily and keep the arms in better condition for a very much smaller sum of money, and then more could be saved by dropping out a portion of the staff.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said the House should have some statement from the Government as to their policy with regard to the care of these arms. The Major General had made a very serious charge, that a large part of these arms were unserviceable, and this House should consider the best means of remedying the evil. The present system was not satisfactory, and the arms should either be called in from

the country companies and concentrated in the battalion armories where they could easily be inspected; or if it were considered desirable that the arms should remain at Company headquarters, then there should be an inspection once or twice a year by a competent armory-sergeant. In cases of isolated companies the arms should be treated in the same way.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said the arms were so simple that they could not get out of order, and all that was necessary was to keep them well oiled and free from rust.

The item was passed.

On item, \$50,000, for contingencies and general service not otherwise provided for, including assistance to Rifle Associations and bands of efficient corps,

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) enquired if there was any of that amount for the Wimbledon team.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said provision was made for the different Rifle Associations of the Provinces in a general way amounting to some \$18,000 or \$20,000, but he did not think a vote for that special object had ever been taken specifically.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked for an approximate statement of the cost of Major General Smythe's trip across the Rocky Mountains.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was distributed over two or three Departments, the Mounted Police, Militia, &c., but he would be able to get the statement before concurrence was taken. He was of opinion that it would not exceed \$7,000.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he had heard the expenses of the Major-General and staff across the continent amounted to between \$30,000 and \$40,000. He hoped it was not true.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT thought this was a great exaggeration.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL would be glad to hear so, and hoped a detailed account of the cost of the expedition would be submitted to the House.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT promised, if possible, to bring down the items on concurrence.

Mr. FLESHER remarked that it was an essential condition to the efficiency of a corps that it should possess a target, and enquired what steps were taken to supply regiments.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said they were anxious to provide targets wherever their necessity was pointed out. There had only been two applications, and the amount expended was less than the appropriation. It was necessary to apply for them through the ordinary channel and not to the department.

Mr. BUNSTER called attention to the fact that the Nanaimo corps had neither drill shed nor target. The Captain had informed him the company would be disbanded unless they received some consideration in this respect.

The item was carried.

On item 75, Military College, \$26,000,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT gave the items of this estimated expenditure, and remarked that this was purely an experimental vote, and the whole amount might not be required next year.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired if the professors were appointed, and when the college would open.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the college would open by the 1st of May or a little later.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT stated that all the professors had been appointed with the exception of the professor of modern languages.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN wanted to know how many cadets had passed their examinations, and whether the regulations, conditions of examination and qualifications had been changed. Those conditions originally militated against the young men of the Province of Quebec. Unless a candidate could translate French or Latin into English he could not pass his examination, which was scarcely right, as a college of this kind should be for the benefit of all classes of the community.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said there was no intention to shut out any one from the advantages of the college. The great difficulty last year was that the cadets

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who came forward were not up to the French requirements. He did not see how the regulations could act detrimentally to the interests of any youth in Quebec, as he was sure the ordinary course of instruction in that Province would enable him to pass the examination. Provision was made for 20 cadets. Last year there were 12 candidates, but only eight came up to the required standard. The standard had been placed rather high. It was fixed at an average of 50, but at the next examination, which would take place on the 28th of May, it would be lowered to 35 or 37. If the hon. gentleman had some better arrangements to suggest he would be glad to listen to them.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said that the conditions were much too stringent, and they were not just to the French population. To translate Latin into English, it was necessary to have a complete knowledge of the latter language; yet this was what French Canadian candidates were required to do before they could be admitted to the college.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT admitted there was force in what the hon. member for Charlevoix said, and no doubt it would be taken into consideration. The hon. gentleman, he supposed, did not object to a reasonable knowledge of English. That would be admitted to be a necessity.

Mr. BABY said there was a great difference between asking a candidate to know the English language, and to know it so perfectly that he would require to have so many marks at an examination and not less. It was very well to say, "we will have English officers;" but the French Canadians should have leaders in whom they had confidence, and there were none who would be likely to lead them so successfully as their own countrymen. He hoped the Minister of Militia would not exact a more thorough knowledge of English than would enable the candidates to understand their instructors.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the matter would be taken into consideration, and although a great deal of attention had been given to the subject, it was quite possible they might be able to make a

change in the direction suggested, before the next examination.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said it was evident the conditions of admission were too rigid, and it was a question whether they should not be modified in some respects. The very fact that only twelve persons had applied for admission to the institution, indicated that the difficulties to be encountered were too great.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said it was now too late to consider whether or not it was expedient to establish the Military College. Both parties in this House were committed to it and had voted for the Bill establishing it. It could not be denied, but that there was an impression that it was in advance of the times. He, however, believed that it had every prospect of success. The professors had been well chosen, and were well qualified for their positions. The only rock of danger ahead was the want of students, and that must be avoided by holding out greater inducements to young men to enter the College. What was offered by the present regulations to the best student after finishing his course of instruction was a sword, to the next best to antedate his commission in the Militia one year. This was altogether inadequate. Parents would not send their sons to spend four of the best years of their life—from 16 to 20—in a college where they were not specially trained for any profession or occupation that would enable them to earn their fortunes in this country. The Government should offer them some inducements. The staff should be selected from the first students of the college, and the scientific men required on the great public works likely to go on for years to come should receive their education there. He offered these suggestions with a desire to aid the college, and he hoped they would be considered by the Government.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said the Government had removed the highest prize in the service—the position of Major-General—from the reach of Canadians. He had no fault to find with the gentleman who now filled the position, but what he did object to was,

that nobody could aspire to the position who had not attained a certain rank in the regular service of the Empire. It was a practical exclusion of Canadians from the position. With reference to the suggestion of the hon. member for Frontenac, that parents should be offered greater inducements to send their sons to the college, he (Mr. Wright) thought the country was doing enough in giving them such an excellent education.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated that the Minister of Militia and Defence would see at once that the regulations were framed without any regard whatever to the interests of the French population, and in such a way as to lead to the supposition that the race did not exist in the country. He did not say that this was intentional, but it was the result. Successful candidates were obliged to be able to write English correctly and in a legible hand; if French replaced English he wondered how many English-speaking young men could pass this test; probably not one out of a hundred. Then they should be capable of writing an essay, exercise, or letter in English; this was not fair to French-speaking youths. He did not like to speak of these distinctions of nationality, he never did; but both populations were on an equal footing, and this college was intended to supply training for our young men generally. These regulations would, in fact, exclude French Canadians from the college. He asked whether out of the six or eight candidates who had presented themselves there was one a member of this nationality. French and German, under clause 13, were to be considered as alternative subjects, and proficiency in either was sufficient; and if this was so arranged as to permit the writing of translations and essays in French, a knowledge of English or German otherwise being optional, it would be satisfactory. The officers who commanded the French Canadian militia should speak their language; and they all knew that effective service could not be expected if the men had no confidence in or sympathy with those who commanded them. He hoped that the regulations would be changed to meet these suggestions; they were also too stringent—more so

even than those prescribed in connection with the liberal professions.

Mr. IRVING had understood the Minister of Militia and Defence to concede the propriety of the remarks of the hon. member for Charlevoix. Nothing would be more gratifying to the English-speaking population of the Dominion at large than to hear that their fellow-subjects of Quebec could enter the College at no disadvantage whatever compared with themselves. He did not think that the standard of examination should be lowered; it should equal those required of boys who sought to pass from the High Schools of the Provinces generally into the Universities. He wished to draw the attention of the hon. and, he would add, accomplished member for Charlevoix to the fact, that the student who stood highest on the list, and who had outstripped his competitors almost in the proportion of 2½ to 1, was a young gentleman from the Province of Quebec, educated in the City of Quebec.

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied that he would take a note of the suggestions made and would consider the subject more fully, if that were in his power. The examinations, when they next took place, would be less rigorous; but they desired to keep them at as high a standard as possible. The hon. member for Frontenac wished them to make promises and offer inducements to these students, but it was to be remembered in this relation that we did not have a standing army. The object was to give as good an education as could be obtained in ordinary colleges at five times the expense and he was sure that the institution would be a great advantage to the country. It would besides be dangerous to make promises, which a future Government, if there was a change, might refuse to honour.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER remarked that the hon. member for Frontenac had brought forward a very important question. It was not to be forgotten that we were attempting to establish something like another West Point in Canada, and the latter had been extremely successful, not alone because it furnished students with a first-class education, but also because they had an

army in which the young men could secure situations. We, however, had no standing army, and he hoped that it would be very long before this would become necessary. The College, to be a success, must attract young men of character and standing, and of talent. For many years to come this country would have extensive public works in progress, and the preference might be given by the Government in bestowing employment to engineers who had passed through this institution; while a similar system might be adopted in connection with the Civil Service. There was an additional reason—the ulterior object of the administration should be, to put it in their power when any emergency arose, to lay hands on trained and skilled officers for the defence of the country.

If these young men after being educated in this Military College had no inducements held out to them to remain in the country, they might be attracted over to the neighboring republic, and their skill would not only be lost to the Dominion Government, but in certain contingencies it might be turned against us. Measures should be taken to keep these young men in the public service, so that their services might at any moment be available to the country.

The item passed and the Committee rose, reported progress and asked leave to sit again.

VETERANS OF 1812-14.

On concurrence, on item \$50,000 to meet the probable amount required for pensions to veterans of the war of 1812,

Mr. MASSON said some of the veterans were not paid last year because the vote was exhausted; he wished to know if the vote of this year provided for the payment of such arrears, or if in the meantime a veteran who was unpaid had died, could his family receive the amount.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said it would be impossible to make a payment under the circumstances, as the man might leave a wife and children, and it could not be decided who was entitled to receive the money. In the first place

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the Department had advertised in every direction to give every veteran a chance to prove his claim. A large number did prove their claims and others did not, and an advertisement was published in the papers to the effect that all claims that were not proved on or before the 14th or 15th November could not participate in the pension of that year. After the expiration of the term indicated the \$50,000 were divided amongst the veterans to the number of 2,500, giving them \$20 each. Every man who proved his claim was paid, and if others were not it was their own fault, as they had been given sufficient opportunity to do so.

Mr. GORDON said the method of paying the veterans last year at the centres rather acted to their disadvantage; last year some of those paid at Toronto came from Napanee. The consequence was that a large portion of their \$20 went in travelling expenses.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT thought there was some mistake in this; the veterans from his own knowledge were paid at the chief places in each county in Canada, and he believed in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Hon. Mr. VAIL would be glad if when the members returned to their constituents if they would furnish him with any information they could obtain with regard to the old veterans.

Mr. BOWELL asked whether there was any date as to which the distribution of the money should be made, and whether the Government intended to adhere to the sum of \$20 as the gratuity to be paid to the veterans, or whether the same vote would be distributed among those living at the time of the distribution.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the money would be payable after 1st July. If the party died between that time and the receipt of the money, he did not think the Government would enquire as to who obtained the money. He did not think out of the present grant he could promise to pay more than \$20, but he was not prepared to say what the Government would do in the future.

THE DAWSON ROUTE.

On item 98, \$75,000 for Lake Superior and Red River route,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he understood the policy of the Government was practically to abandon this route.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said even for the use of contractors where work on the railroad was going on, this route would be valuable.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN regretted that this route was not to be maintained for general communication between the east and west. The result of this new policy of the Government would be to throw our traffic into the hands of the Americans, and to subject our emigrants to the North-West to the temptations of the United States agents who might wish to induce them to settle in Minnesota. We should not be dependent upon the neighbouring country for means of communication with Manitoba.

Mr. MILLS did not at all concur in the opinion of the hon. member for Charlevoix. The route had been kept open for a very long time at a heavy expense, and very few passengers had availed themselves of it. People could not be induced to forsake the all rail route for such a road as that. Even though it were maintained at a great outlay, as under the old regime, nine-tenths of the emigrants to the North-West would go by Duluth. The temptation to settle in the North Western States had been over-rated. No difficulty of that kind had been found to arise from a portion of the route of the Grand Trunk lying in Maine. Our people did not interfere with United States emigrants who passed through the western section of Ontario, and no sensible American would think it at all unpatriotic to travel on the north shore instead of the south side of Lake Erie. The idea was preposterous, and Manitoba would be likely to suffer more from the Government undertaking to send emigrants over the Dawson route than from all the temptations to which they might be subjected by American agents. He had conversed with persons who had travelled over the Dawson route, and they said when they reached Man-

itoba there was not an article of clothing in their trunks that was not rotten.

The sending out of such reports by persons who had gone over the road would lose to Manitoba ten immigrants to the one that would be lost by American influence in going through American territory. He thought there was very little danger from any such influence, for when a man left his home in Europe to go to Manitoba, where possibly some of his relations had gone before him, he was not likely to be influenced to stop at any intermediate station as long as he had a comfortable journey, and he would not care much whether it was through American or Canadian territory he was travelling to his destination. He thought it was only a waste of money to keep such a road open to show our loyalty and inconvenience travellers.

Mr. McCALLUM said if this proved anything it was the death blow of the Premier's water stretches policy, and that we should have a through rail route to Manitoba in Canadian territory.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the position which he took was this: that if the road was to be abandoned the expense should also be abandoned, and the \$25,000 wiped out of the estimates.

Mr. MASSON said the remarks of the hon. member for Bothwell were a direct attack on the Minister of Public Works, as that hon. gentleman had advocated the keeping open of the Dawson Route to prevent immigrants to the North-West from being subjected to American influence by going over their roads. It was for the same reason the Government adopted their railway policy, in order to have the route through our own territory opened up as rapidly as possible. The hon. Minister of Agriculture had stated in the Senate:

"That the Government was now in communication with the steamboat companies to obtain the lowest price at which immigrants could be carried to Prince Arthur's Landing or Duluth. Precautions would be taken to prevent combinations of American railway companies from taking advantage of, or imposing upon our immigrants passing over their lines. The Dawson route would be kept open and a regular mail service would be established, so that if any attempts were made to put

up the prices on American lines the immigrants could still avail themselves of that route."

This was a proof that the Hon. Minister of Public Works was not in accord with his colleagues in the other House.

Mr. SPEAKER called the hon. gentleman to order, as it was against the rules to refer to what had been said by an hon. gentleman in the other chamber.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said reference could be made to speeches made in the other House, by avoiding saying that a member of the Senate had made the statement in the Senate.

Mr. SPEAKER said he knew there were Parliamentary modes of avoiding Parliamentary rules.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said there was no discrepancy between the statements of the members of the Government in this matter. They deemed it expedient to keep the route open and have a weekly mail service established across it. The House would observe there was good reason for this policy of maintaining communication with the North-West through our own territory, for the purpose of sending over troops or emigrants if necessary. The cost of the road in 1872 had been \$165,000, next year \$198,000, the year following \$120,000, and the year after that \$100,000. They now had parties employed at the two ends in repairing the road, and they thought that \$25,000 would be sufficient for the Dawson route this year.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that he had not had an opportunity of discussing this item in Committee, he would have called attention to the item of \$25,000 for the Red River bridge, which had been dropped from the estimate immediately preceding it. He had hoped till he heard the explanation of the Minister of Finance, that perhaps this vote related to it, for it would be remembered in connection with this Red River bridge that under the late Administration, \$50,000 had been voted for it, and that soundings had been taken in the Red River with a view to its expenditure as a part of the Dawson road. This amount had been revoted once; then it was cut down to \$25,000 and its connection with the Dawson

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road denied, and now it was taken out of the estimates altogether. He felt that the Province, and particularly the city of Winnipeg, had been badly used in the matter. It would be remembered that last winter a deputation waited upon the Premier, and in urging the propriety of the Pembina Branch crossing at Winnipeg, made on behalf of the city of Winnipeg the extremely liberal offer of one-half of the cost of a railway bridge. In effect the Premier replied that if the line was found to be no longer, or not inconsiderably longer he would be disposed to meet their views and promised to have a survey made. This survey he (Mr. Schultz) believed had been made, but no reports had been made to the House, no answer given to the Council of the city of Winnipeg, and the first indication of the action of the Government is the cancelling of the amount voted in the Estimates of last year. He contended that this was not acting in good faith, nor even in courtesy to Winnipeg, that the line was scarcely any longer with a crossing there, and that it was in every way the best route to take; and would urge strongly that an amount sufficient for one half of a railway bridge be put in the supplementary estimates, or if that could not be done that there should be at least a revote of the \$25,000.

In the matter of the Dawson route itself, he believed the vote would not be sufficient to put the road in repair, and that the contract to Carpenter & Co. must now be conceded to have been an utter failure. Out of 5,000 immigrants last year only 38 came by that route, and it could easily be accounted for by the treatment which immigrants received and were likely to receive from parties, whose interest it was not to carry, rather than to carry the immigrants. It was urged that the stipulated rates for freight at \$2 per hundred made with the contractors served to keep down the rate by other routes, but this was not the case to any great extent. Returns just brought down showed that while the rate over the Dawson route was \$40 per ton they had without allowing other lines to tender, contracted with Kitson line for the transportation of 5,000 tons of rail from Duluth to Fort

Garry at \$15 per ton, while at the same time by the Merchants line on the Red River other parties were importing heavy freight the same distance for \$10 per ton, thus showing that \$25,000 of public money had been uselessly spent by the failure of the Government to put this large contract up to competition. Notwithstanding the large cost of the Dawson route under the old Administration, the services it rendered must not be forgotten, and apart from those he had mentioned on former occasions, the settlements on the Rainy Lake River, and elsewhere along its line must be placed to its credit. He trusted the matter of the bridge at Winnipeg would receive consideration, and good faith be kept with the people of Winnipeg.

Mr. PLUMB observed that the argument of the hon. gentleman from Bothwell had been quite unfair; the immigrants should pass through and remain in our own territory. There was immense competition in the States to secure the sale of cheap lands. Immigrants were subject to every kind of influence in this connection. Representations were made to them at every turn and corner, and every inducement held out to them to remain in the United States. The First Minister had acknowledged that this road was completely impracticable as it stood; if this \$25,000 was intended to make the route available for the purposes for which it was originally intended, it was too little, and if simply to provide for the transport of the mails too much, the vote being about \$1,000 a week during the open season. If the Government desired to keep the route open during four, five, or six months, when the magnificent water stretches in this region were not ice stretches, the appropriation was altogether too limited.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD explained that he had passed over this route during the season, when the hon member for Terrebonne went to Manitoba. A large number of Mennonites had gone over it at the same time, and as far as he could see, they were kindly and well treated. He saw no inducements held out to prevail upon them to settle in American territory; at all events, it

was without success, because every one of them went to their destination. Had the Government spent \$500,000 a year to keep this road open, following the example of the late Administration, he did not believe that the immigrants would have passed over it to any great extent, nor would this be the case until we possessed through-rail communication with the North-West. The railway would be built as soon as possible, and this was the intention of the Government. As to the lines of steamers running on Red River, the opposition line was only started last year, and then he also understood late in the season, and one of its boats had sunk. It was the interest of the Government to see as much competition as possible, but every company could not expect to be encouraged in the manner mentioned. It was simply absurd to talk of shipping steel rails over this route, and in this relation he could not but think that the hon. member for Lisgar had been perpetrating a huge joke. He did not consider the road at present was in a worse condition than when the late Government left office.

Mr. TROW thought that when the hon. member for Lisgar said that passengers were sent by way of Duluth, by the contractors of the Dawson Route, he had been drawing on his imagination. He had made a trip in that direction last year, and he was satisfied that passengers would not, under present circumstances, pass over the Dawson Route, and they would, moreover, be great fools if they did. They wished to go by the quickest possible route, and with the least possible inconvenience; and to try to induce them to go by this route to Manitoba would be the best means to ensure their settlement in the United States. It was absurd to think of sending steel rails over this road; and in urging this as possible, he was also of opinion that the hon. member for Lisgar did it as a joke.

Mr. SCHULTZ observed in reply that steel rails were not longer than the boats or heavier than articles which had been conveyed over the Dawson Route. As to the charge with regard to the rate of freight, he would venture the statement that the First Minister

would not get the rails shipped at the lowest possible rate.

Mr. BOWELL remarked that the question with reference to the returns showing the rate as \$10 per ton, while the Government paid \$15, had not been answered.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that had nothing to do with the question under discussion. All questions arising out of that would come up with much more propriety on the Pacific Railway.

The item was concurred in.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The report of the Committee of Supply of the 22nd March was next taken up.

Items 119 to 124, inclusive, were concurred in without debate.

On item 125, winter service of steamer between Prince Edward Island and the Mainland, \$15,000,

Hon. Mr. TUPPER asked what arrangements had been made for this service.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT thought they would have to undertake it themselves. His impression was that they would have to build a steamer especially adapted for the purpose.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL remarked that there was a report that a contract had been given to a gentleman to construct a steamer for \$50,000. Was there any foundation for this statement?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT could simply say that negotiations were going on with a view of procuring a boat fit for the service, but no arrangements had been made, and the assent of the House would have to be obtained before they could make any such arrangement.

The item was concurred in.

Item 126 and 127 were concurred in without discussion.

On item 128—to provide for the examination of Masters and Mates, \$4,250,

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET wished to know whether the Government intend to close the School at Quebec.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he believed that was the intention of the

Government, the number attending being so very small.

The item was concurred in.

Item 129 was also adopted without discussion.

On item 130, to provide for investigation into wrecks and casualties, and collection of information relating to disasters to shipping, \$1000,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he knew of but one case into which any enquiry was made into such casualties. Either these investigations should be made or the item should be wiped off.

The item was concurred in, and the remaining items under the same heading were adopted without discussion.

THIRD READING.

Bill to amend the Act 35 Vic., Cap. 108, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the London and Canada Loan & Agency Co. (limited,)" was read the third time and passed.

The House adjourned at 12 o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, April 5, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

THE INDIAN BILL.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD moved the third reading of the Bill respecting Indians.

The Bill was read the third time and passed.

PACIFIC RAILWAY.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Cartwright, the House went into Committee of Supply.

On item No. 83, appropriating \$2,810,000, for Pacific Railway Survey,

Mr. McCALLUM said he was in favour of building a railroad through our own territory, from ocean to ocean, but he was not in favour of pushing the work on so fast as to embarrass the resources of the country. He said he would like to see this money expended on the main line before these branches were undertaken. He objected particularly to the Georgian Bay branch. The Hon. Premier said the other day that the building of the Pacific Railway was an insane scheme, but he (Mr. McCallum) was of opinion that if ever

there was an insane undertaking it was the building of the Georgian Bay Branch. The road would be of but little use, as no freight from the North-West would come by this route. It would involve a large expenditure, and be less available than the existing routes, for no vessel coming from Lake Superior with a cargo would go to French River when they could get a better harbour at Collingwood, Southampton, Kincardine, Goderich and Sarnia, and these places are already connected with railways running east. When the Welland Canal was finished large vessels could go down by the lakes to Montreal, and the completion of this canal would revolutionize the carrying trade of our inland waters and of the country. He visited the French River section last summer, and thought it a very inhospitable country. He would advise the Hon. Minister of Public Works, if he sent any employees up there, to enter into a contract to have their bodies cremated, as soil enough to bury a man could not be found in twenty miles square. He wanted to see the main line from Lake Superior proceeded with. He condemned the policy of the Government in proceeding with the construction of the line as a Government work, and said that when the policy was first adopted the Government held that the profits, which would otherwise have gone to the contractors, would under their scheme accrue to the country. They had got the first instalment of these profits in the loss sustained by the steel rails purchase, and they would have the second in the expenditure of a large amount of money unnecessarily in the useless Georgian Bay branch of the Canada Pacific line.

Mr. DEWDNEY complimented the Premier on his clear description of the Surveys that had taken place during the last year on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, especially through the Province of British Columbia. He was sorry that the members of the House had not been put in possession of a synopsis of the work, together with a skeleton map of the different routes, as it would have assisted them to follow the Premier more intelligently.

He was glad to find that the surveys

were so far advanced as enabled the Government to state that a favorable line had been obtained and practically located between Fort William, on Lake Superior, and Fort George, on the Frazer River. He had been astonished to hear the exorbitant estimate of the cost of a Pacific Railway given by some hon. gentleman the other evening. He proposed to give what he considered it could be built for. The Minister of Justice had stated that the line between Pembina and Fort Garry could be built for \$13,000 per mile. It was well known that 800 miles of the road on the main line between Fort William and the Pacific coast were quite as easy. However, placing it at \$16,000 per mile, it would give \$12,800,000 for that portion. Then the 800 miles of rolling country could be built at \$30,000 per mile, giving \$24,000,000 for that portion. The 400 miles of mountain country he estimated at \$45,000 per mile.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Is that in British Columbia?

Mr. DEWDNEY said the greater part of it was. This would cost \$18,000,000; the total cost of the 2,000 miles from the Pacific to Fort William being \$54,800,000 to be faced by the Dominion Government between now and 1890—(Lord Carnarvon's agreement) or about \$4,000,000 per annum. Mr. Fleming had estimated the cost of the line from British Columbia to Lake Nipissing at \$100,000,000. The section from Fort William to Lake Nipissing, 550 miles, described in Mr. Fleming's report as having only 30 miles of heavy work, he contended might be built for \$30,000 per mile or \$16,500,000—add to this the estimated cost of the line from Bute Inlet to Esquimalt (which is now abandoned) \$27,500,000 and the \$54,800,000 estimate from the Pacific to Fort William, would give you a total of \$98,800,000. His impression was the road could be built for that money and he would give his reasons for saying so. It was well known the Union and Central Pacific Railways were built for the money raised on the first bonds received from the United States Government. They got \$16,000 per mile for the portion west of the Sierra

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Nevadas, \$48,000 per mile for the mountain district, and \$32,000 per mile for the section east of the Sierra Nevada. The men who built that line were now all millionaires. When they commenced the undertaking they had great difficulty to raise \$20,000 to lobby their charter through Congress. The work was now a commercial success. Three years ago it paid six per cent. on the amount it cost, and the traffic was increasing wonderfully. On the Union Pacific it had increased last year \$1,275,000, and on the Central Pacific in ten months \$2,259,000 making a total for the two of \$3,534,000. The same parties who had built the American road had made an offer to build a line on the 32nd parallel for 12,800 acres of land. The experience they have gained on the northern route no doubt induced them to make that offer. He would now ask the attention of the Minister of Public works to the routes in British Columbia. Two years ago, at his (Mr. Dewdney's) request, the Premier had consented to have a survey of the Frazer River route made. During the summer instructions were forwarded to the engineer to carry on that survey, but, unfortunately it was delayed, and all that was done that year was to locate sixteen miles. The same year a party made a trial line from Yale to Burrard Inlet, but it was not in connection with the Frazer River line. The distance from Tête Jaune Cache to Burrard Inlet was 466 miles, and of this the Government could have information respecting only the sixteen miles located by Mr. Cambie in 1873 or '74. These were the sixteen miles which the Premier had spoken of as a fair average of work on the Frazer route. So far from that being the case, it was the most difficult on the Cascade range section. If the line had been run twenty miles further, it would have taken them out of the most difficult portion of the canon, and up the country was much more favorable. He therefore urged the Premier to continue the survey of that route. The only way to reach the northern seaboard of British Columbia was by building round the big bend of the Frazer, but the banks of the river are flooded at high water and a line would have to be forced back to the moun-

tains and very heavy land slides would have to be contended with. There was nothing equal to it in the lower country.

Then as to distance, it was 466 miles from Tête Jaune Cache to Burrard Inlet, while the distance between Tête Jaune Cache and Bute Inlet was 546 miles. The grades on the Frazer River averaged but eight feet per mile, while on the Homethca River they were 104 feet to the mile. The line from Tête Jaune Cache to Kamloops—216 miles—was of a very easy description, while on the route from Tête Jaune Cache to Fort George it would be found much heavier than the Government had anticipated. The distance for which there would be heavy work on the Frazer River route would be about 80 miles; on the Bute Inlet route about the same, probably a little less, but the advantage in favour of the former was that it terminated at a harbour unequalled in British Columbia, whereas there was bad anchorage at the harbour of Bute Inlet, the proposed terminus. Navigation from the Southern part of Vancouver Island to Burrard Inlet, was excellent. Of this he would give an illustration. A ship called *The Nation's Hope* sailed from Australia to this inlet by the chart, entering without a pilot on board. It carried an order for lumber at Moody's Mills, and when the captain asked where he should anchor, the answer was "anywhere." This harbour was two or three miles in width, and ten or fifteen miles in length. It was approachable at any time, and far superior to Bute Inlet. Last year Admiral Cochrane made a trip to Bute Inlet in a small gunboat, admirably suited for this purpose, in company of Lieutenant Governor Trutch, and on his way the former remarked that if Bute Inlet became the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway it would be impossible for the eastern trade to pass by it, as accommodation for steamers 300 or 400 feet in length should exist, and it was difficult for that small boat to make the passage. The day was foggy, and they were compelled to pass from one side of the Island to the other. He had mentioned this matter to the Minister of Marine as soon as he had arrived at British Columbia, and he had

advised the hon. gentleman to communicate with the Admiral regarding this matter. Another point in favour of this route was that the land in this vicinity was equal to the most magnificent in the world. The delta of the Frazer River was situated within a few miles of the Inlet. He had made estimates for a California Company, which had proposed to purchase and reclaim a certain number of acres. These were tide lands and comprised 1,500,000 acres. The Premier had admitted that for 70 miles near Bute Inlet the land was not sufficient for their purposes, but the hon. gentleman had not stated that after the 70 miles they reached a plateau where the water froze in July, and where it was impossible to raise anything to assist in supporting settlements. Another matter in favour of the route he advocated was to be considered—the distance was shorter by 82 miles than the Bute Inlet route, and 34 miles shorter than the Dean Channel route, and the expense would be considerably lessened if it was chosen.

He would read what the Minister of Public Works said last year with reference to these Northern routes:—

"Several passes through the Cascade Chain, from Dean and Gardner's Inlet, have also been explored; but no route entirely favourable for the railway has yet been reported. But even if it had been found favourable, any route so far north as this is open to the serious objection that it would reach the Pacific from fifty to sixty miles north of the northern extremity of Vancouver Island; it would be entirely beyond the present populated portion of the country which is further to the south; and it would be so situated that we could scarcely hope to compete for certain branches of the trans-continental trade which a more southerly line would secure.

Besides the shortness of route, he must draw the Minister's attention to the cost of operating these long lines for all time. He trusted that the hon. gentleman would consider what he said, and order further surveys to be made. When he brought up this question two years ago, he had made a statement which he would repeat:—"A railway terminating at Burrard Inlet could, without difficulty, connect with the lines running through Washington and Oregon territories, but this would be impossible if the terminus was fixed north of that Inlet."

He would now refer to the British Columbia question generally. He deeply regretted the step taken by the hon. gentleman from Victoria last week, and he thought that this hon. gentleman's resolution deserved its fate. Several hon. members during the debate had complained that the British Columbian members spoke very frequently on the floor of the House. Many remarks had been made in this relation which were uncalled for and not calculated to bring about such a feeling as should exist between their Province and the rest of the Dominion. He did not think that they took up a great deal of the time, and as regarded the hon. member for Vancouver, he did not see why that hon. gentleman should not speak when he felt inclined. Again, they had only one Bunster, while the hon. gentlemen opposite had many Busters. British Columbia had also been greatly misrepresented in the Press of the Dominion. A short time since, a letter full of the vilest misrepresentations and falsehoods in this regard appeared in the *Globe*. A gentleman well acquainted with the Province refuted these false statements, but the *Globe* nevertheless, in reply, went out of its way to abuse still further this Province. A great deal could be said on both sides touching the British Columbia question. One thing was certain—the Province had a certain amount of right on its side. A contract had been made and broken, though British Columbia had faithfully carried out her part of the agreement. He had examined the matter carefully, and he could not perceive where either the present or late Government had intentionally wronged the Province. The magnitude of the engineering difficulties encountered—which were greater than were anticipated—was the real cause of the troubles that had taken place. It was well known when the contract scheme of the late Administration failed, that it would be impossible to carry out the terms of the union. About that time the Reform party came into power, a party who from the first, although as far as he recollected never opposed the admission of British Columbia in the Union, or the construction of the Pacific Railway, took very strong grounds in opposing

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the time limit for the completion of that Railway. They fought that through every stage and at every opportunity, and it had been stated by a member of the present Government and not contradicted by any member of the late Government that the 10 years limit clause could not have been assented to by the House without a promise that a resolution should simultaneously be passed stating :

"The aid to be given to secure the undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land and money not unduly pressing on the resources of the Dominion as the Parliament of Canada shall hereafter determine."

He also found in the last minute of Council of March 13th, of the Dominion Government, in answer to one of January 4th from British Columbia:—

"The Committee would observe that the resolution in question was passed within a few days of the time at which the terms of Union were assented to by the House of Commons; that it was well known that in order to secure the consent of a majority of the House to these ruinous terms, the Government of that day were obliged to promise to their supporters the introduction of such a resolution; and that the then delegate, now the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, was present and aware of, and doubtless an assenting party to the arrangement."

He had heard both members from Victoria say that they had the authority of Lieutenant-Governor Trutch for the statement that he (Mr. Trutch) had never been in a position to give his consent to this resolution.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I understood the hon. member for Cumberland to say, the other evening, that Lieut. Trutch was a consenting party to that resolution. I may, however, have misunderstood the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Dr. TUPPER—And more than that; I quoted from the speech of the hon. gentleman himself, giving evidence that Mr. Trutch was a consenting party, and that he cordially assented to it in public after the resolution had passed.

Mr. DEWDNEY replied that Mr. Trutch had assured him more than once that in the speech to which reference was made, he (Mr. Trutch) expressed the feeling concerning this resolution which he still entertained. The hon. member for North York had not the full text of the speech in his hand when he referred to it

the other night. The House must remember that that was the only opportunity Mr Trutch had to give public expression to his opinion with regard to the terms. At a dinner given to him in Ottawa on the 16th of April, in referring generally to this question, Mr. Trutch said:—

"Now, Sir, I speak with special care, as I desire that full weight should be given to every word I utter on this point."

This statement was meant to go to British Columbia as his interpretation of the resolution. He continued:—

"That is to say, as to the understanding which I had when this clause was framed, and still have, of the intention of this engagement by the Dominion to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway within ten years. When we came to you in June last, we proposed that you should at once build a coach-road from Fort Garry to the Pacific, and within three years begin a railway, and we sought to bind you to spend \$1,000,000 annually on the section of this railroad in British Columbia, and complete its construction with the utmost possible despatch. We fully understood then that when once the road was commenced, it must be urged to its completion as a matter of course, as a business necessity, and that instead of \$1,000,000 being spent, probably \$5,000,000 would be yearly expended in British Columbia. We knew, in fact, that if the road were to be completed at all it would have to be proceeded with at a far faster rate than \$1,000,000 a year would insure. But there were those in British Columbia who thought that Canada would not undertake the work at all, and it was to satisfy their doubts—to secure their adhesion to the scheme that the guarantee of the expenditure of the \$1,000,000 annually was asked. The Government in the conference with our delegation, at once expressed their readiness to commence at once the railroad to the Pacific and to complete it as soon as it was practicable to do so, but the coach-road was objected to as an unnecessary expense, in view of the immediate construction of the railroad. We from British Columbia were pressed to accept the amendment of the scheme, and we accordingly proceeded to calculate the time it would probably take to build the railroad, and we agreed upon an estimated period of ten years. If it had been put at twelve or fifteen years, British Columbia would have been just as well satisfied, and if the estimated period had been reduced to eight years she would scarcely have been better pleased. But some definite period for the completion of this work the British Columbians required, as a necessary safeguard to our colony in entering into the proposed union. To argue that any other interpretation will be placed upon this railway engagement by British Columbia than that which I have given to you as my construction of it; to argue that she expects it to be carried out in the exact interpretation of

the words themselves, regardless of all consequences, is a fallacy which cannot bear the test of common sense. [Hear, hear.] The case stands thus:—British Columbia is about to enter a partnership with Canada, and one of the terms of the articles of partnership is that we are, under the partnership, to construct a railway under certain conditions. Is British Columbia going to hold her partner to that which will bring ruin and bankruptcy upon the firm? Surely you would think us fools indeed if we adopted such a course. I would protest, and the whole of British Columbia would protest if the Government proposed to borrow \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 to construct this road (hear, hear), running the country into debt and taxing the people of British Columbia, as well as the rest of the Dominion, to pay the burden of such a debt. Why, sir, I heard it said the other evening that British Columbia had made a most Jewish bargain with you in these terms, but even Shylock himself would not exact his pound of flesh if a portion of it had to be cut from his own body. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I am sure you will find that British Columbia is a pretty intelligent community, which will be apt to take a business view of this matter; she will expect that this railway shall be commenced in two years, for this is clearly practicable, and she will also expect that the financial ability of the Dominion will be exerted to its utmost, within the limits of reason, to complete it in the time named in the agreement; but you may rest assured that she will not regard this railway engagement as a 'cast-iron contract,' as it has been called, or desire that it should be carried out in any other way than as will secure the prosperity of the whole Dominion of which she is to be a part. (Cheers.) I have understood this railway engagement in this way from the first, and I still so understand it. I believed when we negotiated this clause in the terms of union last year, and I now believe, that it is not only practicable for this road to be built by a liberal land grant and moderate money subsidy, but that it will be so built and completed within the estimated period of ten years. But if a mistake has been made in this estimate, do not think that British Columbia is going to put a strained interpretation upon it to her own material injury; that she is likely, as the saying is, to bite her own nose off to spite her face."

That was what he (Mr. Dewdney) considered a fair interpretation of that resolution, and as it ought to be considered by British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Did I understand the hon. gentleman to state a little while ago that he was authorized by Mr. Trutch to deny that this was his opinion?

Mr. DEWDNEY—Oh, no; on the contrary, I stated that in conversation with the Governor he said:—"These

"are my opinions still in regard to the time limit—that the work should be carried on so as not to be detrimental to the whole Dominion."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then another hon. member for British Columbia—I am not sure which—said he was so authorized.

Mr. DEWDNEY—I think the hon. member for Victoria stated that he was authorized to say that the Governor was never in a position to agree to this resolution. He (Mr. Dewdney) had been attacked in British Columbia for attaching too much importance to the resolution, being told that as it was not in the terms it could not affect the Province. He thought the resolution was a very proper one, and he had, moreover, taken every opportunity to explain to his constituents that it was in existence. He was rather surprised to hear the member for Victoria state that he was not aware of its existence until he became a member of this House, and that quite a number in the city of Victoria were in exactly the same position. When the Minute of September the 20th reached that city, his little pamphlet was distributed, and many persons told him that it was the first time they had heard of the resolution. All that a great portion of the people of the Province knew was that an agreement had been made to commence a railway in two years, and to finish it in ten. They did not look beyond that; they did not consider the political difficulties or the difficulties brought about by the failure of the Allan scheme, nor take into consideration, as they should have done, the financial aspects of the case. One section of the country endeavoured to force the Government by every means in their power to commence the railroad on Vancouver Island, believing it to be part and parcel of the Pacific Railway; another party knowing that a severe blow would have been dealt to them had that policy been adopted, opposed it.

Had it not been for this sectional feeling, he believed the people of British Columbia would have held, as the majority do to-day, that until the engineers were in a position to recommend a line it would be impossible to commence the work of construction.

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The first protest that came from British Columbia was as soon as the two years were up, and the Local Government did (what he believed was their duty) put on record a protest against the non-fulfilment of that part of the agreement, but when they went further and endeavoured to force the Dominion Government to commence work before the surveys were completed, they acted, to say the least, with very poor judgment, and not in the interest of the Dominion or of the Province. The House would remember the continual protests that were made, and eventually, to satisfy the people of the Province, a gentleman was sent from Ottawa, whose advent he looked upon as an earnest that the Federal Government wanted to come to an understanding, and to stop the continual insinuations that they were endeavouring to break faith with a weak Province, when everybody acquainted with the facts knew that the fulfilment of the terms was really impossible. It had been stated that Mr. Edgar went to British Columbia without credentials. He distinctly denied that. When their Premier went to London to negotiate with Lord Carnarvon, they never heard of Mr. Edgar's want of credentials. The day that gentleman arrived in the Province, he was waited upon by the Premier, to whom he showed a letter from the Hon. First Minister, and stated he had letters from His Excellency the Governor-General to the Lieutenant-Governor. He also produced a letter from the Hon. First Minister to the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Walkem felt at that time that in case an offer was made (in case there was any alteration of the terms) they would have to go to the country. With that knowledge, he told Mr. Edgar that there were reasons why he should not deliver the letter to the Lieutenant-Governor. And while that interview lasted, he explained to Mr. Edgar that there were reasons for not delivering Mr. Mackenzie's letter to Mr. Trutch. He stated that an unfriendly feeling existed on the part of the Governor to Mr. Mackenzie, and contended that he was the proper party to be consulted in the matter. About that time Mr. Walkem, in his public utterances, had claimed to be friendly with the Domin-

ión Government, and no doubt Mr. Edgar thought it was immaterial whether the letter was delivered; that he had other documents which explained his mission, and consequently he did not deliver it.

For two months Mr. Walkem negotiated with Mr. Edgar, and the latter's authority was never questioned, but when a definite proposition was made, he turned round and said:—"Where are your credentials?" This difficulty was the cause of considerable correspondence, and it ended very properly, he thought, in Mr. Edgar being recalled. It might be said that it was not his place to show up the delinquencies of his Province, but when he saw the people of British Columbia attacked and called unreasonable, it was time that the blame should be put on the shoulders of the parties deserving it. Next came the appeal to England, which he believed was made contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people of British Columbia. At that time there had been formed at Victoria what is known as the "Terms of Union League." By paying \$2.50 one could become a member and be enabled to vote. When this question of appeal to England was brought up, Mr. Walkem was looking to the League for support. A meeting of the League was called, and after considerable discussion, the matter was deferred until the members for British Columbia returned. He thought the majority of these members urged the Government not to send the petition to England, and he himself expressed the opinion that they would be acting contrary to their own interests, and that they would never see a line on Vancouver Island if they did petition the Queen. He thought it looked now as if his prognostication was about to be fulfilled. At the time this question was brought up before the League, the meeting was packed by the union supporters of Mr. Walkem and a vote was carried favouring the appeal. That was the only support that British Columbia gave to that transaction that he was aware of. With regard to the adverse vote given in the Senate to the Bill, by means of which it was intended to give effect to the promise made to Lord Carnarvon, both parties in the House shirked the

responsibility of the defeat of the Bill. The Government laid the responsibility on the Conservative majority, and the Conservatives said that if it had not been for two or three Government supporters the Bill would have been carried. He, however, was not desirous of shirking any responsibility in the matter. He objected to the road because he considered it a part and parcel of the Bute Inlet road. That road would not have been in favour of his constituents, and would never have paid expenses. After the defeat of the Bill, nothing further was made public in British Columbia until the publication of the Minute of Council of September the 20th. That Minute was at any rate capable of two interpretations, and he objected to the action of the Local Government in reference to it, because it placed on it an interpretation he did not think it capable of bearing, namely that the Government intended repudiation. They stated "that an indemnity, however, to the amount of \$750,000, the cost of about twenty miles of railway, has been offered to British Columbia for any future delays which may occur in the construction of the railway, and that this sum will, subject to the assent of Parliament, be paid as a cash bonus to the Province, if the agreements for yearly railway expenditures and for completion of the railway to Lake Superior by 1890 be surrendered by the Province." That he regarded as a forced interpretation of the Minute. They also said "that by reason of the repeated violations by Canada of its railway engagements with this Province, all classes of our population have suffered loss; provident anticipations, based upon these engagements, have resulted in unexpected and undeserved failure, and in disappointment of a grave and damaging character; distrust had been created where trust and confidence should have been inspired; trade and commerce had been mischievously unsettled and disturbed." Now, he contended that was not the case. The hon. member for Victoria had spoken of the Province being exceptionally prosperous this year; that their revenues had increased, and that they were the most prosperous Province in Canada, and the

Local Government were wrong when they made that statement. They also said "that with respect to the proposed active prosecution of the surveys, your petitioners have no authoritative information upon which a correct opinion can be based." Now, there was not a gentleman in that Ministry who did not know the exact number of men there were making surveys that year. There were eight surveying parties out, consisting probably of 240 men; therefore he thought that statement was altogether unreasonable. The Minute in Council and the memorial were both drawn up by the Walkem Government. The agitation which had been created by Mr. Walkem and his friends forced his successor in office not only to forward the memorial but to use every exertion to obtain the construction of the Vancouver Railway, and he (Mr. Dewdney) had no doubt that he would use his best endeavors to do so. He thought several mistakes had been committed with regard to their Province. The first mistake was with regard to the terminus selected by Order in Council by the late Government, and the second was that Mr. Edgar was sent to British Columbia and authorized to make propositions for the construction of that piece of road. By his doing so the Government admitted that British Columbia was entitled to some compensation. He did not think she had any right to expect any compensation; all they would ask was that the work should be proceeded with as rapidly as possible consistently with the interests of the Dominion. As the right of British Columbia's receiving compensation had been admitted, he trusted that as soon as a communication had been received from Lord Carnarvon, who could not but see the memorial to Her Majesty was framed on a false basis, an amicable arrangement might be arrived at; and he hoped the Local Government of his Province would be relieved from the financial difficulties left them as a legacy by their late improvident predecessors. He still entertained the same feeling of attachment to his first political love—the late Administration—and he believed he would continue to do so; but with regard to this railway matter,

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as long as he found the Government were endeavouring to use every exertion to carry out their engagements, he would only be too happy to give them his assistance in this House, and also in the Province from which he came. He was in hopes that the surveys were so far advanced that a portion of the road might have been proceeded with. He thought there was a portion of the contract which might be proceeded with, and he thought if this were done it would go a great way towards quieting the agitation that had been threatened in British Columbia.

Mr. MASSON regretted that this question should have come up at so late a period in the Session, when every member in the House was desirous of leaving. He deprecated the attack made by the Premier, not only on the preceding Government, but on those who voted with that Government. He was one of that solid phalanx which had voted for the late Government's policy in reference to the annexation of British Columbia, and he desired to give to the House some of the reasons why they voted for that policy. When the terms of union were first submitted in this House, the Dominion had just acquired an enormous territory in the North-West, and it was well understood that it could only be peopled by building a railway to connect with it. Consequently, when the British Columbia resolutions were submitted, the Dominion was morally pledged to build a railway to the North-West. We had acquired half a continent, and we proposed to settle it as our neighbours peopled their vast country—by running railroads in advance of population. The day for carrying emigrants by a train of carts had passed, and a railroad was now requisite to settle a country. That was why the majority from Quebec approved of the construction of the railway. The scheme of the old Government was a wise one. There are two ways to build railroads:—In a small but wealthy and populous country, by money; in a vast but comparatively poor and thinly-settled country like ours, by giving lands. The late Government proposed to build our Pacific Railway principally with the lands in the North-West; and if the Hon. Pre-

mier considered they were not worth enough to build the road, why did he join hands with the right hon. member for Kingston for the annexation of the North-West Territories. An effort had been made to discredit the idea of the late Government of putting a price of \$2.50 an acre on the land in the vicinity of the railway, in order to give value to the land grant given to the company in aid of construction. He did not see that the intending emigrant could complain of such a condition; and if the hon. Premier would ask the tax-payers of the old provinces if they would object paying \$2.50 an acre for land, provided they had a railway, he would soon convince himself that the former plan was a just one, both to the settlers and the inhabitants of the older Provinces. Everybody knew that no difficulty was found in getting companies to undertake the work; in fact, the only difficulty arose from the rivalry of two parties of capitalists who wished to get possession of the contract. Sir George Cartier had remarked to the people of Quebec that it would not do to merely build up a nation in the great North-West, but we must create it for Canada. If we must spend our wealth on it, it was not to contribute to the trade and greatness of the United States. The Conservative Party thought it would be suicidal to build the railway if they did not run it on the north shore of Lake Superior. To create a nation in the North-West and have it dependent on the United States would be to lead to the belief that its interests were identical with theirs and not with ours. The ultimate result of such a sentiment would be separation from the Dominion. There was another reason why it was desirable the route should pass north of Lake Superior. We have two Wests on this continent—the Great American West, and our Great American North-West. The trade of the latter naturally belongs to Canada, and its natural channel is through Canadian territory; the more trade was allowed to go by way of Duluth, the more it would be diverted from Canada. The people of the United States were moving to secure that trade, and the only way we could counteract it was by making the dis-

tance shorter to reach our vast territories in the North-West. Everything done to influence trade to pass to the south of Lake Superior was so much done to the detriment of the Dominion. One of the great difficulties in building the route north of Lake Superior was suggested on second thought by the Premier himself. He (Mr. Masson) said "second thought" because the hon. gentleman, before this question bore a political aspect, had re-echoed the words of the *Globe*—that a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a grand Canadian Pacific Railway, was easier and cheaper of construction and far shorter completely on British territory than any other trans-continental route; but when the late Government came to give effect to this very idea, the present Premier immediately contended that a road by the north of Lake Superior was an insane enterprise. But on that, as on many other questions, the hon. gentleman had spoken too dogmatically. Explorations having been made, Mr. Fleming reported:

"It is now established beyond a doubt that a favourable and comparatively easy route, considering the line as a whole, has been found from the Ottawa to Winnipeg, on the north side of Lake Superior. This result is most satisfactory, as unfavourable impressions had been created regarding portions of that line, many considering it impracticable for railway construction; that it will be possible to locate a line direct from the north side of Lake Superior to the prairie region without immense and expensive works."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — Hear! hear!

Mr. MASSON said the hon. gentleman would hardly undertake to say that it was as bad as British Columbia. He would read the concluding part of this report, relating to British Columbia, and he would show that either Mr. Fleming spoke of what he knew nothing about, or that the Premier was wrong in the position he took:—

"The practicability of establishing railway communication across the continent, wholly within the limits of the Dominion, is no longer a matter of doubt. It may indeed now be accepted as certain that a route has been found generally possessing favourable engineering features, with the exception of a short section approaching the Pacific coast, which route, taken in its entire length"—he drew particular attention to this remark—"including the exceptional section alluded to, will, on the average, show lighter work and require less

cost in construction than has been necessary on many railways now in operation in the Dominion."

If this settled the point at issue for British Columbia, it must also settle that of the route by north of Lake Superior. Another reason had been given in favour of the present policy—that the road would cost more if it was built north of Lake Superior; but suppose that it, in consequence, cost \$20,000,000, it would be cheaper for us—as it would secure the passage of the trade of the West through our own country—than if it cost \$10,000,000 and the trade was thereby thrown into the hands of foreigners. If we wished to build up the North-West Territory, the Pacific Railway must be constructed. Prudence should be observed, of course, and it should pass the north of Lake Superior. The late Government fell; the plan was changed, and the time for recrimination arrived. The Premier then found his past policy in his way, and accordingly, to-day, matters were at a stand-still, and the only thing to be done was to cast recriminations on the policy of the late Administration. The only flaw discovered in it was the time limit. Every member from Quebec and Ontario knew what ridicule had been made of the idea of the late lamented Sir George Cartier with reference to this limitation. In every transaction, however, a time limit must be entered. This was done in all ordinary transactions of life, and in dealing with all public questions of the kind. It had merely been made to show that we were thoroughly in earnest, and it had been so understood by the people of British Columbia. He had been present at the dinner when Lieut.-Governor Trutch, in eloquent terms, communicated to them the wishes of the people of that Province. That gentleman had said that if they enforced a Shylock bond with Canada, they were well aware they must themselves furnish the pound of flesh. Another proof could be supplied of this understanding. When the contract was passed with Sir Hugh Allan, as the Premier well knew, provision for an extension of time, to be fixed, if it were necessary, by Parliament, was made. The Liberal press had charged

the Conservative leaders with the com- mittal of an insane act in limiting the time as mentioned. We had before us the example of the United States, and he did not see why, when Quebec was charged with being in so back- ward a state by Liberals, the latter were not willing to follow this example. The Americans, notwithstanding the fact that they had just passed through a serious war, had built their Pacific Railway in less than five years in reality, because almost nothing had been done on the line between the years 1862 and 1865; and had we the money, the Premier would admit that the road could as easily be built, if the surveys were completed, in ten as in fifteen or twenty years. He wished this question to be set at rest once for all. When the Government were la- bouring to obtain a realization of terms from British Columbia their best argu- ment appeared to be that the right hon. member from Kingston had taken a sound position in this relation, as the ten years' limit was not binding on the Dominion, being directory, not mandatory, and yet to-day, the fol- lowers of the Premier reproached the Conservative leaders with binding the country hand and foot with regard to the construction of the railway within that period. Nevertheless, the friends of the Government had approved of a treaty with the United States, which contained a similar provision, requir- ing the completion of the Caughnawaga Canal within five years, and this was not on conditions agreed upon with a part of the Dominion, but with a fore- ign country. Its fulfilment was also considered by many an impossibility. A great deal has been said about the clause providing that the taxation should not be increased, prudently in- troduced by the late Sir George E. Cartier. The Conservatives had not intended to exaggerate this stipulation. At the time our finances were in a pros- perous state, and it was believed the road could be built without increasing the taxes, but it was never stated— never meant, and never dreamt of that it should not be constructed if taxation was increased; it was simply intended that this increase should not be due to the carrying out of this great enter- prise. The intentions of the Conserv-

atives in this relation were fair and honest. The Conservatives were not responsible for the present state of things; they had acted prudently and wisely; events had disappointed their expectations, but this was not their fault. The difficulty experienced had not been produced by the Old Provinces, but by British Columbia, because its people did not believe that the Government were sincerely desirous of building the line at all—with good reason. When the Premier declared that he was determined to construct the railway, he would be the last man to question the gentleman's word, but events were against the hon. gentleman. The Premier's first remark when the enterprise was mooted, had tended to disparage that Province in the face of its envoy, seated on the floor of the House. The hon. gentleman declared that the country was not worth buying, and that it was too rocky and mountainous for advantageous settlement, quoting the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. Sir Alexander was a great man, of whom Canada and England might well be proud, but he had gone up the Peace River and had seen only a very small part of the section of the continent in question. The hon. gentleman refused to accept what more modern visitors had stated, but there was no room for doubt as to the value and importance of the Province. The whole Liberal press, at least in Quebec, at every election, both Local and Federal, denounced the payment made in favour of British Columbia in disparaging language, including Manitoba also in their adverse criticism, and could the people of that Province, under these circumstances, have any confidence in the good will of the Administration in their regard, especially when an hon. gentleman occupying so high a position as the Minister of Justice used such imprudent language—to say the least of it—concerning British Columbia, which would one day be an unquestionable source of wealth to the Dominion? He denied the correctness of the hon. gentleman's criticism; it might be all very true, but it was not a fit statement to be uttered by a gentleman in his position, and he quite understood that the people of the Province should have their con-

fidence shaken in the present Administration. The mission of Mr. Edgar was sufficient to take away the last particle of their confidence. An envoy was not usually sent to a people having constitutional government, but to the head of affairs. It was not usual, as the Hon. Premier had done, to tell an envoy to feel the pulse of the people to see what they wanted on the subject, and after Mr. Edgar had made his proposition, he thought the action of the Hon. First Minister in withdrawing him was—he would not say coarse or rude, but impolitic under the circumstances.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. member for Yale differs from you.

Mr. MASSON—That may be, but I am giving my opinion, and I think the country will approve of it. The country does approve of what we are doing this moment. Mr. Edgar, continued the speaker, should have been furnished with credentials, which he could produce when necessary, and the Government in British Columbia informed that his offer when made would be binding on the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We did.

Mr. MASSON—I deny it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Well, the hon. gentleman may deny it, but it is the fact.

Mr. MASSON said British Columbia had another reason to distrust the Government, owing to the act of the envoy. The hon. member for Yale said they had never dreamed of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt line being part of the Pacific Railway. Any person who read the letter of Mr. Edgar to Mr. Walkem, which expressed the real wishes of the Government, would have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that it was intended that that line should be a portion of the Pacific. In that letter the following passage occurred:—"Feeling the impossibility of complying with the time limited for completion, the Government is prepared to make new stipulations and to enter into additional obligations of a definite character, for the benefit of the Province. They propose to commence construction from Esquimalt to Nanaimo immediately, and

"to push that portion of railway on to completion with the utmost vigor and in the shortest practicable time." What was that a portion of, if not a portion of the Pacific Railway?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It means a portion of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo.

Mr. MASSON—Oh, then the railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt is a portion of the railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt? The people of British Columbia understood this question as he did, but there were other things which confirmed the impression that the Government were not anxious to keep faith with the Province; there was no greater enemy of the railway than the hon. member for Montreal West, but the hon. First Minister had helped that gentleman in his candidature, knowing him to hold the views he did on the question. There was still stronger proof; as soon as the Hon. Premier passed his Bill in 1874, it was said in the Province of Quebec that the plan was such an ingeniously contrived one that it would ruin the Pacific Railway entirely. The organ of the party in Quebec, whose editor would probably before long have a seat in the Government, in another chamber said:—"The resolutions relating to the Pacific Railway will be discussed on Tuesday. The resolutions have been prepared with the greatest care, and the arrangements to protect the public interest have been so well taken that I think the enterprise will be smothered in the narrow meshes tightened together by the hand of Mr. Mackenzie; the misfortune would not be very great." This was the position taken by the Liberals of Quebec, and did the hon. gentleman mean to say that the public opinion of that Province did not pass over the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia? He knew the opinions of Conservatives penetrated that far. Such utterances, together with the general attitude of the Ministry, justified him in saying the people of British Columbia had no faith that the road would be constructed. If they had seriously thought there was an intention on the part of the present Administration to build the road, the difficulty of

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to-day would not exist. The people of that Province are as reasonable as any others, and they would have agreed that the work should be undertaken and prosecuted with the prudence the affairs of the Dominion demands at this moment. We had to construct the railway now as a Government work and had to proceed with caution; but if British Columbia had confidence in the Administration they would not press that anything should be done until the completion of the surveys. He thought the policy of the Hon. Premier on that point was wise, and would be so recognized by the people of the Province. The majority of the people of the Dominion were determined that the road should be constructed, if not in ten or fifteen years, in twenty years, but not to burden the country thereby. British Columbia would understand that their interests and ours are welded together, and would not press for too much; the pound of flesh would be taken from their breast as well as our own. A few days ago, as everybody remembered, the Hon. Premier announced the grave fact of the cancellation of the Georgian Bay Branch contract. If there was any enterprise entered into recklessly and in spite of the remonstrances of engineers and all interested in the work, it was the Georgian Bay Branch. To-day we were reaping the result of that improvident and reckless conduct. Mr. Foster had given up his contract, and required 26 miles of water-stretches to be used for the railway; they were at the end of the Session, but had not received any information from the Government on this matter. Why was this? Because it had been found difficult, if not impossible, to reach the mouth of French River: at any rate, they had found it was much easier to reach the French River 26 miles above its mouth. The contractors required other alterations, and it had been proved that the road could not be constructed according to the terms of that contract. He called the attention of the House to a resolution he submitted last year. That motion, however, was lost, and he bowed to the decision of the House; but what was the position taken by hon. gentlemen opposite. He was

taunted by an hon. gentleman opposite who held a high position—and his views were re-echoed by his supporters—that he was animated by a sectional feeling, and that he was only looking to the interests of Quebec. He, however, merely asked fair play for the Province, and the result of the effort of the Government proved that the hon. gentleman had recklessly changed the policy of the late Administration; in changing that policy, they stated that the course that they intended to pursue would be just as favorable as that of the late Government, and that lines would be subsidized in Ontario and Quebec to join the terminus of the Pacific Railway. It was said in this House last year, by the Hon. Minister of Justice, that the plan which had been propounded by the Government at the polls and in the Lambton address, had been conducive in carrying the elections; therefore that should be the policy of the Government, and that the Government had no right to alter that policy. He maintained that the duty of the Government, before proceeding with the Georgian Bay Branch, was to have had the surveys thoroughly completed, in order that they could give the contractors some idea of what was before them. Unfortunately this had not been done, and the result was, as he had anticipated. He (Mr. Masson), has accompanied a deputation to the Minister of Public Works, in 1874. The hon. gentleman said that deputation went away satisfied. He (Mr. Masson), could prove they did not, and they would have been very foolish if they had, because they were refused everything they asked. They stated that Mr. Legge, an engineer of the greatest ability, had informed them that by adopting another route the road could be built for \$30,000 per mile, whereas, by the height of land route, it would cost at least \$40,000. When the Premier came to the House, he said the engineer did not know what he was speaking about; that the route by Burnt Lake was the very best that could be adopted and had the easiest grades. It was only necessary to look at the map to see where the height of land was, and when the deputation pointed it out

as the place where the Bonnechere, Madawaska, Muskoka and other rivers took their rise, the Premier turned round and said they did not know what they were talking about. The hon. gentleman did more; when he (Mr. Masson), in this House, cited the opinions of Sir William Logan and Mr. Shanly, and said these gentlemen knew more of the subject than Mr. Hazlewood, who was stopped by the smoke and only made a cursory survey of the greater part of the route, the hon. gentleman was discourteous enough to say it was not true. Here Mr. Masson quoted from page 528 of *Hansard*.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am quite sure I never was guilty of the discourtesy of saying that the hon. gentleman's statement was not true, and if I had been, I would have apologised to the hon. gentleman for doing so.

Mr. MASSON said he was happy to hear the hon. gentleman say so, and he (Mr. Masson) withdrew the charge of discourtesy. The hon. gentleman now informed the House the route was to be changed, and French River was to be utilized for 26 miles from its mouth. Under the circumstances, that was a step in the right direction; but would it not be wiser and better to improve the navigation of French River up to Lake Nipissing? Mr. Shanly, who surveyed the river with a view to reporting as to the feasibility of the Ottawa Canal, estimated the cost of the entire work from Georgian Bay, on the lower Ottawa, at some twenty odd millions, but did not give an opinion as to what sum would be required for the improvement of French River; but Mr. Clarke, the engineer who made the survey in 1860, reported the cost at about \$860,000. No doubt a larger sum would be required at this day, but it could not exceed \$1,500,000. By this outlay the Georgian Bay Branch would be rendered unnecessary. While it would be a commencement of the great Ottawa Canal, it would enable lake craft to reach the south-east corner of Lake Nipissing, the original eastern terminus of the Pacific Railway. The question would then naturally rise whether the Premier should subsidize existing and projected lines in Ontario and Quebec to reach that

point, as had been indicated in the policy announced to the electors in December, 1873; if he would subsidize but one, let the hon. gentleman decide in his own mind the one which it would be most in the public interest to aid and by which the seaboard could be most directly reached. He hoped the hon. gentleman would order further explorations, and if it then appeared that the line the hon. gentleman had chosen was best, he would have no objection to it. He did not wish to be sectional, and such he never had been; he was completely in accord with the Legislature of Quebec in this connection, and it only asked for fair play with regard to Lower Canada. The line which passed through Quebec was the shortest and best, and if this was selected, he was sure that the people of the Lower Province would not demur if a line running through the centre of Ontario was also subsidized. If the Government kept faith with British Columbia, without ruining the country, and secured through rail communication with the North-West *via* Fort William and Fort Garry, as soon as possible,—kept in view the building of the line by the north of Lake Superior, and so arranged their policy that every step taken at the present moment would ultimately conduce to the completion at a future day of that part of the undertaking, and the commencement of the Ottawa Ship Canal, he thought they would deserve the hearty support of the country in that undertaking, and would at all events have his support.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew), as a representative of an Ottawa valley constituency, desired to say a few words touching this question, and the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch. As long ago as 6th March the Premier had informed the House that the contract for the building of this branch had been cancelled, and up to the present, although he had carefully read the newspapers of the country, he had not been able to discover that advertisements had been issued inviting new tenders. This fact led him to the inevitable conclusion that some modification in the plans was intended by the Administration. Though it was true that the hon. gentleman had not

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communicated his policy in this relation, for which the vote of a million was requested, as had been stated by the hon. member for Terrebonne, the indications were that this policy would be changed to the extent of providing for the improvement of the navigation of French River from its mouth to a point some twenty-six miles distant, upwards. He thought that if the plan mentioned by his hon. friend from Terrebonne was adopted, it would not only be in accordance with the views of the constituency he represented, but also with those of the whole country. He desired the improvement of navigation up as far as Lake Nipissing; and he did not think that it could be shown that this would not afford all the advantages obtainable by building the Georgian Bay Branch to the mouth of French River, while a considerable saving would thereby be effected. The distance from the eastern terminus of this branch line to the mouth of the river mentioned was 99 miles; and the cost of the line, at the rate of \$40,000 per mile, would be \$3,960,000. The distance from this point to the south-eastern corner of Lake Nipissing was 25 miles; and at the rate of \$40,000 per mile; the cost of a railway connecting the two points would be \$1,000,000. The expenditure required, according to Mr. Clarke's estimate, to improve the river, with locks 250 feet in length, 45 feet in width, and 12 feet in depth, would be \$886,117; and if they compared this with the \$3,960,000 to be expended on the branch line in question, it would be seen that the adoption of this plan would effect a large saving. The improvement of navigation from the mouth of French River to Cantins Bay would cost according to Mr. Clarke's estimate \$139,870; and of building 86 miles of railway to Cantins Bay, \$3,440,000, making in all \$3,579,870; the saving which would be effected by adopting the plan of the hon. member for Terrebonne would be \$1,693,753. It might be said that Mr. Clarke's estimate with reference to the improvement of the Ottawa navigation was very much less than that of Mr. Shanly, and this he was prepared to admit, but the whole length of canal required according to Mr. Shanly, exclusive of the

Lachine Canal, was $49\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the canal on French River one mile in length; while Mr. Clarke estimated that the whole length of the canalization would only amount to $20\frac{8}{10}$ miles, and $\frac{8}{10}$ of a mile for the canal on French River. Mr. Shanly estimated the canal on French River as 1-49th part, and the distance according to Mr. Clarke was 1-25th part; the cost as estimated by Mr. Shanly doubled the estimate of Mr. Clarke. He thought that it would be readily seen by any person that the cost of improving French River would not be doubled by Mr. Shanly's calculation compared with that of Mr. Clarke; but if it were, it would be found that a saving would be secured, by this plan, compared with the cost of building the road from the eastern terminus to French River over 1,000,000, and from thence to Cautin's Bay, \$950,000. It had been stated by the leader of the Government that it was not the intention of the Government at present to undertake this work—the improvement of the navigation of the Ottawa and in view of the large extent of the Public Works undertaken by the Administration, and the present state of our finances, he did not blame the Government for refusing at this particular juncture to undertake a work of such great magnitude; but if any part of the scheme be broached, could it be extended by the present Administration without involving the country in any undue expenditure it should be done.

AFTER RECESS.

The following Private Bills were read the third time and passed:—

To amend the Act of Incorporation of the Banque St. Jean Baptiste.

To amend the Act Incorporating the London and Canada Bank.

To incorporate the British Canadian Loan and Investment Company.

SUPPLY.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Cartwright the House went into Committee of Supply.

Mr. WHITE (North Renfrew) resumed the debate. He stated that the question of Ottawa navigation was one which must engage the attention

of the Government of this country, as it had engaged the attention of former Governments. In 1858 a report was made by Mr. Walter Shanly in which he made a comparison between the cost of transportation from Chicago to Montreal by the Ottawa route and by the Lachine Canal. He made the distance 368 miles in favour of Ottawa; in time the difference was 44 hours, and in cost $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton. He had heard the hon. member for Monck state during this debate that there were very great impediments in the way of obtaining an entrance to the mouth of French River, and that there existed at that point no good harbour. He also stated that there were other harbours on the shore of the Georgian Bay which were much preferable to that harbour. He might, perhaps, be permitted to quote from the opinion of Mr. Shanly with reference to the harbour at the mouth of French River:—

“The Indians of Lake Nippissing in going to and from their homes and Shibewhenaning, on the Sault Ste. Marie, commonly enter or descend the French River by the ‘Mouth,’ so designated by Bayfield, that route affording the best shelter for their canoes; in going to or returning from Penetanguishene they as commonly choose the passage by the ‘Key,’ the waters of which, although they do not belong to the French River, approach so near to it at some distance up as to render it accessible for canoes by an easy portage. In pursuing my examination of the coast I placed myself entirely in the hands of my pilot, a sagacious Algonquin of Lake Nippissing, perfectly familiar with every rocky island and inlet of the myriads that stud and indent the inhospitable Coasts of the Georgian Bay, merely giving him to understand that my desire was to enter the river by its widest and deepest outlet. Passing the ‘key,’ which he indicated as the shortest route to Nippissing, my guide bent his course for the Bustard Islands; and from thence steered directly for the ‘large river’ already referred to, the way into which from the Island being perfectly clear and unembarrassed. It thus for the first time became known to me, that the French River had at least one outlet independent of those assigned to it by the chart, and that the large river which was most probably considered by Bayfield as a distant stream, is in reality that arm of the former by which, if ever it is to be adapted to the purpose of modern commerce, vessels will have to enter it. As for the other mouths, I have ascertained that they were rightly pronounced to be inaccessible, save, as before observed, by the Indian in his canoe. On reaching the mouth of the river I landed, and looking back upon the bay over which I had just passed, it certainly did seem to fulfil

all the conditions of a noble harbour. The Bustard Group completely protects it on the south and south-west, while a heavy sea, grinding angrily against a projecting headland of granite on the north-west seemed to announce some shelter against the violent gales which so frequently assail the lake from that quarter. The bay within was perfectly smooth and unruffled, while without the water was still heaving and swelling from the effects of a night of storm."

"The entrance to the harbour is studded across from the Bustards towards the main shore on the north by a few rocky islets, great broad channels between which give every indication of very deep soundings."

"A vessel of whatever class, steamer or sailing craft, once within the Georgian Bay, could in any weather at least as easily make the Bustard Islands as any of the more southerly ports, Owen Sound, Collingwood or Nottawassaga, while in the sweeping gales from the North-West, the scourge of Lake Huron, the run from Cape Hurd to the Bustards having the shelter of the Great Manitoulin Island, would assuredly be far safer than that to any of the three lower harbours named. Under the lee of the Bustard Orange, vessels could anchor or moor in the most complete safety, blow the wind from what quarter it might, and to drop thence into the river, the depth and directness of the channel being assumed as sufficient, would be practicable under any condition of weather short of actual storm."

He thought that settled the question as to whether a good and available harbour was to be obtained there. It was also stated that there was no land fit for settlement in the locality which would be opened up by this railway. He was not prepared to say what the quality of the land might be in the immediate vicinity of the Georgian Bay, but it was a well known fact that in the vicinity of Lake Nipissing, and especially north and west of the Lake, large tracts of arable land existed. Mr. Walter Shanly made a report to this effect in 1857, and he had in his hand a letter from a gentleman employed for many years by the Government of Ontario surveying this country. He referred to Mr. Bell, the Provincial Land Surveyor, who said:—

"Along the Amable du Fond River and several miles west of it, there are extensive flats of rich loamy soil, thence, westward, a beautiful undulating country extends to Lake Nipissing and South River, and a considerable distance west of that river. The soil is generally a sandy loam on the higher lands and clayey loam on the flats. In some parts the timber is pine, mixed with hardwood, and in

many places hemlock, hardwood and balsam. From Lake Nipissing the country ascends gradually to the south, and at a distance of 15 miles from the lake in that direction, extensive ridges of maple, birch and beech occur, mixed occasionally with hemlock and balsam, pine being seldom met with. The soil is a sandy loam. The whole country described above is fit for settlement. On the south side of Lake Nipissing and Mattawa River a large tract of country extending northerly to Lake Temiscamingue is covered chiefly with hard balsam and spruce. Pine is most abundant near the Ottawa, but a few miles west of that river it becomes scarce. Over a large proportion of this tract the soil is a clayey loam of good quality, and nearly all of it is suitable for settlement. In my opinion there is no part of the unoccupied lands of the Crown which affords so large an unbroken tract of country suitable for settlement as the territory described herein."

That was the opinion of a practical land surveyor who had explored this country year after year. By adopting the suggestion of the hon. member for Terrebonne and locating the terminus of the road on the shore of Lake Nipissing, a large tract of country suitable for settlement would be opened up, and a large quantity of valuable timber now inaccessible would also obtain an outlet to the markets of the world. In discussing this question it was his desire to do so entirely free from party ties and without any wish to do and say anything which might tend to embarrass the Government. It had been said in a discussion which arose upon this question in another place, that the result of the election which recently took place in his county was a condemnation of the Government policy in reference to the opening up of the communication with the eastern terminus of the Pacific Railway. He denied that proposition, but admitted that there might have been some colour for the statement. It had also been stated that the people of North Renfrew desired to have the communication made by way of Pembroke, because the people of the South Riding desired it should be made by way of Renfrew. In discussing this scheme he did so without reference to this means of communication. Much could be said in favour of the Pembroke route, but he had carefully avoided discussing that particular line, as the Government had given no indication

that they proposed abandoning the Bonnechere route, and he thought he was reflecting the opinion of the people he represented, when he said they did not desire to view this question from a local or sectional standpoint. Upon the Government, and on the Government alone, must rest the responsibility of determining the route which they believed to be the best in the interests of the country, and if they honestly intended to carry out this project of opening up communication between the existing system of railways in Ontario and Quebec and the great lakes of the West they would receive his support whether they adopted the suggestion of the member for Terrebonne by improving the French River navigation (which he believed would be most conducive to the interests of the country) or whether they carried out the original scheme.

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) said before the House met, a portion of the Canadian press had given the public to understand that the Government were about to repudiate its agreement with British Columbia. There could be but one opinion, that the faith of the country was pledged to British Columbia and must be maintained. He was exceedingly pleased to hear from the hon. members for Yale and Terrebonne that while they expected the road should be built, the burdens of the people ought not to be increased in order to do so. Any other policy would not commend itself to the people. It had often been asserted, however, that this Government intended to break faith with British Columbia. He had watched their policy closely, and failed to observe any indication that they intended to do anything of the kind. They had expended large amounts in surveys, purchased a quantity of steel rails, and shown every desire to push forward the work as fast as the resources of the country would permit them to go. Some hon. members from British Columbia—and especially the hon. member for Vancouver, who seemed to be the champion of the Province—had charged the Government and their supporters with attempting to depreciate that portion of the Dominion, but he (Mr. Ross) failed to see anything of

the kind. The road must be regarded either as a commercial undertaking or a national work. If it was viewed in a commercial light, the House was obliged to look at the resources of British Columbia. When they came to consider that the trade of that Province—including imports and exports—was about \$4,000,000, they at once enquired what traffic there would be for this railway, and how far British Columbia could contribute to make this commercial undertaking a success. Again, looking at it from a national standpoint, it became a matter of sentiment, and the House was obliged to consider whether for the mere sentiment of connecting British Columbia with the Eastern Provinces the Government would be justified in entailing such burdens on the people as would retard the development of other sources of wealth and cripple the commerce of the country. For his part he was not prepared to sustain any such policy. There were some indications of a change of opinion on the other side of the House, and they were now talking of utilizing the water stretches which they had spoken of so contemptuously when the policy of the Government was first announced. This frequent change of base indicated the Opposition had no settled policy on the subject, and that the only judicious course was to endeavour by moderate and common-sense measures to construct the road without necessarily increasing the burdens of the country. The hon. member for Terrebonne was exceedingly anxious to imitate the Americans and push railways in advance of settlement, the reason given being that it would settle the Valley of the Saskatchewan. He (Mr. Ross) admitted the Illinois Central and other railroads in the United States had been built in that way, but before adopting such a policy here, we had to consider whether the tide of immigration was as great now as it had been in the past. Any one who had watched the flow of immigration for the last four or five years must admit it was beyond the range of probability that anything like the number of emigrants would settle in America during the next ten years as in the last decade. The immigration of the last year was not one-third of what it was the preceding twelve months; and it was un-

likely to increase in the future, the wages of the working classes in Great Britain and other European countries having largely increased of late, and their condition being much improved. The inducements for people in the old world to emigrate were, therefore, not so great as they had been in the past. Looking at these facts we could not expect the same results to follow the adoption of the system by which Illinois had been settled.

It had been said it was a great mistake to undertake the construction of this railroad—that the resources of the country were not sufficient for the work. That was not the question now. This House had to consider that in order to keep faith with British Columbia, and discharge the obligations we had undertaken with that Province, we were bound to proceed with the construction of the road as quickly as possible, acting with prudence and forethought in carrying on the work.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN did not think this could be considered a question of sentiment. It had never been so considered by the late Government or Parliament, nor did he think it was so considered by the present Administration or this House. It was regarded by the late Government as a work of necessity. This Dominion was bound by a solemn treaty with one of the Provinces to build the railway within a certain time. Some had said it could not be done within the specified limits. That might be, but the people of British Columbia would be satisfied with a reasonable effort to do it. The policy of the late Government was to build the road by means of a private company, aided by land grants and a money subsidy. He was still of opinion the lands of the North West should contribute largely to the building of that railway, and that the country should not be called upon to aid it with a larger sum of money than \$30,000,000. It was a treaty obligation entered into, not for the sake of British Columbia, but for the sake of the Dominion. It was entered into by the late Government because they knew it was necessary for our national existence. They knew that such a railway would be required to knit together the Provinces of the Dominion, and extend

their authority completely over the country from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; it would also be a connecting link between Europe and Asia. The hon. member spoke of this as sentiment; the hon. gentleman might use that term, but others would term it practical common sense. This line would yet bring—for it must be constructed—through the Dominion the trade of the two continents, Asia and Europe, besides the local traffic of our Provinces. He had listened with astonishment to the quotation by the hon. gentleman who had just spoken of the trade of British Columbia, as a reason why he (Mr. Ross) supposed that the late Administration intended to build this road. This circumstance had not entered into their calculations. They did not consider whether there were ten or twenty thousand people in the Province, or whether its trade was small or large. They knew full well that this railway would build up British Columbia—a wealthy region, full of resources—and though a distinguished member of the Government had called it a sea of mountains, yet if the hon. gentleman visited it, he would see that this sea of mountains was a sea which would give a large revenue to this country. To-day it was the weakest, but it would yet be one of the foremost Provinces of the Dominion. Its representatives could under certain circumstances be hardly heard in the House. This he regretted, for humble though any of them might be, he was entitled to the same attention and respect as any other, and as any prominent hon. gentleman, when he advocated the rights of his Province.

A few years ago another important Province, Nova Scotia, occupied a similar position, and the complaints and grievances of its representatives were heard night after night with the greatest attention and respect, and even with a view of meeting them and trying to remedy the evil; and though some want of respect was shown in this instance to this section of the Dominion there must be, he thought, in this Parliament a desire to meet its wishes and remedy the evil which existed. This railway was considered by the previous Government and Parliament as a ne-

cessity in view of our position, and as required by treaty obligation. When they gave the contract to Sir Hugh Allan and his twelve associates, they bound themselves to give the Company \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land to construct a railway from Lake Nipissing to Esquimalt, between which points lay the route of the Pacific Railway. If reference was made to the Act they passed incorporating certain companies during that year, it would be seen that they were intended to build railways from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean, with power of extension to Esquimalt, and of building besides branch lines. The portion of the line from the inner waters of British Columbia to Esquimalt, was not considered, and was not treated in these acts as a branch, but as an extension and a portion of the railway. He would go further—and these were matters of fact and history. When the Government of which he was a member was called upon in this House by the present member for Victoria to state whether we had determined upon the western terminus of the line, he was instructed by the Cabinet to announce—as he did do openly—that they intended to make Esquimalt the terminus. Moreover, an Order in Council was passed to that effect, and in the correspondence, laid the other day before the House, it was so stated in a Minute of Council of the present Government. When the question came up under the present Administration, if he was not mistaken, the same course was followed. It was necessary at this stage to refer to a report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, dated the 20th of September, 1875, wherein it was stated:—"The proposed Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo does not form a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway as defined by the Act; it was intended to benefit local interests, and was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the Railway across the Continent."

This did not apply to the late Government, because in their time no such disappointment was experienced. They had begun to put the Act into effect,

and, therefore, no compensation was required; this only occurred afterwards. Nevertheless, on the 25th of March, 1875, the present Ministry requested the Local Government to grant a belt of land between Esquimalt and Nanaimo for the construction of a railroad, evidently considering that this was a portion of the Pacific Railway. To obtain all the advantages possible from this line, it must not be arrested at the Pacific coast. It was said one of the two lines mentioned by the hon. member for Yale must be selected—either the line to Bute Inlet, or the line to Burrard Inlet. The hon. gentleman considered that if the railway ran to Bute Inlet, the Nanaimo and Esquimalt line must be constructed; but that if it ran to Burrard Inlet no such necessity would exist. He differed with the hon. gentleman regarding this important point; but he would not take this position had he not visited the Province. If the railway ran to Bute Inlet, the line to Esquimalt on the Island must be built, and if possible, the Narrows should also be bridged. If this, however, cost too much, or if it could not be done, a steam ferry, as at New York, must be established. The railway on the Island would be necessary, because if the line was stopped at Bute Inlet, as the terminus, the trade of the East could not be secured. We must compete with the Americans at their own doors; Bute Inlet was too far distant from the point, the trade of the Pacific and of the east would reach, as it would pass by the straits of Fuca; but if the course he urged was not followed, we must be content with the local traffic of our own Provinces. War with the United States was a contingency which, of course must be taken into account, and in this event, the Straits of Fuca, and the harbour of Esquimalt would be inaccessible to us, but Bartley Sound being a harbour directly on the Pacific Ocean, could be kept open by the fleets of England, enabling us to defy any attempts the Americans might make against the terminus of our railway there. If this were fixed at Bute Inlet, we could not secure the trade of the Pacific Ocean, because it would pass by the American Sound, and ships would not go around to

Vancouver Island by the Straits of Georgia to Bute Inlet, but to the most direct harbour, which was in the hands of the Americans.

Then with regard to the railway coming from Bute Inlet to Burrard Inlet. The latter, as the hon. member for Yale had said, was a magnificent harbour, but there we would have the same difficulties as at Esquimalt, and for this reason:—If there was a war with America our vessels could not reach Burrard Inlet without passing under the guns of San Juan Island. We could not escape that position, and we ought to try and avoid having our trade destroyed for a whole year. The true policy was first to place the terminus where we could easily reach the trade of the east and compete with the Americans and not be afraid of its interruption in the contingency of a war with the United States. Besides, if we had the terminus at Bute or Burrard Inlet, we would increase the insurance and the time required for the trip from the east. He still adhered to the opinion that it was a necessity of our position that the Pacific Railway be built not only to Bute Inlet but on the island to Bartley Sound and Esquimalt. At the latter place we could compete with the Americans in times of peace. If it should be determined that the road must come to Burrard instead of Bute Inlet, we would have to ferry across to Nanaimo, which would occupy one hour and a half.

He would now come to the east end of the proposed railway, and speak of the Georgian Bay Branch. The plan of the Government was to build the road to about 26 miles from the mouth of the French river, and from there to Sault Ste. Marie, about 200 miles. From Burnt Lake to French River, he thought, was about 90 miles.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Who said we would go to Sault Ste. Marie?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—That is what we understood last Session.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I was not aware of it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said judging from the discussions on the subject in Parliament last year, that seemed to be the policy of the Government.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE asked the hon. gentleman to point this out.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—If that is not the policy of the Government, I am glad of it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The hon. gentleman must not state that that is our policy unless he is prepared to show it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—My remark on this point was more interrogative than affirmative.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Then I fail to understand English.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Perhaps the hon. gentleman does not understand my English; perhaps he would understand my French better. I know that the hon. gentleman has supporters not only in the House but out of it, who take this view. Some of his supporters are at the head of public prints which are considered the mouth-pieces of the hon. gentlemen of the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Oh, no; we have no mouthpiece.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it was a very easy thing to profit by the support of newspapers, and then to throw them over. He knew a newspaper, the *Toronto Globe*, which was under the influence of a gentleman who had always been considered a great authority, and a power behind the throne. That newspaper, in February, said:—“The railway to French River is a part, and a material part of the old scheme. It is one link in the chain; another will take us to the Sault Ste. Marie neighbourhood, and so on to the head of Lake Superior.” He thought that showed he was not far wrong. In his speech on this subject, in March last, the Hon. Premier said:—

“We, therefore, fixed upon that part as the terminus for two or three reasons—for the reason just assigned, in the first place; and in the second place, for the reason that if the road should be continued westward, those 85 miles that would be built by the Government as a Government work will be, generally speaking, in the line to be followed; and which may be carried out whether we pass slightly north-east of Sault Ste. Marie ultimately, or diverge northerly by the route to Long Lake, and passing from the south of Long Lake to Pic River, or by the north of the Lake where the surveys of last season terminated.”

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Certainly. I say that now.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN—Well, well; then we agree.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I think we do not.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he stated that the policy of the present Administration was to build the railway to French River, and then to Sault Ste. Marie, by which he meant in that neighbourhood. The Government gave the contract to Mr. Foster, under certain conditions, which were considered very liberal at the time. It nevertheless appeared that after negotiations in England, the contractor could not raise the money, and gave up his contract, and they were now trying to have the conditions changed. He was glad the contract was not to be finished, not on account of the contractor or the Government, but in the interests of the line itself. It gave time to the Government to reconsider the matter, and see whether the true interests of the country did not require a change of direction. When the contract was given to Mr. Foster, if he was not mistaken, the line was not located, and if he was rightly informed the surveys had demonstrated that the route would not be a favourable one, but that a line more to the north would be preferable. They were told that a route had been found to pass between the Rivers Ottawa and Petewawa, which would bring us very near the east or the south-east end of Lake Nipissing. He hoped that such was the case, and that we could be put in communication with the lake in such a way.

If that course were adopted then the line from Lake Nipissing to French River in the direction of Sault Ste. Marie might be saved. French River could be so improved as to give communication from the east end of Lake Nipissing to the Georgian Bay. As it had been said by his hon. friend from Terrebonne, by the improvement of French River and Lake Nipissing, it would be so much done in the direction of the canalization of the Ottawa, and it would be in accordance with the policy of the previous Government and

of this Government as well; for they were continuing it by the works at Culbute, which were for the purpose of obtaining a long stretch of navigable water on the Upper Ottawa. The improvements that were being made at this end, coupled with the improvements on French River and Nipissing, would certainly be in the proper direction, and we might look forward to a period when we would have through navigation from the Georgian Bay to Montreal via the Ottawa. The advantage of this plan would be to save all that portion of the railway which would be extended from the east end of Lake Nipissing to Sault Ste. Marie, and would make so much more money available for the main line of the Pacific Railway, from the east end of Lake Nipissing towards the West, passing North of the Lake as was originally intended. If the railway were constructed to Sault Ste. Marie the result would be that when passengers from the East would be carried by rail to that point they would not care for transshipment on board a steamer to be carried to the other end of Lake Superior, and then by railway again to Fort Garry, when instead of doing so they could continue their route by rail from Sault Ste. Marie through the United States. The half rail, half water route from Thunder Bay would be too expensive for freight, and it would not satisfy the convenience of passengers. This was another reason why the railroad should not be built towards Sault Ste. Marie. The same argument would apply to the line from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry; unless the line were brought to Nepigon Bay where it would connect with the main line from the East, it would be of no use, except as a local railway, when the main line was constructed from Nipissing to Fort Garry. They knew from surveys that had been made that a route had been found between Lake Nepigon and Lake Superior which would not necessitate their going north of Lake Nepigon. He considered it would be a great mistake to build the railway to Sault Ste. Marie, which would give the benefit of trade that should be ours to the United States.

If the road was to be built to Sault Ste. Marie, it was a proof that the Gov-

ernment had no intention of even building the Pacific Railway from Nipissing to Fort Garry, or they were wasting money in constructing a railway at Thunder Bay that never would be a portion of the main line.

The plan he had suggested he considered was the one that was best in the interests of the Dominion. They were bound to build the road to Esquimalt on the west, which was the terminus fixed upon at the time; he would go further and say that they were bound of necessity to build it to that point in order to compete successfully with the American railway for the trade of the east.

Mr. ROSCOE said the hon. member for Yale had called the attention of the Committee to the fact that two years ago he had moved a resolution asking for a fresh survey of the Fraser River route, and that the Government had accepted that resolution. But he had not stated that it was agreed to reluctantly, and it had established the fact that they could not build the railway there without enormous expense. He did not oppose the resolution at that time, and would have supported it, but now the hon. gentleman, after an interval of two years, came forward again and asked for further surveys of the Fraser River route, he would have to oppose it. He would no doubt be told by the hon. gentleman that he was actuated by a selfish feeling for his own constituents; but it was not for the interests of his own constituents, but for those of the people of British Columbia that he opposed it, as he considered such a survey would be a useless expenditure of money and a further loss of time. The hon. gentleman being a Civil Engineer had an advantage over him in discussing this question, but he had not yet met with an engineer connected with the Pacific survey or otherwise, who had not very strong opinions that the railway could not be constructed down the Fraser river without enormous expense. If the Government accepted the hon. gentleman's proposal they would be open to the charge of wasting time and money in British Columbia; that they had no *bona fide* intention of locating the line and proceeding with the work,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN.

and that they were glad to lay hold of any excuse for delay. If they consented to have another survey of the Fraser River route, it would be an excuse for fresh surveys of other routes—the Howe Sound route, for instance—being demanded, and he did not see how the Ministry, if they were going to reconsider the Fraser River route, could refuse a reconsideration of the others also. He did not believe that any survey would be satisfactory to the hon. member for Yale-Kootenay district or his constituents, that did not locate the railway down the Fraser River.

The hon. gentleman had made another proposal to the Government, however, which he would support. The Government had located a part of the line in British Columbia on which they could commence operations this year. Now, by the Railroad Act of 1874 the Government could not accept contracts without their being laid before Parliament; but if the Government came down and asked the House to pass a resolution allowing them to spend \$1,000,000 in actual construction this year he did not see how the House could refuse. Nothing would go so far to allay irritation which existed in British Columbia as the actual commencement of the work in that Province. He was pleased to hear that the Government had actually located the line and had abandoned the more northerly route. In speaking of the reports of Professor Selwyn he said such reports could not be satisfactory unless they were made by men who were engineers by profession. As an example of this, Mr. Selwyn had reported that the road could be made along a valley. It was found by a subsequent survey that the route he recommended would have to cross perpendicular glaciers and rocks 1,000 feet high.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—What valley is that?

Mr. ROSCOE said he did not remember; all he could say was that he had received information to that effect. It was also proved that the route he had proposed would have to be diverted in one place 24 miles in order to cross a gorge.

He did not think that, with the exception of the surveys made on Vancouver Island by Mr. Richardson, the geological surveys of British Columbia had been carried on efficiently. British Columbia had enormous mineral wealth. Several valuable silver mines had been discovered in the country, and he suggested that Mr. Selwyn's services should be utilized in making a geological survey of British Columbia instead of being sent to find a route for the Pacific Railroad. If Mr. Selwyn was sent out to find a route for the Pacific Railroad he could only suggest that Mr. Marcus Smith, the able and efficient chief engineer of the railroad in British Columbia, should be sent out to make a geological report. He was sure that Mr. Smith's geological report would be worth more than Mr. Selwyn's report of the railroad route.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he thought his hon. friend was unjust to Mr. Selwyn. That gentleman had never made any report about the location of the line, nor was he ever asked to do it. They simply made use of his opinion regarding the topography of the country. He took a great many photographs of particular places, and the Government was desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the character of the rocks and other deposits generally on the route from Fort George to McLeod Lake, and along east Pine and Smoky Rivers. Their information with regard to these localities was very indefinite. Their instructions related only to the topographical observations Mr. Selwyn might make, and were not about the construction of a railway.

Mr. ROSCOE said he understood the hon. gentleman to state that the Government had sent out Mr. Selwyn to make a survey with the object of locating the line. We had heard from the Minister of Public Works the satisfactory statement that the line was located from the Yellowhead Pass to Fort George, and it only remained to decide between Bute Inlet and Dean's Channel. He had little to say about the choice between these routes, because he had always admitted that this would have to be decided by the Engineer's report. He would, however,

point out to the hon. gentleman one important consideration, that is, it was not known for certain whether Dean's Channel did not get frozen up during some winters. An expedition had been sent there this winter to ascertain this, but this winter in British Columbia had been an exceptionally mild one, and nothing, therefore, could be satisfactorily ascertained on this point. Dean's Channel is considerably north of Bute Inlet, and if the map be referred to, it would be seen that the isothermal line which passes the head of Bute Inlet goes west, while the isothermal line passing the head of Dean's Channel runs north to Alaska. The Government will have committed a great blunder if they fixed the terminus of the railroad at a place liable to be obstructed by ice some winters.

The hon. member for Yale had referred to the statement made by him (Mr. Roscoe), that Mr. Trutch had told him he had never in any way agreed to the resolution about not building the railroad if the rate of taxation was to be increased, and the hon. gentleman had stated that he was on more intimate terms with Mr. Trutch and was more likely to know the facts. Now, he was not prepared to discuss on the floor of the House this question, but he could simply report what he had stated before, that Mr. Trutch had distinctly contradicted the statement that he had agreed to this resolution. Mr. Trutch had certainly at the dinner referred to, made some remarks about British Columbia not wishing Canada to incur a hopeless load of taxation to build the railroad, and about not taking the ten years as a cast iron obligation, in which remark every sensible man in British Columbia would agree. With regard to remarks of the hon. gentleman in relation to the first appeal he agreed, but with regard to the second appeal he could not say the same.

With regard to the second appeal the case is this:—The Government had accepted Lord Carnarvon's arbitration, and had agreed to do certain things, among others to build the railroad from Esquimalt to Nanaimo. They now said that in consequence of the Senate throwing out the Bill, they were unable to build it, and offered a money

compensation. Instead the Government of British Columbia had adopted the reasonable course of referring the matter back to Lord Carnarvon and leaving it to him to say what he considered the Dominion Government ought to do under the circumstances, and he hoped that when the answer came back it would be treated by the Government and even by the Hon. the Minister of Justice with the respect and consideration it deserved. The Hon. the Premier in Scotland, and since he returned, had made several speeches containing strong expressions of loyalty, and in favour of the continued connection of Canada with the mother country. He hoped the hon. gentleman would not belie these expressions by—to use an eastern expression—making the Secretary for the Colonies “eat dirt.”

With regard to the offer of \$750,000 to the Province: it had been said that the money if distributed would be a large amount per head. Now, he thought as that money was to be expended on Public Works, that the size of the Province should be taken into consideration.

It was said in the Minute of Council that if a sum in proportion was given to Ontario it would amount to an immense sum. But he (Mr. Roscoe) thought it would be just as fair to take the size of the Province into consideration and exclude the population. If this were done, considering that British Columbia was at least twice as large as Ontario, \$750,000 would only be equivalent to \$275,000 being given to Ontario.

In British Columbia the sources of industry were so widely distributed that roads had to be made for immense distances. There were gold mines 800 miles from the sea, and away at the extreme north of the Province, and therefore the expenditure on public-works was very large in proportion to the population. Then, again, there was a balance sheet at the end of the Minute of Council, showing the immense benefits British Columbia had received since coming into the Union. Figures could be made to prove anything. He objected to that balance sheet as a specious and unfair statement. There were many con-

siderations which could not be actually put into figures. The hon. member for Middlesex had remarked this railway was to be built as a matter of sentiment. That was a mistake. No undertaking could be more paying. The fact that the emigration from Europe had diminished of late did not touch this question at all. One reason for the diminution was this—in consequence of the war in the States, protection and other causes, living was so dear in the neighbouring country, that emigrants (especially artisans) found they could do better in England. But how did it happen there was such a constant emigration from Canada to the States. A manufacturer at Boston had informed him that all the men in his establishment were Canadians, and large numbers of our people were employed in other factories in the same neighborhood. Go where you would in the States you would meet Canadians, and it was evident there was a constant emigration from this Dominion. The only way to stop that was to open up the splendid country in the North-West and let our emigration flow there and to British Columbia. In a recent speech Mr. Disraeli alluded to the colonial policy of former Administrations in England as “that narrow, sordid, creeping policy which had governed England’s relations with her colonies so long.” There could be no better words to describe the policy advocated by some hon. gentlemen opposite, who undervalued the resources of British Columbia. That Province was larger than Ontario and Quebec put together, and possessed not only coal and iron which fitted her for a great manufacturing Province, but also other valuable minerals and inexhaustible forests of the finest timber. But the great value of British Columbia to the Dominion was, it gave Canada a frontage on the Pacific Ocean. With that, and a frontage on the Atlantic, the Dominion could stretch forth two hands to grasp the commerce of the world. Few people who had not been on the Pacific coast could imagine the enormous development of trade there within the last few years. An Austrian Commissioner, in a book recently published, remarked:—“The Pacific Ocean is the gigantic page on

which is written the future history of the race." If hon. gentlemen opposite who talked of repudiation and allowing British Columbia to go, could have their way, he (Mr. Roscoe) could imagine a future generation calling down the bitterest curses on the memory of those men whose sordid, creeping policy had lost to Canada the only thing which could make a great nation of this Dominion.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said if the remark "there is nothing new under the sun" were ever true, it was certainly so with regard to this question. It had been discussed until the public were tired of it. The hon. member who had just sat down spoke of the great size of British Columbia. Without desiring to depreciate that Province he (Mr. Cauchon) would remind the hon. gentleman that if a country were valued according to its size, England and France would be very poor nations. It was as absurd to judge of the importance of a country by its size as to consider a penny more valuable than a sovereign because it was larger.

He (Mr. Cauchon) had tried to follow the hon. member for Terrebonne and see whether he could bring any argument to show that the present Government had not done their utmost to fulfil the engagements made by their predecessors. The hon. gentleman acknowledged the late Government had promised more than they could give. They agreed to build the road in ten years without adding to the taxation of the people, but it was impossible to accomplish the undertaking without increasing very materially the burdens of the public. The intention was evidently to deceive the British Columbians, because they knew the work could not be done in the time specified. At the same time another interpretation of that agreement was offered, showing that it meant nothing at all; they declared they were not to do the work by themselves but by a company. They stipulated that it should only cost thirty millions with fifty millions of acres of land added; but supposing that it could not be accomplished for this—and they had seen that it was impossible—it was not to be done at all. The consequence

would be that if the company had failed to build the railway with the means proffered, they would have demanded further aid, and thirty millions more must have been granted, provided that the taxation were not thereby increased. This would not have been found sufficient, for the line ran over 2,700 miles of country, through remote regions, far from all communication by water and rail, and a further demand would have been made, with the lands granted probably mortgaged, and compliance therewith must have been the result. Was it not fairer and more honest to say that this course could not be followed, and that as the Government must bear the responsibility, they should conduct the undertaking. He knew that railways as a rule should be constructed by private companies, but this was an exception, justifying the policy pursued. This was the true state of things, and this was why the position was changed. The present Administration had never said that they would abandon the railway, but they had announced that they would stand in this relation by the declaration of their predecessors, forced on them by the latter's supporters from Lower Canada, after the Bill was introduced. These hon. gentlemen saw the danger to which they were exposed, and they felt that the undertaking would necessitate not only an expenditure of thirty but of three, perhaps of five times thirty millions. It was accordingly provided that the building of the railway must not increase the taxation; and this was a logical position. The crisis through which we were passing, and the difficulties of the times, however, were such that this could not be avoided by any Government; and here lay the point at issue. The hon. gentlemen opposite, nevertheless, said:—"You must do it; you have promised to do it; and you are pledged to do it, whether we are ruined or not in consequence." Why should they not swallow the whale? Suppose it was folly to undertake the operation, it was promised, and it should be done.

He would tell another anecdote: He was acquainted with a man (a prestidigitateur), who was called Carrabora, and who went to Havana. As the fellow

wanted to attract a large audience, he promised that he would eat a man. An immense crowd in consequence collected, and the man went on with all his acts of legerdemain, in order to amuse and astonish the people. At this moment he heard a spectator, with as strong a voice as the hon. member for Terrebonne, shout: "Eat the man." The cry soon became general, and at length the juggler replied: "Let the man who is disposed to be eaten come up." A countryman of extraordinary size responded, and the prestidigitateur demanded of him if he were not afraid, brandishing before him a rusty sword. No, he was not; he was prepared to submit to the ordeal, and then Carrabora having retreated a space, jumped forward and hit him on the nose. The candidate for being eaten thereupon took to his heels, and Carrabora of St. Jean explained to the crowd that he could not eat a man in one mouthful, but he could accomplish the task if they gave him sufficient time.

This was what the Government desired; they could eat this elephant if time were allowed for the purpose. This night hon. gentlemen opposite had more solemnly than ever admitted that they could not have built this road in ten years; they knew nothing of the country, and the engineering difficulties to be encountered were very great. It had also been proposed to bridge the Sound between the continent and Vancouver Island, and this would incur an expenditure of \$20,000,000. The entire line would cost them finished, he imagined, at least from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000 to Lake Nipissing, as first projected. Then the construction of the Ottawa Branch from Lake Nipissing downwards was urged solely in the interests of Quebec, as Ontario naturally desired to connect with the Pacific Railway proper—which should stop, it held, at the lake mentioned—branch lines to Toronto, Hamilton and other towns within its limits. The only thing that all should have sought to secure was a fair proportion of the benefits of the line to each Province. If he was not mistaken, however, the hon. member for Cumberland had opposed the con-

struction of the Ottawa Valley Branch. He was subject to correction, and this he invited from the hon. gentleman, if he was in error.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER replied that his views on the question were that Parliament should have adhered to the original policy fixing the eastern terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway proper at Lake Nipissing, the point they had agreed upon, and that the building of the line from Red River to Lake Nipissing would have given a better subsidy, and have better secured the communication from lake Nipissing down to the Ottawa and also down to the Ontario lines, connecting with Toronto, than subsidising the line now proposed. Two years ago Parliament had provided a subsidy of \$12,000 per mile, to extend a railway up to Lake Nipissing; but not a blow had yet been struck, nor a mile of the line graded. He had never objected to the connection being made, but he would say that the original policy of bringing the trade of the North West to Lake Nipissing would have secured the construction of lines both to Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal better than by any other means. He had maintained that the extension of the line from Lake Nipissing to the Georgian Bay, was unnecessary, because the latter was already connected with Montreal by shorter routes.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! no!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Yes. The waters of Georgian Bay were nearer Montreal, *via* Port Hope, Lindsay and Midland City, than by the line proposed by the Government and subsidized last Session. It would be better to spend a million or a million and a half, if necessary, to connect the waters of Lake Nipissing with Georgian Bay, by improved navigation, than to expend four or five millions in constructing a branch line from Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay. These were his views.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—This explanation was satisfactory, because it justified what he had said. The hon. member favoured navigation improvements, which was a new idea; and the hon. gentleman said that the shortest route was by Port Hope, but this

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON.

was not the case. He did not pretend that Quebec should get everything, but it ought to obtain its fair share of public benefits. The hon. member for Cumberland was at variance in this relation with his Lower Canadian supporters. The branch was meant for Lower Canada, and the question arose upon which side of the Ottawa it should pass. The report of Mr. Shanly had also been spoken of, which was mixing up the canal with the railway. That report was to the effect that the canal would cost \$30,000,000, but he (Mr. Cauchon) told him that his calculation was within the mark, and that it would cost \$50,000,000—a fact which he would not gainsay. But it was with the railway they had to deal, and it was his opinion that it would cost from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000 before it was completed. Where would we find the money? We owe \$14,000,000 now, and we had to curtail our expenses and stop public works in order to keep within the limits of our revenue. The interest of the money which it would cost to build the Pacific Railway would amount annually to \$8,000,000 or \$9,000,000. They were not going to abandon the road, but it was wise to wait for an increase of revenue so as not to force the Government to increase the taxation of the people. The American Pacific roads, the speaker went on to show, had cost more than \$200,000,000, and they were only 1,700 miles long, whereas our railway would be over 2,000 miles in length. To think we could construct the Pacific railway with only \$30,000,000 and the lands, which might be bad or indifferent, was an absurdity. The argument to-night was that the Government could not do what it was not claimed the late Administration could have done. This was not the time to consider whether we had gained by the union with British Columbia; it was our duty now to stand faithfully up to the engagement we made. The hon. member for Charlevoix had stated that the railway was not to be built for that province alone, but for the whole Dominion. Possibly that might have been the theory at the time, but we found such theories only in novels, where the author could make the heroine as beautiful as he choose to de-

scribe. The fact, however, was not in the imagination, and we knew very well that the road, which must be built in time, would not be so much to our advantage as to that of British Columbia, which had a white population of only 8,000.

An Hon. Member—No!

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said the hon. member who preceded him said the population had decreased owing to the depression in the United States. It was supposed to be 10,000 at one time, and of course in view of that fact could not be so large now. He would be pleased if the Province developed so that they could overwhelm the whole Dominion, and help us to build our canals and other necessary improvements. He did not accuse them for not doing it, for nature had not done for them what it had done for others, but the time would come when there would be a large trade from the west side of the Rocky Mountains, when that country had become opened up and developed by immigration. After that the railway could be built across the Rocky Mountains as far as the country was able to construct it. The difficulties of reaching the Pacific coast from the Rocky Mountains were very great, but we were bound in honour to build the road, the only difference of opinion being as to the time in which we should do it. How had the Government sacrificed the interests of British Columbia or of the Dominion? Was it in trying to improve the navigation of the West, and give greater facilities for the transportation of freight and passengers? On the Pacific Slope they were doing as much as the means of the country would allow; they were doing more than could have been done under the company system proposed by the late Government. Then what was the crime of the Government that there should be another vote of want of confidence. If there was no other accusation to be urged against the Government it would be better to abandon the charge of mismanagement altogether. There were gentlemen in this House and in the Government who were in a better position to settle the route to be chosen for the railroad than he was, and they were supported in

their opinion that the route chosen on the other side of Lake Superior was as short as the other, and at least fifty per cent. cheaper; and our means were so limited that we could not afford to expend money merely for the pleasure of doing so.

As to questions of engineering, they were to be settled by engineers. Mr. Legge was spoken of as a man who made no mistakes; if so, he was the most fortunate man that ever existed. The French General Turenne had remarked once when he heard a general boast that he had never made a mistake in war: "That man is an ass." And he found it was the same with engineers. When engineers were employed by private companies they stretched their consciences a great deal in order to suit their employers; but when they were employed by the country they did their duty as independent men in the interests of the Dominion. The question before the House was whether they should build the work—and they were bound to do it—in a short time, or to do it as our means would permit; the next thing was in choosing the line to adopt—that route which would be in the interests of the Dominion and not in the interests of any particular Province.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said he hoped that the Hon. President of the Council was not, under the garb of friendship, endeavouring to strike a blow from behind at the enterprise in which he, in common with himself, assumed to have a warm interest. He had thought the Georgian Bay branch was not proposed to be built in the interests of the Province of Quebec alone, but he had assumed that it was to have been constructed in the interests of the Dominion generally, and he as a Lower Canada representative, would be sorry to come to this House and invite assistance towards a road in which he and his constituents were interested, and place it on the selfish ground that it suited the interests of his Province at the expense of all the other Provinces of the Dominion. He thought it would be dangerous to advocate the construction of a road on such a ground. If he understood the words of the President of the Council this Georgian Bay branch would be

inimical to the interests of Belleville, Port Hope, Kingston, and other towns along the St. Lawrence. He understood the hon. gentleman as appealing to the Lower Canada representatives and asking them how they could still occupy the position of followers of the hon. member for Cumberland against the Government, who were building a road to suit Quebec against the interests of a large majority of the people of Ontario. He would tell the President of the Council that he quite disagreed from the member from Cumberland if that hon. gentleman thought this road should not be built. He thought it was legitimate for the Province of Quebec to support it, as she had pledged her credit and her resources towards the construction of a line from Quebec to Aylmer, which was ultimately to extend to Pontiac; but she had a right to stop at the confines of her own territory and not extend her enterprise into a neighbouring province. But it was foolish to urge such reasons as the Hon. President of the Council had urged in favour of the Georgian Bay Branch, because it would bring down upon it the adverse vote of the Province of Ontario on the ground that the road was being built in the interests of Quebec alone. The Minister of Public Works dared not endorse the sentiments that had been advanced by his colleague, and say that he was working in the interest of our Province in the construction of this branch. It would be exceedingly dangerous to the interests of Quebec if they were to enforce the sentiments of the President of the Council, and he for one repudiated them and asked the House to agree with him in supporting the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch as a portion of the Pacific Road. He for one would support that policy, because he believed it to be a good policy, and because he believed it would not only advance the interests of his own Province, but the interests of the Dominion generally.

Mr. PLUMB said they were asked by the Government to vote a large sum for the Pacific Railway. On the other hand there were utterances from the Government side of the House with regard to the impossibility of building the Pacific Railway and main-

taining it, after it was constructed, that from these contradictions he was inclined to doubt whether the Government were at all in earnest in their endeavors to carry out the work. We had been told a short time ago by gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House that this Pacific Railway was only a sentiment, a sort of romance, an impracticability, as he understood the President of the Council to say, who had just spoken on the subject. They had been educated on this question of the Pacific Railway by the utterances of the press of the Dominion, particularly by the organ of the Government at Toronto, which, when this project of Union with British Columbia came up, and the railroad became a pressing question of public policy, in its attempts to lead public opinion, gave forth no half-hearted expressions, and did not argue that a Pacific Railway was a sentiment or a romance. No, it was then spoken of as a great, practical, immediate and pressing necessity, and in support of what he had said on the subject, he would read a few words published in that journal in the year 1871:—

"1. The Pacific Railway through British territory is a necessity, if the new Dominion is to have anything like a fair chance of fulfilling its destiny and developing its mighty and varied resources.

"2. The line through British territory *must* be carried through, if British authority is to be maintained on this continent, and our new Dominion made practically, as well as in theory, a great fact.

"The desire of the Canadian people to remain in connection with, and as an integral portion of the British empire, has its root in something far stronger than either tradition or romance, and to maintain this connection, they are prepared to make great sacrifices; but it so happens that in this case the sacrifice would have to be made and encountered not by putting through a costly line of railway over British territory, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but by refraining from the work.

"3. Politically it is a manifest and pressing necessity, while commercially it is of the very highest importance for Canada. In this way alone can this country have any chance for her fair share in the lucrative trade with the North-West, which will assuredly spring up, and in the varied traffic with the Pacific world which, to a great extent, will pass through Canadian territory, if once what will be the shortest and easiest route from ocean to ocean is in working order.

"5. Our rulers will be traitors to their country and to British connections if they lose a

single season in making it practicable and convenient for settlers to go to Fort Garry through our own territory, and in putting things in a fair way for the Canadian Pacific Railway.

"6. It is a question not only of convenience but of national existence. It must be pushed through at whatever expense. We believe it can be so pushed through, not only without being a burden pecuniarily upon Canada, but with an absolute profit in every point of view. Without such a line a great British North America would turn out an unsubstantial dream; with it, and with ordinary prudence and wisdom on the part of her statesmen, it will be a great, a glorious, and veritable reality.

The President of the Council had argued against building the road, referring to the financial history of the Pacific Railway in the United States, and had quoted its enormous apparent capital as a warning to us as to the cost of ours. He (Mr. Plumb) had already on a previous occasion referred to the precise figures as to these roads, and he might now say briefly that they were constructed during a period of high prices and depreciated currency in the United States, and the cost thereby was greatly enhanced. It was also notorious that the item of capital stock had been made to represent a far larger sum than the actual amount paid in, by what is called watering. These causes had increased the nominal beyond the actual cost of the road to the extent of at least fifty or sixty millions of dollars, reckoned upon a gold basis. He then proceeded to show that in the year 1874 the Pacific Railway paid 6 per cent. net upon the whole debt and capital stock, greatly swelled as these had been by causes referred to, representing the apparent, though not real, cost of the line. He had not the precise figures of the year 1875, but he understood that their net earnings amounted to about \$3,000,000 more than in 1874. He thought they could not have a better argument than this, in so far as the practicability of building our road is concerned, and upon the construction of which we are called to spend large sums.

The hon. member for Middlesex had argued that the road should not be built in advance of population; but that we must wait till the North-West was fully peopled before we extended the road through that country. To

this policy, he (Mr. Plumb) took the strongest exception, as being in direct opposition to the enlightened experience of the present age.

He did not think, however, that the route selected from Fort William to Winnipeg would enable the line to pay running expenses; but he was glad to learn from the First Minister that it would not be rendered still more unprofitable by the use of the great "water interests" that lay between Fort William and Winnipeg. When the charter was granted in 1873 there was a clause inserted which stipulated that in carrying on the work there should be no increased burthen of taxation thrown on the people. In the preamble of the Pacific Railway Act of 1874, which Mr. Plumb read, reference was made to the fact that taxation had been increased to provide for the construction of this railroad. That being the case, he failed to see that the large amount of taxation involved in the increased tariff of that year had been applied for the purpose of building the road. Some part of it may have been applied to the surveys, which he was glad to see were being prosecuted; but he did not regard the Fort William section or the Georgian Bay Branch, upon the construction of which we are called to spend large sums, as any part of the line of the Pacific Railway.

The hon. member for Middlesex had argued that the road should not be built in advance of population, but that we must wait till the North-West was fully peopled before we extended the road through that country. Now, it was well known to every one who had the most casual knowledge of the subject, that the settlement of the Western States would never have gone on so rapidly if such views had prevailed. It was impossible to settle any large population in Manitoba and the North-West without a railroad to carry people there. It was admitted that a large portion of the line could be constructed for ten to fifteen thousand dollars per mile at the present prices of railway iron and labour, and it was desirable, if the road was to be built at all, to push it forward from Winnipeg westward as rapidly as possible, instead of wasting the public

money in carrying out the halting, temporizing policy now pursued—a policy dictated by a disposition on the part of the Government to abandon the work, on the one hand, and the well understood desire on the part of the people to proceed with it, on the other.

It had been said by the hon. member for West Middlesex, that emigration to the United States was falling off. That fact was patent to everybody, but it was due to the depression which had prevailed in that country for the past two years. Many emigrants, especially artisans and skilled labourers, on arriving there could find no employment, and they returned to Europe. It was admitted, however, that Canadians were being drawn to the United States, and he believed we could direct that emigration to our North-West country by the construction of this road.

He believed the road could be built without increasing taxation, because it would develop our resources, especially our coal and iron, and add to our population. Everybody admitted the Dominion was under sacred obligations to build the railway; but some hon. gentlemen asked why should such a great work be undertaken for the 10,000 people in British Columbia. The importance of British Columbia was not to be judged by her 10,000 inhabitants, but by her vast extent and unlimited resources. He always regretted to hear any taunt thrown against that Province or its representatives. If any mistake had been made it was not their fault. But the construction of this route was not a dream or a romance. It would be fulfilled, if not by this Government, by one that would succeed it. The road was a "manifest destiny," and the sooner this fact was recognized, the better for the interests and welfare of all parts of this Dominion.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) congratulated the Premier upon his able, exhaustive and comprehensive speech, in which he had shown the feasibility of the road. After hearing all this, and turning to the estimates he (Mr. Thompson) regretted to see the "lame and impotent conclusion" of that speech. After all that had been said about the willingness of the Government to build the road, and to carry out the agreement with Lord Carnarvon,

why was there so small an appropriation in the estimates? On the opening of this debate the Minister of Justice was asked to explain the meaning of the celebrated Order in Council before the House? He said the sum total of it was in the following words:—“It remains only to endeavor to construct the Pacific Railway as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit.” This could not be called very satisfactory.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Would the hon. gentleman want us to build the road faster than the resources of the country would permit?

Mr. THOMPSON desired the hon. gentleman to explain the limit of the resources of the country, and to state if the Ministry was willing to draw upon these resources to their fullest extent.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—Even if we have a little more taxation?

Mr. THOMPSON thought that we could bear a little more taxation, if necessary. By the Minute of Council, dated the 20th of September, British Columbia was offered \$750,000; it was now stated by the Ministry that this was in lieu of the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, but this had not been the belief of the Ministry and people of British Columbia. The Minute was written in language which was unmistakeable. It was stated that the Ministry did not wish to break any portion of the Carnarvon terms; but these were manifestly violated, as only \$500,000 were placed in the estimates in this relation, when the amount should have been two millions according to the Carnarvon agreement, nor was any proposal submitted for expending even the smaller sum. The Government had acted in another instance towards British Columbia in a manner which was unworthy of them. Parliament had passed an Act in 1874, empowering the Governor in Council, at his discretion, to advance to any Province any sum of money not exceeding the amount on which the Dominion was paying interest to such Province, for prosecution of public works. On the strength of this assurance, British Columbia undertook to make exten-

sive public improvements, believing they could draw on the Treasury for the sum of \$900,000 or \$950,000, on which they now received interest at the rate of five per cent per annum. They obtained something less than \$200,000, and were then coolly informed that no more would be advanced, but instead a portion of the subsidy for the ensuing year was offered. And believing that the necessity of the Province would compel them to accept any terms they also proposed the \$750,000 compensation. The Legislature and the people of British Columbia had spurned the offer of \$750,000 indignantly; and had again appealed to England. Whatever might be the result he thought it would be generally admitted that they had acted in a manly and straightforward manner throughout. He was happy to see that the feeling among members on the opposite side of the House, in this connection, had in some degree improved; the bright and honorable example was the hon. member for Muskoka, who had tendered the people of British Columbia his sympathies, but this would not build railways, or make people prosper; they desired to obtain something more substantial. He also thanked the hon. member for North York for the remarks this hon. gentleman had made—which presented a striking contrast to those of the hon. members for Middlesex, Halifax, East York, and other constituencies, including the hon. member for Temiscouata, who had declared that British Columbia's secession from the Union would be hailed in his county with an illumination. It was no matter for wonder that the people of British Columbia thought that they were treated with unfairness. The President of the Council exclaimed that this Province only contained 8,000 people! But what mattered this? It had never been made a point in argument on their part. They simply demanded that the promises of Canada should be as fairly carried out as possible. They were perfectly willing to agree with the sentiments of Governor Trutch when he said, that if the road were not built within fifteen or twenty years instead of ten, they would be satisfied, provided work was earnestly

carried on. The Hon. Minister of Justice had himself admitted that the resolution, with reference to taxation, was not binding on the Province. He agreed with what the hon. member for Victoria had said that evening; and this hon. gentleman's remarks were deserving of the greatest attention. The hon. member for Yale had gone very fully into the subject; but he regretted that the hon. gentleman had dwelt upon local questions, which were altogether foreign to this debate, showing his animosity towards the late Government of British Columbia. He (Mr. Thompson) thought that Ministry had acted in a very straightforward manner in their negotiations with Mr. Edgar and the Dominion Government. He agreed with the hon. gentleman that the people of British Columbia knew nothing of the resolution as to non-increase of taxation, but the latter were willing and anxious to do all they could to assist the people of the other Provinces in connection with the construction of the Pacific Railway. The hon. gentleman admitted that the terms of the Minute of Council of the 20th of September were mystifying; this being the case, was it surprising that the Government of that Province had been mystified by them? The Government should show that they were in earnest in this matter, and construct a portion of the line during the present year; they should not spend the time in surveying route after route, and keeping off apparently as far as possible the realization of this great project. This road would form a great highway, which would not be a mere subsidiary line for a small population in British Columbia. It would aid in building up the Empire, and would enable us to carry out great and national aspirations. It was an absolute necessity in the interests of the Dominion, and he implored the Government on behalf of the people of British Columbia to prove their sincerity by putting a portion of the line under actual construction at once.

Mr. FARROW stated that he had peculiar views regarding this railway project. The hon. member for Middlesex had viewed the scheme in two lights—from commercial and national

points of view, and the hon. gentleman affirmed, that as a commercial speculation, it would prove unprofitable. The hon. gentleman did not tell them exactly how he came to that conclusion; he said the British Columbians were small in number, and that their total exports only amounted to \$4,000,000. He thought the hon. member had a stunted idea of the question. If he had cast his eye westwards and taken in the vast trade of China and Japan, which would be attracted by our line, he would have come to a different conclusion. There was more to be looked to than the trade with British Columbia. If by building the road we could attract the western trade, amounting to \$200,000,000 per annum, in addition to the trade of that Province and the local traffic along the route, it would be a commercial success. The question of interest had been adverted to, but the experience of the Americans, should in a great measure guide us in that respect. After an exhaustive war which entailed an enormous debt, they built two Pacific railways, and were contemplating the construction of a third. What was the use of those squeamish ideas which had been enunciated; they were belittling to the individuals who gave them utterance as well as the people who listened to them and the country? People talked glibly about this undertaking, about its grand results, and then added "But are you willing to pay for it." We had a Minister of Justice, who with clenched fists and the gestures of an orator, pounded the desk and asked "Are you willing to be taxed for it," and the poor farmers began to squirm under it, and not understanding the question, took all the hon. gentleman said for gospel, and swallowed it down as a gilded pill. But this was not a fair argument. What was the original proposition to build the road? An honorable company was formed, pledged to its construction for a certain amount of money and a certain quantity of land, and there was to be no increase in the taxation. It could be built even yet on this principle, although the plan was dishonourably allowed to fall through. We had the land and the money yet, and could

Mr. THOMPSON.

build it without increasing the taxation. The delay in the construction of the railway was not only an injustice to British Columbia but to ourselves. Our young men were leaving the country to settle in the United States. We had better lands and could offer better inducements if we would only push this road into Saskatchewan Valley; but our Government had not shown statesmanship equal to the occasion. They were spending millions on the Georgian Bay and Pembina Branches, for which there was no pressing need. We ought to try and keep our citizens in the country, and with this object we should build the road from the head of Lake Superior right through to Fort Garry, and on into the fertile Saskatchewan. How long were we to wait for this, and see the public money thrown away on surveys? The Great Western had set the Government a good example by building a railway 70 miles in length in nine months, at a cost of \$1,000,000. It was known that the United States looked with a covetous eye on British Columbia; they had their agents in the country, who would gladly report the dissatisfaction which prevailed. We ought to remove the cause of this dissatisfaction. The people were the most patient people in the world. They had suffered greatly, and were willing to suffer yet if the Government would only bestir themselves and proceed with the railway. The people were not afraid of the taxation. There was ground for the belief that it could be constructed without any increase in our burdens.

Mr. SCHULTZ said that when the question of a Pacific Railroad was first discussed in this House, so far as he knew every speaker admitted its value as a means of colonizing the North-West. There were those who doubted its value for the carriage of the produce of China and Japan, and who hesitated at the great cost it was presumed the British Columbia section would entail, yet upon the point of its value as a colonization road all were united. The value of the possession we had acquired in the North-West was just beginning to be appreciated, and when the first data shewed

that we now had in the Dominion of Canada a larger wheat growing area than was possessed in the United States, a natural desire was felt to people these fertile valleys with the surplus population of the Old World, and entering fairly with the United States into competition, deviate at least a portion of that stream of immigration which was making our neighbours so powerful and wealthy. The Government of the day wisely followed the liberal policy of the United States in the matter of homesteads—It even did more. It passed such laws as regards citizenship and holding of these homesteads, as enabled our emigration agents to offer more inducements to the intending emigrant than could possibly be offered from the United States. We had the land, hundreds of thousands of acres of the best on this continent, possibly the best in the world. We had the prairies different from these of the Western States only in the fact that a very much greater portion of their surface was covered with wood, and we lacked only one thing—a means of communication. The time had passed when settlement meant the slow and toilsome cutting of waggon roads through timbered countries as a means of access to the scene of settlement. The colonization Railroads of the United States had changed all that. Preceding instead of following the settler they were to lighten his burdens and render easy the task which enabled him to write to Fatherland that in a year or at most two, he was enjoying the fruits of what the most scientific tillage in older and worn out lands could not give him, and to urge those with whom he had been associated in poverty to come and join him in plenty.

We needed communication. The fertile valleys of the Assiniboine and the Red River were three hundred and fifty miles from Lake Superior. The problem of the profitable growing of the cereals was sufficiently solved by the fact that wheat could be drawn five hundred miles by rail from Chicago at a profit; and Thunder Bay, as near tide water as the head of Lake Michigan, might yet become as great a depot for these grains as that place. The Canada Pacific Railroad solved the

question of ingress and egress. When finished from Lake Superior to Red River we could send in the immigrants to that country and transport its produce with the same ease with which these services were being rendered by the western American Railroads. It was clear then that this portion of the Canada Pacific Railroad was to be the most important, and in view of this fact, he could not understand the action of the Government in regard to it. Last year in the House the Government policy was announced to be, short lines of rail at the ends, to connect the western water stretches that intervened with Lake Superior and the Red River, but condemnation of any such scheme had so often met it both in and out of the House that the Government were now compelled to urge that they would only use the water stretches till an all rail route could be conveniently built. Again it was urged against the extension of the railway West of Red River, that we had in that country a magnificent stream, the Saskatchewan, upon whose bosom the commerce of a nation might sail, and it was in such expectations as these that he (Mr. Schultz), saw the danger of delay in the first place, and the enormous expenditure of money useless in the second. The Saskatchewan River and Lake Winnipeg could no more do the work of a colonization railway to the West than the mixed land and water, or what the hon. member for Marquette, had aptly termed the "amphibious route," could take the place of the through rail communication from Thunder Bay to Red River. These views were utterly fallacious, and any attempt to economize their water stretches or the river referred to, would only delay the building of the road, cause a useless expenditure and damage to the whole country, to an incalculable extent. Let the road be completed between Thunder Bay and Red River. Let enough of the line West of this be built to satisfy the immediate wants of the settlers there, and then, and not till then, let the enormous amounts be voted for other parts which were conceded to be less important and often condemned as useless. The House had voted last

Mr. SCHULTZ.

Session five millions for the British Columbia section, and seven millions for the Foster contract, while the net result of a year's work in the line between Lake Superior and Red River seems to be about twenty miles of grading at each end.

Westward the star of empire is said to take its way, but ours seemed to move in that direction very slowly, in fact seemed likely to come to a full stop at the western boundary of Ontario somewhere about Shelandowan.

In the matter of the Pembina branch of the Canada Pacific Railway he felt that the Government were in error in not completing it, as that would, in his opinion, have the effect of inducing the Americans to make the connection with it, which is only broken by about forty miles, and in any case is needed for Provincial traffic and settlement. He thought also that the line from Winnipeg to the crossing of the Canada Pacific should be completed, and that it would be found, when all arguments were dispassionately weighed, that the true course was to cross with this branch at Winnipeg, and effect a junction with the Canada Pacific on the west side of the Red River. It had been found that it was only half a mile longer to do this. The City Council had made a most generous offer as regards the railway bridge, and the feelings of those who had been so disappointed by the moving of the main line should be consulted in this matter.

In conclusion he (Mr. Schultz) could only say that, without a railroad, Canada would be better without the Northwest, for the money spent in its purchase, in subduing its rebellion, and in establishing and maintaining its government, was simply thrown away, without the Dominion was in a position to expect that return which a rapid increase of population would cause, and which could only be obtained by the immediate construction of at least this portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he thought the hon. Minister of Public Works would hardly expect the Committee to carry this item without further explanation. The item they were asked to vote was \$2,810,000 for the Pacific Railway. He turned to the next page

and found what that amount comprised. The first item was the telegraph line and construction of railway, \$410,000; then steel rails and fastenings, \$2,000,000, voted in 1875-'76, and nothing asked in the present year. The Committee would remember that the hon. gentleman had stated a year ago that the purchase of steel rails and fastenings for the Pacific Railway involved an expenditure of \$2,665,000; and now he asked the hon. gentleman to explain why, as there were only \$2,000,000 voted for that service last year, the balance was not refunded at the present time, although the contracts were laid on the table last year to the amount of \$2,665,000?

Then he came to the Pembina Branch, \$100,000. It had been explained that it was intended to go on with the work from Winnipeg down to the junction at Selkirk. But the item which required explanation was the Georgian Bay Branch, \$1,000,000, to be voted at the present time. A year ago they had laid on the table of the House a contract with Mr. Foster for the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch, and providing for certain payments under that contract. That contract had been cancelled, and the Hon. Minister of Public Works had not offered to the Committee a single word of explanation as to how the Government proposed to deal with the subject; whether it was proposed to enter into a new contract, or on what understanding he asked this Committee to vote a million of dollars, to carry out a contract which the Government had announced to the House had been cancelled. If the Minister of Public Works asked the Committee to vote this sum under these circumstances, he would do what no Minister had ever done before, and what he hoped no Minister would do at the present time. He did not think it could be considered unreasonable on his part to ask, after the House had been informed that this contract had been cancelled and had the statement of the contractor that he had been unable to carry it out, that it was impracticable, and that the means provided were inadequate. If they were not to get an explanation their he knew of no possible object in Parliament being called together, or in

there being asked to take into consideration the provision of supplies for the public service.

He found in the correspondence laid upon the table of the Senate the contractor was under the necessity of seeking certain modifications, that it would be impossible to carry out some of the stipulations of the contract; a proposal was made to substitute twenty-six miles of navigation for twenty-six miles of railway; that the proposal of the Government to have constructed ninety miles of railway over an unsurveyed country with certain grades and curves, was utterly impracticable; it was found so utterly impossible of fulfilment that the contractor had not located a mile of it and that the road could not be built for the amount of money proposed by the Government.

They had not only proposed to make a large number of concessions or alterations in this contract, but they had any announcement on the part of the Government that they had cancelled the contract, and he would ask the Government how they proposed to deal with the question. This was a subject on which they were bound to give information before the money was voted.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—A Minute in Council on the subject has been laid on the table in the other House, which shows the disposition of Government in the matter.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER mentioned that this House was entitled to the same information. He had not seen the document referred to.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the papers had not been asked for, but he was willing to give all the information the hon. gentleman desired, and he would do so when he resumed his seat.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said that as the hon. gentleman did not intend to carry the railway through Sault St. Marie, that portion of the line would receive the hearty co-operation of every gentleman on his side of the House. There was an item for \$500,000 for expenditure on the mainland in British Columbia and he thought they had a right to know where that money was to be expended.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was sorry in the first place that the hon. member for Cumberland should have felt his explanations were so very unsatisfactory the other night about the condition of the road. If they were unsatisfactory he could only ascribe it to what the hon. gentleman frequently characterized as his (Mr. Mackenzie's) incapacity, and he felt that an apology was due to the Committee, as he had done the best he could. There were three points on which the hon. gentleman demanded explanation specifically. He demanded to know why they were not asking for a vote for something they did not ask for. He did not know the hon. gentleman was entitled to any explanation on that point. As far as they were asking for money they were bound to state what it was for. If they did not put a vote on the estimates this year it was simply because they did not want any more steel rails. With regard to the Georgian Bay Branch, he found that the papers gave a full summary of the official document. He did not remember the precise words of his Minute, but he remembered that some modifications were required which the Department did not consider they would be justified in making without a new contract was entered into after proper tenders had been put in. The policy of the Government, then, was to invite new tenders for that branch.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—According to the proposition of Mr. Foster?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government were not in possession of information enough to know whether the precise spot at which they would terminate at the French River was Cantin's Bay. It might be further up or down the river, but they did not feel in a position to state precisely without further information what particular point of the river they should reach. As soon as they were able to get that, they proposed to put the work under contract. The hon. gentleman must remember also with regard to that million of dollars, it included payments that might be made of any subsidy to the Canada Central. The Government

had an arrangement with that company, and they (the company) made the contract with Mr. Foster. That obligation had to be met, having been sanctioned by Parliament in the most formal manner. A part of this million was proposed to be expended on this extension. A good deal had been said about this being a link. By stretching a cord on the map from Montreal to Thunder Bay or Nipigon, it would be seen this line lay directly in the route of the the Pacific Railway. The Canada Central formed the straightest possible way from Portage du Fort and the Georgian Bay Branch formed a continuation of that line in nearly the same direction. He did not know the country between that point on French River and the Pic, but was familiar with the country from there to Michipicoten. He had always expressed his anxiety that the line should go on the south side of Nipissing. It was unquestionably the shortest route and traversed the best country. Whether it passed immediately south of the lake or at some distance from it was a matter of no concern, because it would be an exact link in the line. He had deemed it advisable, wise and proper, to have the country examined along the whole coast of Lake Superior for some distance inland, in order to ascertain, if they found it desirable or convenient at any time in the future to have a road built nearer the lake, coming pretty close to the Sault, and touching, perhaps, at Batchewana Bay, perhaps at Michipicoten Bay—perhaps at both, perhaps at neither—to have as perfect knowledge of the topography of the country as possible, not with a view to any present action (because they did not anticipate any for some years in that country) but that they should have all the information needed at the command of Parliament. By the Act of 1874 the Government were not required to submit the contract for the Georgian Bay Branch to Parliament for approval. When this contract was made it was convenient to lay it before the House, because the Session commenced soon after. If the Government should find it convenient to enter into a new contract before the next meeting of Parliament, it would be submitted

in the same manner. If they considered it advisable to go on with the work before the Session, they would do so under the statute, without consulting Parliament as had been done before.

With regard to the next part, going west, the hon. member had expressed himself satisfied. The Government proposed before Parliament rose to ask authority to enter into new arrangements for grading certain portions of that line on what it was now determined should be the main line of the railway. With regard to the \$500,000 asked for British Columbia he could not say how it would be expended. The Government expected to be able to have the line located in British Columbia during the year. It might be pretty early in the year, and they might in the course of the twelve months be able to place it under contract. The contract would have to be submitted to Parliament, but they were taking money that might be expended before the 1st of July, 1877, and if a contract should be entered into, it would be required before the end of the financial year. He was willing to tell anything he knew to the Committee. They were entitled to it, and he was quite prepared to give it even if they were not.

There was one remark of the hon. member for Yale that his (Mr. Mackenzie's) information led him to think was incorrect—that was as to the length of the Fraser line as compared with that to the Dean Channel. The Engineers reported—and their measurements were almost exact—the latter to be some miles the shorter. It was proper, of course, to say the distances on the Fraser route had not been exactly determined by instrumental measurements, and might be a little shorter or longer than they had been represented, but the distance in both cases was believed to be about the same. The grades of the Fraser River route were the best of the whole of the Pacific Road. Some hon. member had asked why nothing was said about the route to Howe Point. The reason was the route was utterly impracticable.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER took exception to the statement that no expla-

ation was required to be offered for not asking for money for certain purposes in the estimates. The hon. gentleman was wrong there. He stated a year ago to the House that he had made contracts which would require an appropriation of \$2,665,000, and the papers subsequently brought down showed that that amount would be considerably exceeded for the steel rails contract. The hon. gentleman said he would only require a vote of \$2,000,000 last year, because he did not expect more money would be required before Parliament would meet again. The hon. gentleman was bound to make his statement of last Session agree with the statement of this Session. There was a difference of over \$500,000 in the two statements.

With reference to the Georgian Bay Branch, he (Mr. Tupper) was exceedingly glad to learn it was not the intention of the Government to assent to the propositions made by Mr. Foster, and that new tenders would be invited. He could hardly imagine it possible that the Government would pay Mr. Foster for such improvements as would give 26 miles of navigation, two or three times as much as would be required to make navigation perfect up to Lake Nipissing. No explanation had been given to the House as to whether no alteration was proposed in the direction of the Canada Central extension, the contract made a year ago having stipulated for the completion of that work by the first of January, 1877:

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the contract was made between the company and the contractor.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he was aware of that, but he assumed the proposal of the Government to give a subsidy of \$12,000 per mile to the Canada Central was not to last forever. The papers would show, he believed, that the work should be completed at that time in order to entitle them to the subsidy.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The Order in Council stated that it should be done to the satisfaction of the Government.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—That is precisely the point—the Government required the company to make a contract involving the completion of that work.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—To their satisfaction.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—The contract has been made, and had to be made in such a manner as to satisfy the Administration, which bound the contractor to build the line by the 1st of January, 1877. This was now of course impossible; and he would like the Minister of Public Works to state what modifications were intended to be made with relation to the subsidy of the Canada Central; also whether the line was to be changed, as he hoped would be the case. Instead of Douglas and Burnt Lake, other points should be chosen. It should take a northerly direction to places south and east of Lake Nipissing. The word "near" should be made to mean it in reality, and not to signify 25 or 30 miles from the lake.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that the only object the Government had in view in the first place in projecting the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch, and in subsidising the Canada Central, was to obtain the most direct line from Georgian Bay to Montreal and Quebec. The contract for the branch line had been awarded on information furnished by an engineer of the Department of Public Works, and they had no reason to doubt its correctness. If he discovered that it was inaccurate, and that a deviation from the line proposed would be shorter or better in any way, he would feel bound in the public interest to adopt this course.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Great difficulties have been encountered on this line, have they not?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No, never.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Mr. Foster says so, however.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—But we do not accept Mr. Foster as an engineering authority at all.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER—Do you question his accuracy?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not doubt that Mr. Foster considered his own statements accurate. His (Mr. Mackenzie's) information was furnished by Mr. Ryder—in which Mr. Fleming entirely concurred—to the effect that

while a grade of 80 feet would be required for four miles, there was no necessity for so severe a general grade as 52.80 per mile; this he was bound to accept. They proposed to act like sensible men, and in the public interest; the route in question was chosen simply because it was the shortest, and because they believed it to be the best. Their object in every case was to secure the shortest possible line from French River to Montreal, connecting with Canadian roads, either at Portage du Fort or at Ottawa; this could be accomplished without any trouble at the former place, without incurring a more severe grade than 52.80, or one per hundred.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) regretted that party feeling should have been permitted in anywise to enter into the discussion on this subject—one of vast and general importance—a question, the solution of which must in any case be attended with great difficulty—an undertaking of such magnitude as to demand the cordial co-operation of the whole country to insure its successful completion, and which ought therefore to be regarded wholly outside of party considerations.

The people of Manitoba would be gratified by the assurance—the reassurance on the part of the Government that they intended to carry through, or rather that they did not propose to abandon their intention of constructing an all rail road from Lake Superior to Manitoba, for he distinctly understood that their purpose all along was to complete the road between these two points with all possible despatch, merely using the water courses in the meantime during the progress of the work, and not substituting them for any portion of the road—More than this it would be absurd to demand.

It was admitted on all hands that we have undertaken an obligation towards British Columbia to build a railway through to the Pacific, and he for one held that everything that is practicable should be done to carry out this engagement.

British Columbia, in view of its great natural resources, abounding, as it does in mineral wealth, was well worthy of their best attention and consideration—and although less generally

known, its agricultural and pastoral capabilities were also of a high order. He considered that we had cause to congratulate ourselves on having added to the Dominion so fair a Province, and trusted and believed that however we might differ on minor points, the people of British Columbia, convinced by the determination of Canada faithfully to fulfil all her obligations to the utmost extent that the resources of the Dominion permitted, would never seek to recede from Confederation. British Columbia, with her resources fully developed, would greatly add to the importance and prosperity of the Dominion, and the main question then to be considered was how far the resources of Canada would warrant the vigorous prosecution of this work. And here he would give it as his opinion that if it was to be accomplished at all it must be directly by the Government, and not through the instrumentality of a Company, as at one time proposed. The hon. member for North Huron spoke of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as having been composed of most honourable men, well qualified to carry out this great undertaking, and who would have accomplished it had they not been interfered with by outside influences. The gentlemen who composed that Company were doubtless men of the highest respectability, and some of them possessed of great wealth, but he (Mr. Smith) would have asked the right hon. gentleman from Kingston had he been in his place to-night, if the gallant knight who presided over that Company had not, before leaving this country, misgivings as to the success of the mission he was about to undertake, and he would now ask his hon. friend from Cumberland, and the other members of the late Government who sat near to him, whether within eight days after the deputation reached London, those gentlemen were not convinced that it was impossible to procure the money required on the terms proposed, and in fact that nothing short of a guarantee from the Government of interest to some extent on the whole amount of the bonds could induce capitalists to embark in the enterprise. This it must be borne in mind was before any party influence had been

brought to play, if indeed such had at all been employed, which he was not inclined to believe, to thwart the scheme. He had been in England about that time, and had learned on what he believed to be the best authority that the capitalists with whom the Company wished to negotiate would not touch the proposition on any other terms than a Government guarantee, as just stated.

There was one point more on which he would like to say a word or two. The Hon. Prime Minister had stated that the principal reason for carrying the railway from the Red River north of Lake Manitoba to Fort Pelly was to shorten the distance; but he hoped now that the seat of Government for the North-West Territory was to be removed to a point some three hundred miles west and somewhat south of that first proposed. The hon. gentleman might see his way to reconsider the location of this portion of the line so as to bring it south of Lake Manitoba, an alteration which would confer a very great benefit on the Province of Manitoba, and would command the approval and hearty thanks of its people. He believed that the statement and explanation of the Premier would give general satisfaction.

Mr. McCALLUM asked if the hon. Premier could give any information as to the fall of snow in that county during the winter?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was very deep, but not so deep as generally imagined. He was sorry his hon. friend had not mentioned this matter sooner; if he had done so he would have procured some facts on the subject.

Mr. DYMOND remarked that there was some interesting information on that point in Mr. Fleming's last report.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON would not have risen had it not been for a remark of the hon. member for Terrebonne in his able speech before recess. That hon. gentleman had been accused more than once during the Session of being the most extreme man in both politics and religion of the French Canadian members of the House. Addressing himself to the Hon. Premier, and referring to the Georgian Bay Branch, the hon.

gentleman stated that when the interests of the Dominion generally were concerned, as he thought they were in this case, he would be liberal, and if the Hon. First Minister thought fit to subsidize a road in the interest of Ontario to connect with that Branch he would not oppose him. The policy of the Hon. Premier in the inauguration of the Georgian Bay Branch was that it was to be constructed from the mouth of the French River and extend eastwards. This policy immediately excited attention throughout the country, or at any rate the Province of Ontario. Deputations from Toronto and other cities waited upon the Hon. First Minister to ascertain whether in the interests of Ontario he would assist a road to join the branch of the Pacific Railway. If he recollected right, the answer given was that it was incompatible with the public interests of the Dominion that such an extension should be made in the interests of that Province. He wanted the people to understand that if there was any illiberality in this matter it did not come from the French Canadian members, but from a source from which they were entitled to expect better things. It was to let the people of Ontario know where the blame rested in this particular that he rose on this occasion. What was the policy of the old Government as far as that province was concerned? It was said that when the road was completed from the eastwards it would stop at a point south of Nipissing, and that the provinces of Quebec and Ontario could come up to the point by their own energy and enterprise if they wished to take advantage of the commerce which was expected to flow over that road. But that state of things was changed. The Hon. Premier had declared it necessary to construct another road, and the people of Ontario could not help asking why they should be overlooked and a new route for this commerce be instituted. The inhabitants of that province had done much towards purchasing and peopling the North-West, and it was not right that at the dictum of the present Government they should be refused a share in the advantages of the Georgian Bay Branch. The colleague of the hon.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON.

member for Muskoka had stated some months ago on his reputation as a gentleman that the trade of the North-West would never find its way over the French River Road supposing it were built. Why? Because owing to some change in the line, made by the present Government, the Northern and Midland Railways were as good a branch of the Pacific Railway. The road, that gentleman stated, would be longer than the Midland and not shorter than the Northern, and that the commerce of the North-west would only find its way to Toronto by the present lines. Under these circumstances, he did not think the road if constructed would warrant the expectations of the Hon. Prime Minister. There were two channels of communication from the North-west to the East—one from the Red River country through Winnipeg to Pembina, open all the year round, and the Georgian Bay route which was only open for about six months in the year. In the estimation of experienced men we were about to give \$6,000,000 or \$7,000,000 for accommodation which was already furnished by the Midland and the Northern. Some supporters of the Government might say that the road in time would command a good local trade. Business men of the country would say if this is a local road let it be built by local enterprises; why give to it the money of Ontario in order that the Government might not only have a local road there, but by their influence on the lake, and by their influence in the construction of this branch compel trade to go that way in opposition to existing and competing lines and the commerce of the country. This was a question that Ontario would require a satisfactory answer to. He contended if the road was constructed this Government ought to be liberal to Ontario, where they got the money from. He contended, too, that the Thunder Bay Branch had a right to commence at Prince Arthur's Landing instead of several miles up the Kaministiquia River.

Mr. COCKBURN (Muskoka) rose to explain that Mr. Miller had come to the conclusion before the present Ministry came into power that a short line from Georgian Bay east to Mon-

treval was necessary for the accommodation of the traffic of the lakes, and he had applied for a charter for the Huron and Ontario Railway, but he opposed French River as the terminus, as he believed it had not a safe harbour.

Mr. BOWELL called attention to the fact that in the correspondence submitted to the Senate respecting the Georgian Bay Branch contract, the report of Mr. Shanly did not appear, although it was referred to in the Minute in Council.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Mr. Shanly made no report to us.

Mr. BOWELL—It was on that report of Mr. Shanly that Mr. Foster based his application for better terms, and that report should be laid before the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he knew nothing about it. It was a domestic matter between Mr. Foster and Mr. Shanly, who was Mr. Foster's consulting engineer. The paper, he supposed, was a mere running comment upon the others. He recollected Mr. Shanly reading a paper to him; but whether he kept it in the department or not he was not sure. It was a matter of no consequence, however; for he presumed the paper submitted by Mr. Foster was drawn up by that gentleman and his engineer. He had no objection to the report being brought down, if there was such a document.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he wished to draw the attention of the Government to the position the Canada Central subsidy was placed in, and that there would be no power as the matter stood to carry out that subsidy. The minute in Council provides:—

"That the company shall within one month from the ratification of this order in Council by the House of Commons satisfy the Minister of Public Works that they have entered into a *bona fide* contract or contracts for the building of the railway, and have provided sufficient means with the Government bonus to secure the completion of the line on or before the first day of January, 1877, and also that the company shall from the date of such contracts make continuously such progress as will justify the hope of the completion of the line within the time mentioned."

That Minute in Council was ratified by resolution of the House.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was aware of it.

On item \$500,000, Pacific Railway survey and engineering, in reply to Mr. Schultz,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the result of the survey of the extension of the Pembina Branch line from Winnipeg North, was that by going direct on the east side of the river it would shorten the line a mile and three-quarters, but by deflecting in towards Winnipeg it shortened it a mile and a half, while if they crossed the river at Winnipeg and continued the line up the west side it would lengthen the line two miles.

Mr. BUNSTER wished to know if they were going to cut off further discussion on this subject. He for one felt aggrieved. He deprecated the course adopted by many members of the House of continually insulting British Columbia, and quoted the statement of the hon. member for Quebec Centre that the road as proposed to be built by the late Government would cost five times \$30,000,000. He showed by reference to the United States Pacific Railways that the Canadian railroad could be built and run profitably.

The rails on this line would last much longer than on the American road. The people of Canada should become alive to the extent of the interests involved, and to the quantity of trade which was being diverted from the country, even though the purchase of the Suez Canal by that able statesman, Mr. Disraeli. It was not in our interest that our public men should depreciate their own country, or any part of the country; this was not statesmanlike. The Province of British Columbia had been termed a sea of mountains—this was not the proper way to consider these matters.

The hon. member for Middlesex had stated that the exports of British Columbia were nil; but on the contrary, during the past Session, the gold exported was alone valued at four millions of dollars, while the shipments of coal, lumber, fish, &c., had been very considerable. He regretted the fact that a portion of the Canadian press disparaged this province, and remarked

that the *Standard*, of London, England, had declared that Canada should fulfil the terms of the Treaty, and stated that Canada was the first British colony which had repudiated such a bargain.

The item was passed.

Several items under the heading of Militia were taken up and passed without discussion.

In this connection Mr. Schultz desired to say that the reduction of the forces in Manitoba had deprived very many worthy officers of their occupations. Most of these gentlemen had faithfully served the Dominion for six years, and he desired to know whether the Government intended to grant them six months additional pay, as in the case of the officers affected by the last reduction of the force.

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied that the Government would be disposed to take the same favourable view, and would, probably, grant them six months' additional pay.

The House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, April 6, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

THIRD READINGS.

The following Bills were read the third time and passed:—

To remove doubts under the acts therein mentioned respecting the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal, and to amend the same.

To amend the Railway Statistics Act.

To amend the Act 38 Victoria, chapter 23, respecting the Northern Railway of Canada.

To amend the Act respecting the Desjardins Canal.

THE INSOLVENT ACT.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1875—Mr. Laurier in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—With regard to the remuneration of assignees, of which complaint had been made that

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it was insufficient, proposed in amendment to the 43rd section, the insertion of the following words:—"The creditors may, in case in their opinion the remuneration of the assignee, under the preceding part of this section, is inadequate, at any meeting called for the purpose, fix such additional remuneration, to be paid out of the estate to the assignee, as they shall think reasonable."

Mr. BARTHE thought that the Official Assignees, since they were appointed by the Government should be paid by the Government; and hoped that the Minister of Justice would consider this matter during recess.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) trusted that the entire clause would be allowed to stand over until next Session. The remuneration in question should not be made so great as to be burdensome for the creditors. It might be, under the provision suggested, that there might be twelve creditors, one or two of whom represented half the estate in value, yet their wishes with regard to expense might be over ruled by the minority, who would feel it less. He would prefer a fixed scale, according to which the assignee might demand remuneration of right.

Mr. YOUNG heartily approved of the clause, as in the country, under the present system, it was generally felt that assignees were not sufficiently paid for their services. The increase of 2½ per cent. to the 5 per cent. proposed was desirable.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE explained that the vote in this relation would be given not according to numbers, but according to the value represented; if these coincided, application was to be made to a Judge.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) looked with great disfavour on appeals to Judges, as being extremely tedious. The law would be perfect in proportion as it was simple and speedy in its results.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE did not think that a satisfactory scale could be arranged.

Mr. WORKMAN approved of the amendment as a step in the right direction. He was also pleased to ob-

serve that an Inspector was to be appointed. He hoped that several of these officers would, next year, be appointed in the interest of the creditors.

Mr. WOOD did not agree with this suggestion.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) complained that the remuneration offered in Winnipeg was too low to secure the services of good men.

Mr. YOUNG held that at least for the country districts, the remuneration in the creditors' interests should be fixed at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) urged that the discretionary was a dangerous power. During recess all these matters should receive most careful consideration, circulars should be sent to merchants and assignees, and all possible information in this connection obtained.

Mr. BARTHE maintained that the only true remedy for existing defects was to be obtained by repealing the whole law.

The amendment being so altered as to leave the power in question discretionary, with the five per cent provision retained, the section was passed. The Bill was reported with amendments which were concurred in.

THE MILITIA.

The House went into Committee on Supply, Mr. Young in the Chair.

On item, \$29,400 to defray salaries of military branch and district staff,

Mr. BOWELL said he was not a little gratified on reading the report of the Major-General dealing with this particular branch of the service. When the Bill was introduced in 1868, he (Mr. Bowell) took exception to the clause which provided for the appointment of so many staff officers, and moved several amendments which had the support of hon. gentlemen who now occupied the Treasury Benches. At that time he had declared that the staff was "useless," for which he had brought down upon himself the condemnation of a former Adjutant-General, who went so far as to demand his (Mr. Bowell's) dismissal from the force for daring to give expression to such views in the House. He was the more

gratified, therefore, to find so eminent a soldier as the present Major-General, after a couple of years experience in Canada, using still stronger language in reference to this staff. Now, did it not prove that he (Mr. Bowell) was right? He had hoped when the present Government found themselves in power they would carry out their professions when in Opposition, and reduce this useless and expensive staff. Every year the cost of it was increasing. At the present time, taking the staff in Ottawa and the outside staff, it cost the country nearly \$100,000. In 1873-4 it amounted to \$90,480; it was now \$99,640, showing an increase of about \$9,000, owing to the fact that there were two or three men to do the work of one in nearly every office. There was a reduction of half a million in the estimates for the militia this year; but it was not of a permanent character, being only in clothing, drill and other items which might be added again next year. The Major-General in his report of 1875 drew attention to the excess in the staff, to which he would draw the attention of the House. In his remarks respecting the staff the Major-General said:—

"My subsequent experience in Canada has given me no reason to alter the opinions then ventured on. I shall very briefly recapitulate some points, viz: Restriction of District Staff appointments to 5 years,—allowing re-appointment of officers of proved qualification.—Selection on account of professional qualification, apart from any claim on account of local connection or influence, Where the latter is applied, the best material is not always supplied, and the efficiency of the service suffers. The wide sphere of Canada requiring intelligent, active, well-informed staff officers in whom full professional reliance can be placed. Partial reduction of brigade staff. Some of the districts are overstocked with staff, most of whom have almost a sinecure for three-fourths of the year. The distribution also is unequal.

"It is suggested that the brigade staff should be absorbed, as vacancies occur, leaving one Brigade Major to every 3,000 men of the quota on the active establishment of each Military District. The money thus saved might be devoted to purposes more advantageous to the force. It is proposed that no appointments to the staff, unless in case of re-appointments, should be made without the officer having previously passed a qualifying examination and received a certificate of fitness from Head Quarters. The above reduction would leave ample and to spare for general purposes, it would give those left a more active life, and impress them with more responsibility. It would leave room for the temporary training of intelligent young officers, soldiers at heart, acting on the brigade staff at camps of exercise.

Some of the brigade staff have but slight qualification, and some are unsuited for the position. Two of those could be immediately spared without being replaced."

This report was true to the letter. The Major-General also expressed the opinion that the men should be recruited from the rural districts, and added that the "decayed gentlemen" were a failure. The battalions recruited from the rural districts were in ninety-nine cases out of a 100 the best soldiers that could be brought into the field. The late Government had been blamed for appointing a man who was between 60 and 70 years old, but he (Mr. Bowell) knew a case where a man between 60 and 70 was appointed a paymaster, although he had no claims for the position other than political, he never having been connected with the volunteer force.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—He marshalled his "columns" well.

Mr. BOWELL—Yes, he (the paymaster) had marshalled the columns of his newspaper so well in the interest of the Government that he received the appointment in preference to others who deserved the position better. It was that very policy which had been pursued, not only by this Government, but by the late one, that had done more injury to the force than anything else. It was downright injustice to those who had spent time and money in maintaining the dignity of their positions and keeping of the force together.

While he thought the claims and right of volunteer officers should not be overlooked in the distribution of these offices, he was not altogether in accord with the sentiments given expression to the other night by his hon. friend the member for Pontiac, that the office of Major-General should of necessity be filled by a Canadian born. He did not believe in the Canada First sentiments. Every Canadian was a British subject, and entitled to the privileges of the Empire whether in the army or navy. He was in favour of the appointment of a man who had served in the British regular army to the position of Major-General. He was decidedly in favour of the appointment of a Canadian, if one could be found who had had the necessary experience

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and obtained the rank required by statute to fill the office. He desired to know whether it was the intention of the Government to fill the vacancies which existed on the staff, and also desired information as to whether it was intended to retain the Deputy Adjutant General, or reduce the number of Brigade Majors. He thought it would add to the efficiency of the force to reduce this branch of the service.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that he might state at once that that the policy of the Government was to fill no vacancies occurring in the staff until it was reduced to almost one half of its present proportions, and secondly that the positions vacant at Kingston for some months had not been filled, and it was not the intention of the Government to fill them. It was the intention of the Government to reduce the staff, and it was a matter of consideration in what way this should be done. They were undecided whether to wait for vacancies or reduce at once, which was always an awkward thing to do, as they would have to dispense with officers who had been in the service for years, or introduce a measure making some allowance to those whose services were dispensed with. They thought it well to take a vote this year without making any reduction, and reserve for early consideration the precise mode in which this reduction could be affected. That was the settled policy of the Government. With regard to the employment of Canadians in the higher offices of the militia, it was the intention of the Government when the Military School was introduced, as soon as that school furnished the material required to fill the staff vacancies, they should be furnished from that material. It was the intention of the Government, as the school was intended to furnish not merely a thorough military education, but also a thorough civil engineering education, that when there was a larger number of graduates than was required for the staff appointments, these officers should have priority to other departments of the Civil Service. It was intended to have a thoroughly trained body of gentlemen, thoroughly educated

in the profession, and capable of doing field engineering either in fortifications or other works, so that at a moment's notice they might be called into active service if the events of the period called for action in the field by a trained body of officers. This of course would be a work of some years, but they desired to effect the changes as rapidly as they could, and at the same time deal consistently with the parties who had held these positions up to the present time. Perhaps eight or ten years might elapse before a sufficient number of men could be obtained to fill the vacancies. It was desirable that the offices in the various regiments of the force should be in the hands of those thoroughly trained for the work; and it was hoped that the military college would, in this way, exercise a beneficial influence in every department. The impression was that in this way we might get a skeleton force. As far as the higher officers were concerned they would be selected from among the young men of the country who received a thorough training at the military schools. A skeleton organization of this kind would be more easily filled up after organization with non-commissioned officers, and the rank and file which might be required for an emergency. The precise number of men that might be required, would be a matter they would reserve for future consideration, as it was a subject they were not prepared to speak on with positiveness at the present moment. The principal object the Government had kept in view was the obtaining of a thorough organization, so that they could officer the force in the best possible way, maintain it at the least possible expense and at the same time not have anything like a standing army, but to have the material from which a really efficient standing army might in a short time be put in the field. One of the great defects in the militia, developed by the Fenian raid, was that though the companies were officered by brave men, they had not sufficient military knowledge; and they did not understand field movements sufficiently, although they might understand ordinary battalion drill. He had no doubt

that one fact caused what was very nearly a serious disaster, and which was a disaster when the Fenians crossed the Niagara at Buffalo. That would be prevented in the future, if once the scheme the Government had in view was put into practical effect. He was very glad to be able to frankly acknowledge that he had held the same views as the hon. member for Hastings, with regard to the number of officers on the staff, and the Government would endeavour to effect a reduction as speedily as possible—in the first place, by not filling the vacancies, and possibly in the second place, by the removal of the least efficient members of the staff.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said he did not wish to be misunderstood with respect to the remarks he had the honour of offering to the Committee, and which had been adverted to by the hon. member for Hastings. He did not take the position of Canada First, but he did take the position that Canada should not be held continuously in the back ground. He did not consider that it was absolutely essential that the commanding officer of the militia of Canada should be a Canadian, but if a Canadian of the necessary rank could be found he should not be debarred from having the position. He was merely opposed to discrimination against Canadians who had seen the necessary service to entitle them to the position of Chief of the Canadian Militia Service.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the hon. member for Hastings had called attention to the great increase which had taken place between the years 1874 and 1876-7 in the Militia Department. If the items of these years were compared it would be seen that the increase was statutory and Parliament had no control over it.

Mr. SCHULTZ said by the reduction of the force in Manitoba quite a number of deserving officers would be thrown out of employment. In the case of a previous reduction the Government were liberal enough to grant them six month's pay. Would the Hon. Minister of Militia recommend the same liberality in the present instance.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said it had always been the policy of the Government to deal liberally with volunteer officers when dismissed. The matter had not yet been discussed but their claims would be fairly considered.

Mr. BOWELL said the great objection to the estimates was not the amount paid to efficient officers at headquarters, but the employment of an excessive number of clerks and messengers. He believed if the Hon. Minister of Militia would give his serious attention to his department, he could apply the pruning hook with great advantage to the finances of the country and the efficiency of the service.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said he was somewhat surprised to find so few hon. gentlemen in the house willing to acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to the volunteer service; and he was also surprised that the only one who had found any fault with the management of Militia Department was an old volunteer officer. That in the future, we would perhaps require a Volunteer Force to assist in the defence of the country, no one could deny; and that we required such a force at present to aid the authorities to carry out the law, would be acknowledged by everybody when he remembered that the Volunteers had been called out to assist the civil powers in three provinces, during the last year. In regard to the small increase in the expenditure referred to by the hon. member for Hastings, he thought the Militia Department was not singular in that respect. Every public office in the country, local and general, had been obliged to increase its expenditure within the last three or four years. Expenses of living had also advanced, and it was necessary that something additional should be allowed in order to enable people to keep up their old mode of living. A large portion of the increase could be satisfactorily accounted for. Since Confederation, Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island had been included in the Militia system, which of course necessitated an increase in the outside staff. But the following figures would satisfy the hon. gentleman that the present staff

was not large compared with previous years when the amount of work devolving upon them was taken into consideration. In 1871, the amount was \$29,140; in 1872, \$35,440, an increase of \$6,000, consequent on the appointment of the Inspector of Artillery and the expenses of the staff of British Columbia and Manitoba. In 1873, the amount was \$33,740, arising from a decrease of \$1,700 being salary of Inspector of Artillery transferred to A and B Battery vote in 1874; and a decrease of \$1,200 salary of one D. A. G., transferred to the Civil Branch. The following year the vote was \$35,000, the increase being for the salaries of the deputy-adjutant general and paymaster in Prince Edward Island; and last year the amount was increased to the extent of \$1,000, salary of the A.D.C. of the Major-General. It would thus be seen that although there was a slight increase from time to time, it was legitimate, justifiable under the circumstances, and could not very well be avoided. The hon. member for Hastings had referred to the appointment of an old man somewhere in the vicinity of Ottawa. He presumed the hon. gentleman referred to the paymaster at Brockville. This gentleman was somewhat advanced in years; but he scarcely considered his a strictly military appointment—its duties were more civil than military. Since he held office this was the only appointment which had been made outside of the militia forces. It was quite true the appointments should be confined as much as possible to the volunteer officers; but in this country there were not the opportunities for studying the profession as those trained in the Imperial service—hence it was thought for the benefit of the force to appoint a major-general who had qualified in England. Last year he had the opportunity of learning some little about our Volunteer system, and he thought it was working as satisfactorily as any system which could be introduced; the Militia officers and rank and file stand second to none on this continent.

The House then took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

PRIVATE AND LOCAL BILLS.

The following Bills were read the third time, and passed:—

To incorporate the Maritime Savings and Loan Society.

To incorporate the England and Canada Mortgage Security Co.

To incorporate the United Empire Forest Co. (Limited).

COUNTY OF LOTBINIERE.

A Bill, intituled an Act to detach a certain portion of the County of Lotbiniere, and to annex it to the County of Beauce, was read the second time; and the House having gone into Committee of the Whole, reported it with an amendment, which was read the second time, and concurred in.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT.

A Bill, entitled an Act to amend the Criminal Law, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON explained that it was intended to empower municipalities to employ prisoners outside of the walls of prisons—a privilege which many experienced in municipal matters thought would be an advantage to the community. The rules and regulations necessary were to be adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of each Province. The Dominion Parliament alone could pass such a measure as this, and he hoped that its merits were sufficient to commend itself to the Minister of Justice, and that receiving the sanction of that hon. gentleman, it would become law. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE requested the hon. gentleman not to press the matter. The Bill had been introduced at a late period in the Session, and he had not had time to make the enquiries in this connection which he deemed desirable. He had already expressed his views with reference to the criminal law, and these had commended themselves to the sense of the House. The circumstances of our Provinces varied; such a power as would be conferred by this measure might be adapted to some of them, but he wished before making arrangements of this descrip-

tion, to ascertain by inquiry whether such a step as was proposed should be taken. He was aware that in one of the Provinces not long since, it was the custom to send prisoners out in chain gangs, and he had before him the case of a man, who having been imprisoned for a libel published in a newspaper, had so been obliged to labour on the roads.—This he thought would be regarded in Ontario as a shocking punishment under the circumstances. He would reflect very seriously on the question prior to coming to the conclusion that Lieutenant-Governors should have the power of framing regulations with regard to such employment of prisoners. Uniformity of practice in this relation was desirable. He was not in a position to say that this was possible, and a reasonable time should be allowed, as the Dominion was an extensive country, to pursue the requisite investigations regarding this matter. He hoped that this was sufficient to justify the request he made.

The Bill was withdrawn.

THE ICE BRIDGE AT QUEBEC.

Mr. LANGLOIS moved the second reading of Bill to prevent persons from breaking up the ice bridge between Quebec and Lévis. He said the object of the Bill was to prevent steamboats from destroying the bridge which formed every winter. This measure was asked for by the people of Quebec and Lévis and neighbouring country.

Mr. CURRIER said it seemed to him a most extraordinary thing to pass a law to prevent steamboats running up and down the river.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought the Government should deal with this matter. It would be a great calamity to cut off communication between Quebec and Lévis at any season of the year, by legislation of this kind. The Bill was dangerous in its character, and if necessary at all should be dealt with by the Government.

Mr. PELLETIER said he had no doubt that the hon. member for Northumberland took a great interest in the City of Quebec, but was surprised that representing a constituency so

far from Quebec, and there being in the House so many members representing counties near the City of Quebec, he (Mr. Mitchell) was alone to oppose the Bill. All the members of the district of Quebec knew the advantage of this Bill, and he was sure no one would oppose it. The Board of Trade and the shipping interests of Quebec were in favour of the Bill. Telegrams had been received to-day to that effect. The population of the two cities of Quebec and Lévis desired very much the passing of the Bill, which was opposed only by the company owning steamboats which were breaking the ice bridge every winter. He hoped that the House would consider the Bill in the interest of trade and commerce, and pass it without opposition.

Mr. KILLAM said the Bill was a step backward. It was quite on a par with opposition to machinery. He hoped the Government would not permit such a Bill to pass.

At this point Mr. Speaker announced that the hour for Private Bills had expired, and Government Orders had precedence.

THE MILITIA.

The House resumed consideration of the estimates for Militia purposes in Committee of Supply.

Mr. BOWELL said when the House rose at six he was expressing his surprise at the line of defence which had been set up by the Minister of Militia. He (Mr. Bowell) would like to know what complimenting the volunteers on their efficiency had to do with an overstocked staff and the outside service. He was very glad that the Government had determined upon a policy which they had advocated in the past, when they were in Opposition. It would meet with the approval of everyone who had paid attention to the subject. The Minister of Militia would find ample room for retrenchment in his own department.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL complimented the Government on having made such a large reduction in this estimate. He entirely approved of the policy announced by the Premier on this subject and believed it would be satis-

factory to the public. It was necessary to maintain some volunteer force for the purpose of meeting emergencies that might arise at any time in the country.

He did not agree with the hon. gentleman that the absence of any expression in relation to the volunteers was a mark of disapproval. He did not think that the time for praising the volunteers was when the militia estimates came up. The volunteers did not demand any fulsome expression of opinion from members of Parliament; their services to the country spoke for themselves. What the country wanted was that the skeleton of a force should be maintained, round which, when the time came, a strong form could be built. The people would always be ready to come forward in defence of Canada when required. He had never been in favour of military colleges, but he thought the suggestion of the hon. Premier, with reference to the Kingston School, was a good one. It was perfectly right that a young man who did not find an opening in the military profession should receive the first nomination for the civil engineering service.

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) said no item was voted with more reluctance than this under discussion. He did not say this because the people had not sufficient military spirit to defend the country in a case of emergency, but such was the feeling of security at the present time that this expenditure seemed in a great measure to no purpose. He wished to urge upon the Hon. Minister of Militia the necessity of following out the line indicated by the Hon. Premier—the reduction of the militia estimates as fast as possible. There was a peculiar anomaly in the reduction of the pay of the volunteer officers, and the maintenance of the full staff; and had it not been for the explanations of the Hon. First Minister the item would be very reluctantly voted. Since Confederation \$9,321,654 had been expended on military service, and of that sum, so far as practical service to the country was concerned, the amount expended was \$2,985,682. The only object for which the service was established that he could see was to train our young men

Mr. PELLETIER.

for military service, and if the money was expended in any other way there was to his mind a large waste of the public funds without the necessary results being secured. Take the case of the estimates of this year. They would notice that the Civil Service Department of the service was to be in full blast, with twenty-seven officials, Deputy Adjutant-Generals, Brigade Majors, and Paymasters, and all for what? Not that we should drill a large number of volunteers, but in order to keep up an organization which this year would accomplish practically nothing. He understood there was to be no camp drill, and little or no battalion drill, but we were to expend a large amount of money for the purpose of keeping up the organization. He admitted that the organization must be sustained perhaps for some time to come, but he would like to see the Minister of Militia exercise a little vigour in the management of the department to the extent of dispensing as speedily as possible with useless and unnecessary officers. He did not see why we should have Deputy Adjutant Generals, Brigade Majors and Paymasters for the management of a force which did not exist. If this staff was to be maintained for the interest of the force well and good, but let the organization be put upon another basis so that we might realize more practical benefit. The Hon. Minister of Militia had referred to what appeared to his mind to be a lack of enthusiasm in Canada in regard to the Volunteer system. In Ontario sufficient enthusiasm existed. In 1866 when orders were issued for 12,000 men, 20,000 offered, more than seemed to be necessary under the circumstances; and the House would remember how readily voluntary contributions were made in the large cities and towns for the maintenance of the families of the volunteers and to make up any loss they might incur through the service. The monument to the fallen at Ridgeway was also another proof that the people sympathised with those who suffered in the service. The general feeling in Ontario was this—that if we were to expend a large sum for the maintenance of a military force, it should be in a different channel than the expendi-

ture of the last few years. Every one who had noticed the recent modes of warfare would understand that military training was tending almost entirely in the direction of rifle practice, and that was the most difficult part of the routine. Our clever Canadian youths could learn camp and battalion drills in 10 or 12 days, but rifle practice required great care and experience. If our service was organized in such a way as to have less camp drill and more of this modern essential, it would be made more effective; and if the hon. Minister of Militia would take into careful consideration the whole military system of the Dominion as well as the systems of other countries and the modern methods of warfare, he would render national service to the country in the reduction of expenses and secure a higher degree of efficiency.

Mr. BROWN thought all the money we had expended was amply repaid for the good service the volunteers did in 1864 and 1866. The service was pretty well reduced just now, and it should have every assistance to render it efficient and useful. He thought the staff had done its duty well and fairly, but it might be that its cost was larger than necessary. Under the old Militia Act the duties at Ottawa here were performed by Col. Powers at a much less expense than at present. He did not agree with the manner in which the reduction was proposed. If we were to economise at all we had better give leave of absence to the Major General, suspend the district staffs throughout the Dominion and relieve the volunteers from further service for a year at least.

Mr. McCALLUM said the objection had always been against what was believed to be an excessive and expensive staff both at Ottawa and in the outside service. Those at Ottawa were the locusts eating up the public money, and the grasshoppers were those of the outside service. He thought the money expended for drilling young men was well applied. In discussing the merits of this question we should consider the number of men in the country who had been trained to the use of arms. Everyone of those, if the safety of the country demanded it,

would come forward, and then we would experience the benefit of money expended in past years in this respect. The objection to the staff items had always been because it was believed that the men who really did the work got little, while the large staff absorbed the money. It was time that this was stopped.

Mr. HIGINBOTHAM was surprised at the severe criticism of his hon. friend from Hastings, who he was sure must acknowledge the success of our Volunteer service. The Hon. Minister of Militia had regretted the few persons who had raised their voices in support of the force. That was not because the people did not take sufficient interest in it; he believed it occupied a warm place in the affection of the country, and was quite sure that the past success of the volunteers would never be forgotten. The hon. member for Middlesex had stated that rifle practice was only necessary for the efficiency of the force. He admitted that it was an important requisite, but camp and battalion drill were extremely useful in instructing the officers in field duties. There was no time when the volunteer force had received more attention, fair play and encouragement than during the three years of the present government. He had been connected with the force and knew the difficulties they had to contend with. At first they struggled for existence, but the last few years the volunteers had been encouraged, and were in a state of efficiency. The hon. member for Hastings appeared to think that the sooner the staff was reduced the better. He differed from the hon. gentleman, and believed the better plan would be to reduce the number of men and sustain the staff in its entirety, because it was an easy matter to form companies if we only had the means of officering them.

He could not approve of a general reduction of the force. The small amount placed in the estimates he considered insufficient to provide for the expenditure attending the annual drills. The position of Brigade Major or Adjutant General might be abolished, but a sufficient staff should by all means be kept up;—and the volunteers

should be called out for drill, once every two or three years, at least, if it was not intended to do so yearly.

Mr. ORTON also agreed that one of the positions mentioned might properly be abolished. Great complaint had been made, and he believed very frequently with some reason, concerning the manner in which the arms were kept. Captains of companies might easily keep surveillance over these as well as over accoutrements. He thought that as reductions were being effected in this regard, the item of \$125,000 for the annual drills might also be dropped, as it could not meet the expenses attendant on brigade or battalion drill, and company drill was considered to be of very little use. If retained, it would have another injurious effect:—if the volunteers were inadequately paid, it would create a great deal of dissatisfaction in the force and do more harm than good. Volunteering might be encouraged under a different system. We possessed large tracts of land at present, of which volunteers in the great North-West, and men who had creditably served in the force for five years, residing in this country during the whole of such period, might receive grants each of 100 acres. This would be an inducement for joining, and a better class of volunteers would thereby be obtained. Great complaint was made in some parts of the character of the men, and he had heard that it had been the custom of Americans in some quarters to come over, perform the drill, receive the money, and then return to the otherside of the river. Medals might also be awarded to men who served the term of five years. It was well known that if it had not been for the disinterested exertions of officers and men in the past, it would have been almost impossible to have kept up the system at all, and that the country should recognize those services by grants of some of our lands in the North-West, or by the distribution of honorary medals.

Mr. GORDON quite agreed with the hon. member for Middlesex regarding the expenditure of money on the force; and believed that in many instances the money spent in connection with annual drills had been badly expended, as the ranks were frequent-

ly filled with lads to make up the required numbers. He agreed also with the hon. member for Middlesex that it was especially desirable to encourage proficiency in rifle shooting, for which purpose medals might be offered to be shot for by companies. Liberal prizes should further be extended to country associations.

Mr. PLUMB, judging from the estimates, presumed that the usual annual drills were not to take place during the present year. He required a small appropriation in order to ensure the preservation from destruction of the barracks in his constituency; a very small amount would be required for the purpose. He was very glad to hear the hon. the First Minister say that it was intended to create the officers of the militia from the young men who studied at the Military Colleges. He was in hopes that the policy of the Government would have been to have offered some inducement to these young men, something such as was given to the students at West Point Academy. There they were given a salary of \$30 a month, which was credited to them, and their clothing and their expenses were charged at the lowest possible rate. This sum was sufficient with proper economy to pay their expenses, and after they left the academy, they received an appointment in the army. The usefulness of this institution was exhibited in the great American conflict. All the men who came into prominence in the northern or southern army graduated at West Point. Many of these gentlemen served also in the civil service of the country. He trusted if it were found as he thought it would be found, that not sufficient inducements were offered to students, the Government would supplement the advantages by giving some moderate sum which would support them in a humble way. There was every reason in the world why they should secure the best possible talent in the formation of a skeleton army, and he thought the indications were that it would not be successful, unless the Government offered some further inducements.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN did not think a military college would be successful at once, but he hoped that it

would be sufficiently successful to induce the Government to persist in their course and better that system. It had been suggested during the debate that there should be no office in the militia service that should be closed to the young men from the Military College, but they would find that besides the theoretical knowledge that the young men obtained, practical knowledge in the regular army would be required to fill the higher offices in the Military service. The Government, however, might find it necessary to select a number of the most able men to undergo the practical training which could not be obtained in a military college, and which must be acquired in the European States. Without going further into this subject he would ask the Minister of Militia, whether on concurrence he would be able to give the number of Militia men that were at that time enrolled in the different Provinces of the Dominion. He regarded it as necessary to obtain this information, in order that they might ascertain if each Province furnished a sufficient quota of men in proportion to the population.

Hon. Mr. POPE did not agree with the remarks that had been made, that this appropriation might have been left out altogether. He thought we, as a part of the British Empire, ought to be prepared to do something for ourselves. He did not believe the money appropriated was one dollar too much, and he was sure it was endorsed by the whole of the people of the country. He desired to see the volunteers better paid and the staff reduced to the lowest rate possible, which he thought cost too much. He was of opinion that every attention should be given to the company drill, as the men well up in this drill could easily be prepared for the field.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said in 1873 the whole enrolled militia from 18 to 60 years of age was:—Ontario, 352,145; Quebec, 236,285; Nova Scotia, 84,746, and New Brunswick 65,805; total 739,981. The quota for each Province was:—Ontario, 19,437; Quebec, 11,691; New Brunswick, 3,264; Nova Scotia, 4,284; Manitoba, 696; British Columbia, 194; Prince Edward Island, 694; total 40,260.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN wished to know whether the whole 40,000 would be drilled, or only a certain portion of them, or whether the number of days for drill would be diminished in proportion to the reduction of the vote.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said only 28,845 had been drilled out of the 40,000, with an appropriation of \$375,000. It was evident the same number could not be drilled this year with only one-third as large an appropriation.

Mr. ORTON said the House should know how that \$125,000 was to be expended.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was not always convenient to explain how a vote like this would be expended. It was well to provide against contingencies that the experience of the last four or five years had shown were likely to arise at any time in this country.

Mr. BOWELL said it was evident the Government had no policy. They did not know whether they intended to drill any of the men or not.

Hon. Mr. POPE said the Government would not condescend to tell the House what their policy was, if they had any; but they had the audacity to ask for this large sum without a word of explanation. The House had a right to know whether the men were to be drilled or not.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said it was very desirable the House should know what the Government intended to do with this money. The volunteers would like to know whether they were likely to be called out for drill this year as usual. He supposed it was not the intention of the Government to do so. If so, he approved of that policy for this year. If, however, it was intended to drill any of the force this year, he hoped they would not be exercised at their head-quarters. The companies that should be most drilled were those in cities and towns where the services of a trained force were sometimes required. The force in large centres of population should be kept together, and drilled, and the money so expended would be well spent. If this was the intention of the Government it would be well to let the House know.

Hon. Mr. VAIL.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that the entry in connection with the item explained precisely how the \$125,000 was to be spent. The Government could not, however, be required to state precisely what battalions were to be called out, for this was a matter reserved for the Administration to decide. In all cases they could spend more than was voted, but they could not communicate minute details concerning their arrangements. The hon. gentlemen who had last spoken knew perfectly well that they should not have put the questions they had asked.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL held that the Premier had gone back on the principles which the hon. gentleman had professed while in Opposition. The hon. gentleman would not at that time have been satisfied with the statements now made to the House. He thought that his friend from Compton was quite correct in maintaining that so far as they could judge of the declarations of the Hon. Minister of Militia, no definite policy had been arranged. The Premier said that this vote was entirely for drilling purposes, and the Finance Minister that it might be utilised for any contingency that might arise. The House as a constitutional Parliament had a right to know precisely the conditions on which this vote was asked, and the calculations on which it was based, as the money belonged to the people of this country. The hon. gentleman had either forgotten, or was ignoring the principles which he (Mr. Mackenzie) once enunciated on the floor of the House. He entirely approved of the Government's policy in this relation; it was a step in the right direction; and in consequence, he was willing to vote for the item, even though the explanations which should have been given were not offered.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that he was sure, when in opposition he had never asked for any such details as were now requested by hon. gentlemen. He had then, in the interest of the men only urged that they should be paid better; also that if more of the money granted had been spent on drill, and less for other purposes, it would have been better.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—There we agree.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Minister of Militia had stated that 28,800 men, out of the 40,000 were drilled. The report of the Department was before the House. If one-third of the amount voted last year was asked for, it follows that either one-third of the 28,000 odd would be drilled if paid at the same rate, or that two-thirds would be drilled if the time were reduced one-half.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The hon. gentlemen may change their policy?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No change whatever would be made. It was quite open for the Government under the law to fix the number of days for drill and the number of men to be drilled, and to decide whether it should be by battalions or in brigades.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—That is the information we would like to have.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That information has been given.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I do not think that I heard it.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I am certain that I heard it.

Hon. Mr. POPE stated that he and hon. gentlemen had vainly endeavoured to elicit information from the Minister of Militia, who they discovered knew nothing of the matter at issue. He had then appealed to the Finance Minister, who explained that the Government might do one thing, and again, that they might take another course; it seemed to depend altogether which way the wind blew. Next up jumped the First Minister to state that it was perfectly ridiculous for hon. gentlemen to make these enquiries, as they ought to be satisfied with the information obtained. When the hon. gentleman was in Opposition, he (Mr. Mackenzie) would not have been satisfied with the explanations made.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK did not desire to learn the minutiae of departmental arrangements, but he certainly thought that the House was entitled to more information than they had obtained regarding the intentions of the Government; they should know whether one-

third of the force was to be drilled for the usual time, or whether the whole force was to be drilled for one-third of this period.

Hon. Mr. VAIL could not understand why so much more information was now required than had been demanded during previous Sessions. The item was simply reduced from \$375,000 to \$125,000—one-third the sum expended when the late Government was in power. After the House was prorogued a report was made by the Adjutant General or the General in command to the Minister of Militia, who submitted to the Government his recommendations, which had to be approved of by an Order in Council before they could go into force. It was then arranged how many men were to be drilled; where this would take place; and whether it would be performed in battalions or in brigades. These were mere regulations, which the Government could change from time to time as they pleased.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL stated that information in question had always been demanded by the Opposition, when the Government, of which he had been a member, was in power; and had always been given by the late lamented Sir George Cartier, who was ever prepared to do one of two things.

The late Government were always ready to state the settled policy of the Department frankly, but his hon. friend opposite was not prepared to take that course.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said it was proper that the Committee should be informed as to the quota that would be required this year, whether it was intended to follow the rule laid down last year, and whether the militia would be taken from one or two Provinces.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The quota will be distributed as nearly as possible all over the country. The hon. gentleman might take that for granted.

Mr. SCRIVER did not think it devolved on the Dominion to provide police forces for the cities. He thought it was of much greater importance that the volunteers on the frontier

should be encouraged to keep up their organizations, and he hoped that a portion of this money would be devoted to the drilling of country battalions.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said that he had only recommended the expenditure of a portion of the appropriation in drilling the men in large centres.

The item was carried.

IMMIGRATION AND QUARANTINE.

On item No. 55, appropriating \$120,150 for immigration and quarantine,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that the Minister of Agriculture desired to have a vote that would enable him to take precautions against the introduction of contagious diseases among animals. He, therefore, moved that after the words "to meet expenses of further precautionary measures for the public health" that the words "for the prevention of disease among animals," be inserted. They did not desire to increase the vote for this purpose, which was \$20,000.

The motion was carried.

Hon. Mr. POPE—We are not expected to pass this vote without an explanation.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied in the negative, and proceeded to explain the salaries of a few emigration agents and employés had been increased.

Hon. Mr. POPE asked what was the policy of the Government with respect to the change in the Agent-General's office.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that the appointment of an Agent-General was only an experiment, and it had become quite evident that it was not desirable to keep up that agency in the same expensive manner in which it was being conducted, therefore they decided to discontinue the office and reduce the expense in that regard as much as they possibly could. Mr. Jenkins on finding the reduction had taken place probably did not deem it worth his while to continue in that position, and he accordingly tendered his resignation. He was not aware that there was any other information to be given on this subject.

Mr. SCRIVER.

Mr. BOWELL thought the only reduction in the department was the abolition of the services of the Agent-General. Did he understand the office was kept up in its entirety less the Mr. Jenkin's office?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the office under Mr. Jenkin's supervision had swollen to somewhat larger proportions than usual. Of course in connection with the office there were agents for the other Provinces, but moreover, Mr. Jenkins, in addition to his duties as emigration agent, conducted certain minor matters for other branches of the Government, which the new agent would not have to perform. In this connection he incurred additional expenses, and his charges were considerably larger than it was intended the new officer should incur.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked whether the discontinuance of Mr. Jenkins was solely for the purpose of economy? Was it not a fact that his appointment was an entire failure, and that he got above his business and rather beyond the control of the Government in Canada?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said Mr. Jenkins was Agent-General and that office was discontinued, but he himself resigned the other office of General Emigration Agent. With regard to the other matters he might just state that Mr. Jenkins was a very zealous and efficient officer, and only had the interests of Canada at heart. He honestly and sincerely strove to discharge his duty on all occasions to the best of his ability. He (Mr. Cartwright) did not think the hon. gentleman was as chivalrous as usual with respect to Mr. Jenkins.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said if the Hon. Finance Minister put it on the point of chivalry he had nothing more to say. He had seen communications in the public prints that led him to believe there was something besides economy which led to Mr. Jenkins' resignation.

Hon. Mr. POPE asked for explanations regarding the Agent-Generalship. He thought that Mr. Jenkins had tried to do his duty. He believed that that gentleman was carrying out to the best of his ability the instructions which

he received from the Government, but while he held that view he could not say that those instructions were wise or judicious. He thought Mr. Jenkins had been dealt with in a very summary manner. In his report for 1874, the late Agent-General states he was appointed to reorganize the office, and that he found a loose, expensive and inefficient organization on the other side of the water. He presumed that when Mr. Jenkins made use of this language he considered that he had some justification for it, probably in the instructions he had received from this side; but when it was stated that a department over which he (Mr. Pope) had presided was conducted in that manner, he felt he had a right to ask this House whether the results of the Administration of which he was a humble member warranted that declaration, or that the results of the past two years record in contrast with it proved the assertion to be correct. He wanted the House to consider this matter carefully. What was the result in 1873? He had heard it said in another place that the present system was exactly the same as that pursued when he controlled the department. He knew that he was responsible for everything attempted while in office, and that in a certain sense he was responsible for those things which he bound his successor to carry out. This, however, could not apply to passenger warrants, as he did not bind his successor to continue the issuing of them, nor was it any excuse for giving 12,080 warrants in the year 1875, when not more than 10,500 emigrants arrived at all the ports of the Dominion as intending settlers in Canada. So far as the passenger warrant system was concerned, he was responsible, and was prepared to bear the responsibility for the two years that he occupied the position of Minister of Agriculture. He found the passenger warrants issued in London in 1873, when he had the largest immigration—some 42,000 souls—numbered only 9,000. In 1875 the number of immigrants arriving at Quebec and Portland, exclusive of Mennonites, was only some 10,500, while the number of passenger warrants issued in London was over 12,000. The Mennonites came under a different arrangement.

This required explanation. He (Mr. Pope) was responsible for having initiated the warrant system. He had done so with a view to bringing the employers of labour in this country nearer to the emigrating classes of the old world. We had cheap hands and dear labour. To make this country prosperous we needed people to occupy our waste lands. With this view he introduced the Bill organizing immigration aid societies, the object being to induce our people to employ labourers on the other side and bring them to Canada to work for them. To assist them the passage was reduced from £6 6s. to £4 5s., and subsequently in order to compete with Australia, New Zealand and other countries, to £2 5s. He was not at liberty to say how much that had cost the country. The arrangements were confidential, just as arrangements now were confidential, and he would not imitate the treatment he had received from gentlemen opposite, by pressing for explanations upon them. The agricultural labourers of England were unable to lay up money enough to take them to this country; and even when the tickets were reduced to £2 5s., the immigration aid societies had to subscribe and bring them out. The result was in 1873 the number that came to this country was 42,000—the largest immigration we had seen for many years. A great deal of that was due to the assisted passenger warrants. He learned that other countries were paying to all the steamship agents a commission to send emigrants to them. He at once instructed our agent in London to give as much to passenger brokers of standing and influence as was paid by any other country. They numbered some 1,200 men, and exercised a great deal of influence. His successor had carried out that policy. He (Mr. Pope) had also been charged with being responsible for the Mennonite immigration. Well, he was going to take that responsibility. He had received an intimation that there was a colony of Germans in Russia that desired to emigrate. There was a great deal of difficulty in organizing this immigration owing to the unwillingness of the Russian Government to permit the presence of agents or the distribution of pamph-

lets. It was only after an agent was sent to see them that he (Mr. Pope) received a notification from the British Government that it might cause trouble. He felt in an embarrassed position, but withdrew the agent, asking the Menonites to send a delegation to Canada, and promising to pay their expenses. They came, visited Manitoba, and certain conditions having been agreed upon, 5,000 of them came and settled in that Province, bringing with them some \$400,000 in one year. Mr. Pope proceeded to explain the conditions, which were that the Menonites should pay \$30 for their passage from Hamburg to Manitoba, they providing their own food. He had made such arrangements that \$25 paid the passage to Quebec, leaving the other \$5 to take them to Thunder Bay, whence they were to go on over the Dawson Road, the transport thus costing the Dominion practically nothing. He had also been charged with sending agents to Europe. Well, he had sent them, but there his responsibility ended. He was not responsible for the manner in which agents had acted, nor for the manner in which they had been handled. He had no doubt but the inefficient way in which they had been instructed, and the redtapeism of the Department through the London office, had done much to embarrass and discourage them. He would like to compare his policy with that of his successor. True, circumstances were different. It could not be expected there would be the same emigration in these times as there had been in the past. Still, the proof that the changes they had adopted did not meet with their own approval was in the fact they had abandoned them. His policy his successor condemned as loose, extravagant and inefficient. He sent his agents for short periods, as he didn't wish them to feel they had a vested right to the office, or that they had any claim on the Government, to which they were bound to look for approbation, and not to the London agent. Reports were required monthly. The policy of his successor was quite different; reports were to be made once a week to the London agent, who controlled everything. Here the great mistake in the system had been committed, for it was

only by keeping a due and strict supervision on the part of the Department over its employees that they could be induced to perform their work properly. His successor, he supposed, desired to free himself from the trouble the system he (Mr. Pope) had followed entailed. He was not surprised at this, seeing that the continued absence from the department of its present head made it impossible that he could give it that constant supervision which was absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, these things must have given his successor a good deal of anxiety—more than the London agent would feel. His successor should have received the reports and paid strict attention to what Australia and other countries were doing in connection with the matter of immigration. Quite a large number of immigrants had arrived in this country during the year 1874, but this was largely and naturally due to the exertions made in 1873, as emigrants invariably made their arrangements the year before they left home. The extent of immigration in 1872 had exceeded his expectations. Mr. Dixon had audited accounts, and this was one of the duties of that officer. Mr. Patterson, Secretary of the Board of Trade of Montreal, had inspected all the European agencies, and had made a satisfactory and complimentary report on the subject to the Department. In 1873 the largest sum ever expended on the part of this country by the late Government on immigration had been spent: it nearly approached the figures for 1875. Forty-two thousand emigrants came from Europe to Canada in 1873, costing about \$6.00 per head; in 1875 they numbered 10,000, exclusive of Menonites, and cost about \$23 per head. These figures afforded sufficient justification for the policy he pursued, though it was termed "loose, extravagant and improper." Control had been of late left to too great a degree in the hands of the London agent, and a lack of energy in this respect had been exhibited in the management of the department. He would not say that the immigrants to this country were not worth all they cost, but he thought that his successor should place himself in more direct communication with

Hon. Mr. POPE.

his agents. The money judiciously expended on emigration was well spent. In the United States each immigrant was considered worth from \$800 to \$1,100 to the country, and for a number of years it was ascertained that each of these persons brought into the Union, on the average, \$70. It might be considered that the present period was unfavourable to immigration on a large scale, but he wished to draw the attention of Government and of his successor to the points he had mentioned and to the necessity of regarding closely what was taking place in this connection in other countries. There was no reason why we should not have our fair share of the emigrating classes of the old world. He had read the report of Mr. Jenkins, and he believed that the late London agent had done the best he could to carry out the instructions he received from the Department; but he could not approve of those instructions nor of the extravagance inaugurated by them. It might have been a mistake to make the appointment, but nevertheless a good deal of useful information was contained in Mr. Jenkins' reports. The latter said he had been slandered and traduced, and he thought the Government should have defended their late official. While Mr. Jenkins was extravagant, this expense was incurred with the concurrence and support of the Administration, who ought, in consequence, to be held responsible. He requested the House not to pass too suddenly a condemnation on Mr. Jenkins for the acts in question. He was afraid that the latter had been sacrificed by the Government before Parliament met, to save themselves. He had but very recently, a few hours previous, in reading Mr. Jenkins' report, obtained the information which led himself to express these views with regard to the late Agent-General.

Mr. BOWELL remarked that there was very little reduction in this item. In the old country, at present, there was great objection to emigration on the part of the employers. The only reduction shown was in the Agent-General's salary; contingencies instead of being lessened, were increased some \$1,800.

Hon Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The contingencies are not increased.

Mr. BOWELL—They are increased. The estimates asked an increase for the London office of \$1,800, just where reductions should take place. He noticed that large amounts had been paid to the *Canadian News* of over \$600, probably for advertisements and literature. He hoped that the Minister of Finance would explain why £226 10s., sterling, had been paid for sending the *Toronto Globe* to this agency in London. One man had been paid £596, and then for maps, &c., £622. For the holding of meetings the most extraordinary charges had been made: one at Manchester had cost £53 19s. 2d., and another at Birmingham £24 6s. 9d.

Mr. DYMOND—I would remark that the Free-Trade Hall at Manchester costs £25 per night.

Mr. BOWELL was very glad to learn this, as it showed how reckless was the expenditure in this relation, in order to secure an opportunity for delivering speeches. In the rural sections the cost would have been much less; and the result might have been much better—the emigration of that class of people which was really required in Canada. He hoped that the Minister who had charge of this department would in the future see that money was not squandered after this fashion—such, for instance, as £50 sterling for a door-plate, and £20 sterling for a die in which to cast buttons for the servants in the office. He did not say that we did not wish artisans to emigrate to Canada; but he did maintain that to a greater extent we were in need of men who could settle upon and till our unoccupied lands. He desired an explanation regarding the payment of the expenditure of £226 10s. for *Toronto Globes* sent to this one agency in the city of London. Was it to circulate Grit literature in England.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that these *Globes* had been distributed in various quarters in England, among emigrants and persons interested in promoting emigration. As for other items, these expenditures had been made by Mr. Jenkins with the best motives no

doubt, but without previous consultation with the Government. Everybody knew, that at present, considerable indisposition to aid the work of emigration was shown, and consequently it was necessary to make greater expenditures, in connection with lectures, and the distribution of desirable information respecting this country, than had been the case for years. On the accession of this Ministry to power, a most extraordinary panic took place in the United States, and the result was the most widespread distress, affecting in the most serious manner emigration from Europe to this continent. For the first time in history, a steady stream of artisans and even of agricultural labourers, had been seen returning to the British Isles. In every steamship that had crossed the Atlantic during the past two years and a half, numbers of these persons of all classes and creeds, unable to find employment in the United States, had forsaken the shores of this continent. In addition, very great and extraordinary inducements were offered to British emigrants by Australia, and it was known that they had always been considerably disposed to go to that portion of Her Majesty's Dominions. Now, that had been by far the most important reason why emigration had diminished. It was utterly impossible under the conditions which had prevailed in this country and in the United States during the last two years, to encourage emigration here. Nor was it probably desirable to encourage a large emigration of artisans who would merely be taking the bread out of the mouths of those already in the country. There was an admirable opening for the Menonites in the North-West, and the policy of the late Government in that respect the present Government had carried out. He did not think it was fair that Mr. Jenkin's should be blamed on a comparison of the emigration which flowed into Canada and the United States during years of extraordinary prosperity, with the decreased emigration which naturally and inevitably resulted from an extraordinary depression. No doubt some items should be retrenched, and to these

the attention of the Government had been directed, and precaution would be taken to reduce them in the future.

Mr. BOWELL said that inasmuch as the Hon. Minister of Finance admitted that the expenditure would be unproductive, would it not be advisable to omit the item altogether?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the hon. gentleman would see that at least \$40,000 was for quarantine purposes, and in connection with the public health, and a large proportion of the \$170,000 remaining was intended for the transfer of Menonites, and the Government was obliged to be prepared to spend the money under the arrangement made by the late Government. And in addition to this, if they were to have an emigration system at all they could not upon a temporary check disband the whole emigration staff. Such a course would be of a most unwise character.

Mr. DYMOND regarded it as a great misfortune that an important question of that kind should have been taken up at that late hour and under the existing unfavorable circumstances. In commenting on the remarks of previous speakers, he stated that nothing would be more injurious and fatal to the interests of the Dominion than an appearance of weakness on their part. While the emigration to this country during the past two or three years had not been so extensive as previously, they had the satisfaction of knowing that the men who had been brought hither were the persons best adapted to the industries for which their labour was required. He showed that the number of steerage passengers which arrived in New York during the first nine months of 1873 and 1874, respectively, was 237,921 and 124,000. This exhibited a decrease of nearly one-half under an unchanged system of passage warrants and European agents, and there was no doubt that every American agent was just as active as ever. This was a larger falling off in proportion to the population than had taken place in Canada in the same period. With regard to Mr. Jenkins, he thought that there was nothing at home or abroad

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

more likely to discourage those in the emigration service than the manner in which he had been treated, and he was satisfied that he had endeavoured to do his duty faithfully. An outcry had been raised because some of the meetings in Manchester had cost £30 or £40. That sum might seem extravagant, but when it was considered that it would tell all over England and no small part of Scotland, it ought not to be so regarded. He was satisfied that the amount of information conveyed to England with regard to this country, had been enormously increased by Mr. Jenkins' services. With reference to the emigration policy required at the present moment, he deemed it desirable that we should have a steady flow of emigration into the country, and that it should be of the particular class required most in Canada. He believed the present system was most conducive to these results, and that for a time at least it would be most politic for the country to proceed with it.

Mr. KILLAM said he had visited the London Agency, and he found it, as far as his judgment went, well conducted in every respect. He, however, did not like the location, and thought it might have been placed in a more central position.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the Imperial Government required the present site of the London Agency, and that a more central position would soon be occupied by the Agency.

Mr. WALLACE (Norfolk) did not know why the member for North York should enter into a defence of Mr. Jenkins, as the member for North Hastings had not said one word against that gentleman; he did attack the extravagance of the London office, and he fully concurred in the opinion that it was not desirable to expend so much money in bringing emigrants to Canada in view of the present condition of the country. The only agricultural labourers that were required in this country were men with sufficient capital to settle in our wild lands, and he thought the vote for this expenditure ought to have been considerably reduced.

Mr. McCALLUM was surprised to hear the remarks of the member for

North York justifying the appointment of the Agent-General Jenkins; he was the only man who had ever justified that appointment, either in the House or out of it even. The Government had not defended it. The whole scheme has proved a failure as predicted by the right hon. member for Kingston. He was astonished to learn that over \$1,100 has been squandered in circulating the *Globe* newspaper in England. Now, what was it they paid this money for, if not to form the political opinions of the emigrants before coming to this country? It was wrong. It was using the public money to poison the minds of emigrants in favour of the party in power.

Mr. PLUMB said the expenditure had increased as emigration had diminished. If the Government could not bring out more than twelve or thirteen thousand emigrants for the large amount they asked, it could be better expended.

The item passed.

On the item \$170,000 towards assisting immigration and meeting immigration expenses including estimated expenses of transport of Menonites,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked what part of this would be required for the Menonites?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was utterly impossible to say.

Hon. Mr. POPE—What is the cost of sending the emigrants *via* Duluth?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it would be something like twenty to twenty-five dollars over and above the fixed amount they had to pay themselves.

Mr. DESJARDINS asked if any portion of this was intended to aid in the repatriation of Canadians from the United States?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I am not aware any application has been made to the Department on the subject.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said this was a favourable time to induce the Canadians in the United States to return home and settle on our waste lands in Quebec and Manitoba.

Hon. Mr. POPE said in his time he had sent an agent—the Rev. Mr. Gendron—who made a very valuable report. Through the exertions of that gentleman 100 families had been induced to return to Canada from the United States. He had not received the credit he deserved for that work.

The item was passed.

SPRING HILL BRANCH RAILWAY.

On items for Lower Province Railways, \$1,600,000,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked if it was true the Government had given away the Spring Hill Railway, and on what terms?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the road was built and graded by that company, and the late Government had agreed to put on the iron and work it. They finished the road and worked it at a heavy loss. The present Government agreed to re-lay the road (taking away the old rails and replacing them with new) and gave it up to the company, they agreeing to work it to the junction and give all their freight to the main line. By this means the country was saved from eight to ten thousand dollars per annum.

It was proper he should give a few figures regarding the nett results of working the roads mentioned in this item during the last two or three years. The revenue in 1872-3 was \$704,557; in 1873-74, \$893,430; in 1874-5, \$861,591. This showed an apparent reduction in the last year, but of the amount for 1873-4 the sum of \$89,332 was credited in the receipts, which was not, of course, received. The nett cash earnings for the year ending June 30th, 1874, were \$804,097; the nett cash earnings for the year ending June 30th, 1875, were \$861,593.43. The expenditures for the same three years, for working expenses alone, were:—In 1872-3, \$1,011,893; in 1873-4, \$1,301,550; in 1874-5, \$1,143,157. For the Intercolonial Railway, in the Province of Quebec—from St. Flavie to Rivière du Loup, 83½ miles—the gross receipts during the eight months it was in the possession of the Government, were \$18,320.37, and the working expenses \$47,574.50, showing a deficit of \$29,254.13. The stores on hand on June

30th, 1874, were \$381,757; on June 30th, 1875, the amount was reduced to \$90,852. This showed they were effecting a saving in interest on some \$298,905.

In 1875 there were laid altogether 3,583 tons of steel rails; in 1875-6, 3,528 tons, and 1,800 tons of iron rails were laid down in the course of narrowing the gauge of the Windsor branch. It would require for relaying during the next two years altogether about 12,428 tons of rails. A considerable quantity—perhaps one half—of this amount would be laid during the current year. A very considerable saving in the working expenses had been effected in the price of coal. The Albion Mining Company delivered it at the pits' mouth for \$2 per ton; the Spring Hill Company delivered it at the branch junction, upon the Government road, for \$2.10.

A question was asked by the hon. member for King's (Mr. Domville) about the manner of purchasing stores and selling old material. The statement he then made was correct—that it had been the invariable practice to purchase all stores by tender, even the small quantities, unless for minute things in a particular hurry. For such articles as castings they had almost a permanent contract for the year, with the right to renew tenders when they pleased. It so happened, in reference to the system of tendering, that the hon. gentleman who was making the complaint of tenders not being asked for properly, received a contract for bar iron recently, being the lowest tender.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—You mean the company of which the hon. gentleman is a member?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I presume so; at all events the factory he manages. The price, I think, was \$2.37½ per 100 lbs. The practice with all smaller stores is to send slips round to all parties in the trade, and the lowest selected when they are returned. The slips are placed on file and subjected to a regular audit by the auditor of the road and to inspection by the Local and General Superintendent. Any member might look at the books any time he liked to inspect the stock. When

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quantities of rails and other old stores are to be sold tenders are invited and they are sold invariably to the highest bidder. The invitation is generally by placard and advertisement if large quantities are required, if only small quantities are wanted slips are sent to the ordinary dealers.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the member for King's had stated that a large quantity of old iron had been sold, and that he had seen no advertisement of the sale.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that was a sale of old iron at Richmond Station; notice was given both by placard and advertisement in the papers.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said the hon. member (Mr. Domville), had asked the Hon. Finance Minister to get the returns down. He alleged that he had never seen or heard of anything of the sale.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The papers were not asked for here, but in the Public Accounts Committee, and they were brought down.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—They were placed in the hands of the Chairman of the Committee.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL explained that the hon. member had gone away yesterday and had no opportunity of seeing the papers.

Mr. WOOD asked if it was a fact that a member of the House had a contract with the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It is the Holbrook Iron Co., of which the hon. member referred to is managing director. Of course that is a very different thing from a newspaper proprietor doing printing for the Government. I commend the hon. member for Hastings for his investigation.

Mr. BOWELL—Probably the hon. member for North Hastings will test the opinion of the House on that question, and he had no doubt the Hon. Minister of Public Works would do precisely what he did when he and the Hon. Minister of Justice moved his motion on a similar question—give it not only his earnest consideration, but use his eloquence and logic on what he then

termed a great principle—and record his vote accordingly.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Certainly.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought there was nothing improper in a stock company of which an hon. member might be a director or president accepting a Government contract; he did nothing contrary to the rules of the House, or that invalidated his seat. It was, however, quite different in the case of a newspaper proprietor accepting Government printing.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE quite agreed with the hon. gentleman; a member of a stock company was exempted by law from any liabilities of that kind. He did not throw the slightest reflection on the hon. member when he mentioned the fact, and if his words implied anything of the kind he had no such intention.

Mr. McKAY (Colchester) said it would be seen from the returns that there had been a large falling off in the receipts as compared with the previous year. This was a serious matter considering that it had occurred under an increased tariff. He thought the advanced tariff had been a great injury to the industry and trade of the country; it had caused several establishments to close during the season, and material intended for use was lying all along the railway. Besides, farmers in his district had gone to market with their teams solely on account of the increased rate. The tariff should be made to suit the wants of the country; by encouraging traffic in that way the receipts would increase. Then, again, the system of special freight was a grievance which should be remedied. He knew instances where a difference of \$4 had been demanded on the same class of freight. This was unfair, and had created a great deal of uneasiness and dissatisfaction. The Government should impose a reasonable and uniform tariff, so that any one could understand the freight he would have to pay, instead of being in dread of unjust discrimination.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the hon. gentleman was mistaken in thinking the revenue was less; it was \$56,469 larger in 1874-5 than in 1873-4.

The figures he first read, as had been pointed out, were fallacious. They included \$54,951 for freight, for which no cash was received; whereas, the \$861,591 of last year represented the cash receipts of the year. In regard to the special rates, the hon. gentleman would perhaps be surprised to learn that no individuals got special rates; those rates were from station to station, and everyone who had the particular class of freight to which they applied would be treated as others were. As to the general rates being too high, he could only say they were 20 to 25 per cent. lower than on any other road on the continent.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—How do they compare with those of the Grand Trunk.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They are much lower than any on the continent. Anybody can see this by looking at the table.

Mr. McKAY (Colchester) said when he referred to the decrease, he took the figures from the returns; the Hon. Minister of Public Works had given the House figures which did not appear in the returns. He maintained that his statement with regard to special rates was perfectly correct. He had made strict enquiries, and went to a station with a gentleman and inquired the freight on iron knees to a certain point. He was told \$7, but another gentleman shipped the same freight to the same place at \$2.55. That was the case on the 1st February, and he presumed it was the same still.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There is some mistake about that, and the hon. gentleman had better make the statement specifically in a letter and send it to me. If it turns out correct, we will soon call that station-master to account.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked if the Spring Hill Co. agreed to give their railroad to the Government in consideration of the latter finishing it and putting on the rails?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said the road then became a public work of the Dominion, and he would like to know if it was formally conveyed back?

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Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There was no formal conveyance of the road.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said the public money had been expended on the road, and it was just as much a public work as any other part of the Intercolonial or the Welland Canal. He held that the Government had no right to give it away. He would like the opinion of the Hon. Minister of Justice as to the legality of the transaction, and whether the Government should not have come down to the House and asked some authority or ratification of the bargain.

Mr. McLEOD said the company would gladly make a present of the road to the Government if they work it on the same tariff as they are working the Intercolonial.

In reply to a question by Hon. Mr. Langevin,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had stated that the company built the road themselves and the late Government agreed to iron and work it. The present Government put an end to that arrangement, although losing money by it, and decided to change the rails to steel. The company then agreed to work the road themselves.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN enquired whether the Minister of Public Works would inform the House of the monthly disbursements and revenue of the railway.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I will send it to the hon. gentleman.

THE WINDSOR BRANCH RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked whether the Windsor Road had been transferred to a company.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that this had not yet been done. The late Government, when he was sure they were otherwise fully occupied, had in October, 1873, made an agreement with the Western Province Railway Company; this was afterwards in the spring of 1874 embodied in an Act. It was then expected that within a year such progress would be accomplished towards Annapolis, as to justify the transference of the road; this was not the case, however. The Windsor and Annapolis road, in the meantime,

had been worked on a lease, though the company was all but insolvent, and had always been in a state of impecuniosity. It became absolutely necessary to change the gauge on this line, and also on the Windsor branch, or else to run a third rail from the Junction into Halifax. The road was in such a bad state of repair, that it was absolutely dangerous to run trains over it; and as the Government might have been legally held responsible for accidents, he was obliged to purchase 2,000 tons of iron rails to renew and render it safe for travel. The Windsor and Annapolis Company had in the meantime leased the road on the terms arranged by the late Administration; when the former were able to take it over, it would be so delivered, but no particular time was specified for the transferment.

THE PICTOU BRANCH.

In reply to an enquiry of the Hon. Mr. Mitchell respecting the Pictou Branch,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that its position was as follows:—The hon. gentleman would remember that the Government in 1874 had obtained power to make arrangements with any company for the transfer of this branch, on condition of completing the railroad eastward to the Strait of Canso, and farther, if possible, to some point on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia. The House unanimously agreed to this proposition, and a company did make an offer through the Local Government. This offer was, however, withdrawn, and no company appeared inclined to accept the transfer of the branch on condition of its extension to Louisburg, or some port in its vicinity. The Local Government and the local members of both this and the other House, seemed, moreover, to be under the impression that no company could be induced to extend the line beyond the Straits of Canso. He had suggested another plan to this effect—that the transfer should be made on condition that the company extend it to the Straits of Canso; and that if any other company would agree within a certain time to build a railway from thence to Louisburg, or some other point in that

neighbourhood, they should become *pro rata* proprietors of the Truro and Pictou Branch. He hoped that this design would be carried out. Mr. Kenealy and his colleagues had had a number of interviews with him (Mr. Mackenzie) on the subject in London, England, but he was unable to assent to their conditions for want of authority. Recently an Order in Council had passed, recommending Parliament to transfer the road on condition of its being extended to the Straits of Canso, which would be ferried, if the company accepting these terms would not undertake to build the line farther in that direction. He believed that the local Government had granted a subsidy of \$7,000 per mile to any company that would construct a line from Campbellton to Louisburg, or some other place in its vicinity.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL regretted to learn that this was the state of things. The branch from Pictou to Truro was one of the principal arteries of communication between western Canada and Halifax, and more particularly the eastern portion of Nova Scotia, and he thought that it would be exceedingly unfortunate if a portion of the line fell into the hands of a private company. A very large proportion of the flour and provisions shipped eastwards from Montreal passed over this line, and such an arrangement would add to the coast and interfere with trade very materially.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE did not think that any such trouble would arise. Traffic must pass over about 60 miles of the Government line, and the Government would control the rails and running arrangements.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL enquired what quantity of old rails were on hand, and to what extent they could be utilized for branch lines?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that he could not give an exact answer until he was in possession of correct returns. He could at present only give an approximate statement of the quantity on hand; probably it would not lay more than 65 miles of railway. A considerable quantity of them were already engaged for the Elgin and St. Martin and Upham Roads.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked how much business was done on the Monckton and Miramichi branches?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that a statement at present would hardly be fair to the District, as the Miramichi line had only been open for three months during the winter. The traffic, as indeed they had expected, had been very light, and the receipts were not quite equal to one-half the expenditure.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK protested against the promiscuous granting of rails for the use of branch lines. The Government claimed that by the reduction of the stores from \$360,000 to \$70,000, that a saving of \$230,000 had been effected.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! no! I said the interest was saved on the difference between the large and small amount.

Mr. PLUMB asked why this policy was adopted?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that they not only found the stock absolutely unnecessary, but absolutely prejudicial to the interests of the road. Vast quantities of stores had been lying there for years, and many were utterly ruined. There was no necessity for keeping so large a stock, as they could get the ordinary supplies with the greatest possible celerity from St. John or Halifax.

The item was carried.

The Committee rose and reported progress.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked if the Government intended to bring down any Supplementary Estimates.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the Supplementary Estimates would be brought down as soon as they could be got ready. That was all the information he could give.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—That is not satisfactory. I would like to know on what day they are likely to be brought down.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Supplementary Estimates, as the hon. gentleman well knows, are both for the

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current and approximate year, and it is very difficult until the last two or three days of the Session to get all the items in, and it is rather unreasonable to press for a statement of the day on which they would be brought down.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL protested against the answer of the Hon. Minister of Finance as unreasonable.

The House adjourned at Two o'clock, a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, April 7, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at three o'clock.

THE INSOLVENT ACT.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE moved that the Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1875 be referred back to Committee of the Whole to strike out clause 15.—Carried.

The Bill was reported with the amendment, which was concurred in.

Mr. CARON moved that the Bill be not now read the third time, but that it be referred back to Committee of the Whole for the purpose of making the following amendment:—

“That in the statement of liabilities and assets which the insolvent is required, under the seventeenth section of the Act hereinbefore cited, to furnish to the assignee, the insolvent shall discriminate between his liabilities to traders and to non-traders. At any time after the making of the assignment, or the issue of the writ of attachment, and previous to the first meeting of creditors, any creditor who is a non-trader may notify the assignee in writing that such is the case, and that he purposes to avail himself of the provisions of this Act; and no non-trader who shall have so notified the assignee shall be bound to accept the composition, or sign the discharge of the insolvent, but the claim of such non-trader shall nevertheless be ranked by the assignee upon the dividend sheet for a dividend or dividends in like manner as the claims of other creditors; and the receipt signed by the non-trader for such dividend shall be a receipt *pro tanto* in respect of such claim as aforesaid.

“That a non-trader—that is to say, any farmer, grazier, common laborer, workman for hire, or other person, who cannot be declared an insolvent under the Act hereinbefore cited—who has availed himself of the provisions of this Act may attend at meetings of the creditors of the insolvent, and may vote thereat in the same manner as other creditors, except that such non-trader shall not vote upon any question touching the acceptance of any offer of composition, or the granting of the discharge of the insolvent; and in calculating

the number of creditors and the amount of the claims against the insolvent upon which the acceptance of a deed of composition and discharge, or the consent to the discharge of the insolvent is based, non-traders who have availed themselves of the provisions of this Act, and the amount of their claims shall not be computed; and no deed of composition and discharge, nor any discharge from the Court or Judge shall in any way impair the right of a non-trader who has availed himself of the provisions of this Act, to recover from the insolvent any balance that may remain unpaid upon the claim of such non-trader, but the said balance may be recovered in like manner as if no proceedings in insolvency had been entered into, notwithstanding the acceptance by the non-trader of any dividend from the assignees as hereinbefore provided: *Provided always* that no non-trader shall avail himself of the provisions of this and the preceding clause in the case of an insolvent, whom such non-trader has required or forced to go into insolvency."

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said there were two grounds on which the Government desired this amendment should not pass. It was a proposition to change the Act in a vital part before it had been fairly tried. As at present advised, the Government did not see its way to assent to this amendment, inasmuch as it would practically destroy the effect of the Insolvent Act altogether. He looked to the House to vote down this amendment.

The members were called in, and a vote was taken on the amendment, which was rejected on the following division:--

YEAS:

Messieurs

Baby, Haggart,
 Barthe, Harwood,
 Béchard, Hurteau,
 Benoit, Jones (Leeds),
 Bernier, Langevin,
 Blanchet, Lanthier,
 Bourassa, Little,
 Bowell, Macmillan,
 Boyer, McCallum,
 Burpee (Sunbury), McQuade,
 Caron, Mitchell,
 Cheval, Monteith,
 Christie, Montplaisir,
 Cimon, Mousseau,
 Costigan, Orton,
 Coupal, Ouimet,
 Cuthbert, Pinsonneault,
 Daoust, Pope,
 Desjardins, Pouliot,
 Dewdney, Robitaille,
 Dugas, Rochester,
 Farrow, Roscoe,
 Ferguson, Rouleau,
 Ferris, Short,
 Fiset, Stephenson,
 Flesher, Thompson (Cariboo),
 Gaudet, Wallace (Norfolk),
 Gibsou, White (Hastings),
 Gill, White (Renfrew),
 Gillies, Wright (Ottawa),
 Greenway, Wright (Pontiac).—62.

NAYS:

Messieurs

Archibald, Jetté,
 Aylmer, Kerr,
 Bannatyne, Killam,
 Bertram, Kirk,
 Biggar, Laflamme,
 Blackburn, Lajoie,
 Blain, Laurier,
 Blake, Macdonald (Cornwall),
 Borden, MacDonald (Cap-Bret.),
 Bowman, MacDonnell (Inverness),
 Brooks, McDougall (Renfrew),
 Brown, MacKay (Cape Breton),
 Buell, McKay (Colchester),
 Burk, Mackenzie,
 Burpee (St John), McIsaac,
 Cameron (Cardwell), McLeod,
 Cameron (Victoria), Metcalfe,
 Cartwright, Mills,
 Casey, Oliver,
 Casgrain, Paterson,
 Charlton, Pelletier,
 Church, Perry,
 Cockburn, Pettes,
 Coffin, Pickard,
 Colby, Power,
 Currier, Robillard,
 Davies, Ross (Durham),
 DeCosmos, Ross (Middlesex),
 Delorme, Sriver,
 De St. Georges, Sinclair,
 Dymond, Skinner,
 Fleming, Smith (Peel),
 Flynn, Snider,
 Fraser, St. Jean,
 Fréchette, Taschereau,
 Gillmor, Thibaudeau,
 Goudge, Thompson (Welland),
 Hagar, Trow,
 Hall, Vail,
 Holton, Wallace (Albert),
 Horton, Wood,
 Huntington, Workman,
 Irving, Young.—86

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he had always been opposed to this Insolvent Law. He had opposed it whenever he thought opposition would bring about any good result. His experience had been, instead of promoting commercial integrity or success, it had had an exactly contrary effect. That was his opinion, and though he was aware no immediate good could result from expressing it, he felt it his duty to announce that he still was opposed to the Insolvent Law, and would be glad to see it removed from the Statute Book. He had voted for the amendment for the purpose of expressing his opposition, not only to the existence of the Law, but the very principles on which it was based.

The Bill as amended was then read the third time, and passed.

CONCURRENCE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved concurrence in the reports of the Committee of Supply.

On item \$10,000 for slides and booms,

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) said he observed the item for the Des Joachim works, which appeared in last year's estimates, was not revoted this year. He wished to know why it was not?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the engineer's report was as follows:—

“At present I am under the impression that a flat dam and boom will answer the purposes required, but it is impossible to give any decided opinion until I have had an opportunity of examining this portion of the river at the season of the highest water, which will be done.”

Mr. WHITE—Will the sum which appeared in the estimates last year be put in the Supplementary Estimates to be expended if the engineer considers the work should be proceeded with?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It will not. Although it is a useful work it is not looked upon as a necessary improvement.

The item was concurred in.

Item 146, providing \$37,000 for meteorological observations, including instruments, and cost of telegraphing weather warnings, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL regretted that it was not increased in order that the staff might be rendered more efficient, which at present was impossible. The United States in this connection, spent hundreds of thousands, and he hoped that the item would next year be increased.

The item was concurred in.

Item 148, providing \$23,000 for the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, Quebec, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL enquired whether the Government intended to take the management of this institution into their own hands?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied in the affirmative. As to the inmates it would be conducted precisely on the same principle as Rockwood Asylum at Kingston, under the jurisdiction of

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL.

the Local Government. Various communications had been sent to the Government of the Province of Quebec, pointing out the absolute necessity of changing the mode of admitting patients into this hospital; but he believed that no reply had been received. As soon as Parliament rose, they intended to place it on a proper footing as a Dominion Government institution, and if advantage was taken of its facilities for treating the ill, and persons who had met with accidents, for whom it was bound in no way to provide by the local authorities, their payment must be made *pro rata*.

The item was concurred in.

Item 157 being taken up,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL stated, he thought that the grant of \$500 simply to provide for expenses with the view of inspecting Prince Edward Island steamers, was excessive, as the steamers to be inspected were few in number, and the distance not so great as to necessitate the payment of so large a sum.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD replied, that the steamers were not very few in number. He presumed that it provided for contingencies and travelling expenses.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL remarked, that the Inspector for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, who performed this duty, was only required to cross to the Island to inspect five or six vessels and ferry-boats; this could be done in a week, and the amount was altogether disproportionate to the necessities of the case.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that he would call the attention of the Ministry who had charge of this department to the matter.

The item was concurred in.

Item 178, providing \$40,000 for probable expenses in connection with new treaties, being taken up,

In reply to Mr. Smith (Selkirk),

Hon. Mr. LAIRD stated, that they expected to make a treaty with the Plain Crees during the present year; and with the Indians on the line of the Pacific Railway over the Rocky Mountains.

The item was concurred in.

Item 183, providing \$50,000 for unforeseen expenses, being taken up,

In reply to Hon. Mr. Mitchell,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE explained that the services of four counsel, two senior, and two junior, had been engaged in connection with the Fisheries Commission enquiry; the former, Messrs. Doutre & Co., were paid \$1,000 each, and Thompson & Co., \$600 each. No progress had been made in this relation, as had been announced in the Speech from the Throne.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL remarked that he had noticed in the Washington correspondence of the *Philadelphia Enquirer*, the statement that the American Government had refused to appoint the third, their arbitrator, on the ground that some provision of the Washington Treaty had not been observed. He would like to know whether there was any truth in the report.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I have not seen the article, and there is absolutely nothing which I can communicate to the House on this subject at the present time.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—No progress has been made, I suppose?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No progress has been made.

The item was concurred in.

CANADIAN VESSELS IN AMERICAN WATERS.

Item 186, under head of Customs, being taken up,

Mr. CURRIER enquired whether any representations had been made to the United States Government with reference to the extraordinary charges at present levied on Canadian vessels in the American canals. The charges per barge were as follows:—Custom House at the first port of entry, \$1.60; war tax, \$4; administering oath, 20 cents; inspector's fees, for each trip, \$3; custom's dues at Whitehall for clearance, \$1.60, and light-house charges, \$1, the total being \$11.40 from Rouse's Point to Whitehall and return, while in our canals less than a dollar was paid on American barges.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE replied that these were matters lying wholly with-

in the province of American affairs, and of the American Government. No correspondence whatever with the Custom's Department had taken place on the subject. He did not see how the Government could interfere.

Mr. CURRIER thought that if there was no other remedy similar charges should be levied on American vessels in our canals. He also remarked that an American coal mining company had obtained the monopoly of bringing coal to Canada *via* this route, lumber being taken back; and in consequence, our forwarding companies were unable to obtain coal as return freight.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said that negotiations had been going on with the Federal Government in regard to the impositions placed on Canadian vessels going to New York. That correspondence was going on now, and while they could place restrictions on American vessels making use of our waters, they did not want to put any unnecessary restrictions on the trade of the Canadian people simply because they did so on the other side. The Government hoped that the correspondence which was then being proceeded with would terminate in an amicable and reciprocal traffic between the two countries.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said this was a most important subject, and recent negotiations had shown that it was not the State Government that controlled the canals, but the Federal Governments. That statement he had seen published on good authority. The late war had given rise to a bitter feeling against this country, which feeling he thought should be now removed. If Canada permitted American vessels to navigate Canadian canals, Canada ought to be granted the same privilege on American canals. He trusted the negotiations with the United States Government would be proceeded with energetically with a view of getting the required concessions made.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that the papers brought down the previous day on the subject gave the fullest information, both on the ground taken by the State and Federal Governments. The State Governments were admitted

to have control of the State canals. The State Governments had no objection to the navigation of their canals by Canadian boats, but difficulties were thrown in the way by the Federal Government.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL trusted the Government would follow up the matter energetically. The Federal Government were not only bound in honour, but by treaty, to endeavour to use their influence to obtain that concession from the State. If these concessions were not to be obtained, he thought the Canadian Government should place on American vessels coming into our waters such restrictions as they could, legitimately and fairly, for the purpose of compelling them to adopt a more liberal system in regard to Canada.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Federal Government did faithfully fulfil their obligation under the Washington Treaty to use their influence with the State Government. The State Government acceded to the request, but the Federal Government shut the Canadians out from the canals by the operation of their own laws. The Washington Treaty was so ingeniously constructed that if Canada refused to allow American vessels to navigate Canadian canals she was subject to the imposition of certain penalties, but no penalty was imposed on Americans if they did not allow Canadians to use their canals.

Mr. JONES (Leeds) said he noticed by the papers which had been brought down that no restrictions had been placed on the navigation of these canals by the State Governments. The difficulty had come from the Federal Government itself upon the authority of an old law passed in 1799. But it was stated in these papers that a law had been passed in 1850, by which the former law had been abrogated, or by which the old law could be over-riden, and compel the carrying out of the Washington Treaty. The principal reason the American Government gave for their present action was that Canada had no right whatever to the navigation of their rivers and canals in the interior of their country, and that Canada had a right only to the navigation of those waters and canals

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

which lay contiguous to the Canadian boundary lines. The 27th clause of the Treaty, on which the contention was grounded, ran as follows:—"And the "several canals connected with the "navigation of the lakes and rivers "traversed by or contiguous to the "boundary line between the possess- "ions of the high contracting parties." The Americans held that Canadian vessels could not go further than the first port of entry where they must make their entry and unload. He was glad the Government had taken action in this matter, but he was afraid their negotiations would not be brought to a favourable termination.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) would ask the Hon. Minister of Customs if it was intended to establish Customs stations on the Doulin near to Barton, and on the Peace River District where it joins British Columbia. He would remind the Hon. Minister of Customs that the Premier had stated in the House some time back that duties to the extent of several thousand dollars had been collected within the past year in the Bow River District of the country--and it is well known that supplies to a considerable extent are brought into the territory by way of Minsa and Barton. It is also reported that an English merchant, having a business connection with the North-West, proposes this ensuing summer to have his goods entered for sale in the Saskatchewan District introduced by that route, and in view of this he trusted the Hon. Minister would consider whether there ought not to be a regular Customs station there, as well as on the Peace River, by which latter channel supplies were also taken in to no small extent.

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said this was something new, and the matter would be looked into carefully.

The item was concurred in.

EXCISE.

On item No. 187, appropriating \$235,800 for Excise Department,

Hon. Mr. BURPEE said he desired to state, in answer to a question put to him in regard to the reduction of the salary of the collector of Inland Revenue at Monckton, New Brunswick,

from \$700 to \$600, that that officer was appointed in July, 1870, at a salary of \$500 a year; and in July, 1871, the factory ceased a portion of its operations. In the month of July, 1872, his salary was increased from \$500 to \$700, notwithstanding that his labours were reduced. The Government, therefore, considered they were justified in making the reduction.

The item was concurred in.

CULLER'S FEES.

On item No. 188, appropriating \$81,500 for salaries, culler's fees and contingent expenses,

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) called attention to the excessive charges made in this branch. The Hon. Finance Minister had stated last year that the receipts of the Quebec office were very little in excess of the expenditure. He found by examining the public accounts that the receipts in the Quebec office were \$86,486, whilst the expenditure was \$77,465; leaving an excess of upwards of \$9,000. As the season of navigation was about to open, he thought it would be extremely desirable that the fees should be put on such a basis, as early as possible, that they would only meet the expenditure required.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that his former statement was made whilst under a slight misconception as to the receipts. He had called the attention of the Secretary of State for the Provinces to the matter, and he had promised to give it his early attention.

Mr. CURRIER wished the Hon. Premier to direct his attention to the Culler's office at Quebec. He was sure that if the Hon. Premier did so he would find some other mode of carrying on this office than that which already existed. The management could be so changed as to reduce the expenditure by one-half, without interfering with the efficiency of the service.

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) said when this was up before he had urged the Government to abolish the office and allow free trade in this matter. He found many in the trade approved of that idea. Some of the largest firms doing business on the Ottawa and its

tributaries never employed the cullers of this office when they could avoid doing so.

Mr. WHITE (Renfrew) said the object for which this office was established was to prevent disputes between buyers and sellers. It would be a great misfortune if it were abolished. Although there were many abuses in the office, he would be very sorry indeed to see it taken from under the supervision of the Government.

Mr. CURRIER said he did not think it was possible to abolish the office. The Government required it to keep a check of the lumber that went down. The office could, no doubt, be greatly improved, and the charges reduced.

The item was concurred in.

POST OFFICES.

On item \$1,732,500, for post-offices,

Mr. WRIGHT (Pontiac) urged the Government to secure an additional thirty feet for the lane back of the new post office at Ottawa. It would not only give greater security to the building, but it would induce holders of property on the West side of it to put up good structures.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there was a very wide and handsome street opposite the Parliament buildings and the people of Ottawa had put up a row of shanties on it.

Mr. WRIGHT had no doubt the owners of the property referred to had done the best they could. The people of Ottawa had shown themselves able to erect as good buildings as the Premier's constituents owned.

Mr. CURRIER did not think it was necessary to have the thoroughfare wider than forty feet, but thirty feet was too narrow.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government had bought all they intended to use. If the parties who owned the adjacent property wished to give 30 feet of it for a street, the Government would consider whether the 30 feet that belonged to them would be added to it for thoroughfare. At present it was intended to enclose it.

The item was concurred in.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

On the item \$72,000 for salaries of 92 inspectors of weights and measures,

Mr. GORDON complained of the smallness of salaries paid to those officials. Five or six hundred dollars was not enough for their services. He hoped the Government would increase the appropriation.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was not intended that the persons engaged in this work should be engaged all the time at it. The Government did not expect the fees would at all recoup them for the amount they would have to pay in salaries.

Mr. GORDON—The fees now charged are much higher than under the Local Government.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—They are not going to meet the expenditure, however.

In reply to Hon. Mr. Langevin,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that it would never do to give large salaries in small towns; in large cities, however, it might be different. In the country districts, for the inspection of weights and measures, \$500 would be the minimum; and this amount would vary to \$1,000, according to the extent of population.

The item was concurred in.

GAS INSPECTION.

Item 191, providing \$18,600 for the salaries of 32 Gas inspectors, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL remarked that it was a new item, and enquired whether this expenditure would be recouped by fees?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that it was impossible, at present, to know what the fees would be. This would depend in a large measure upon the extent to which the inhabitants of towns chose to avail themselves of the services of inspectors, of whom as yet very few had been appointed.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Are appointments to be made in every town that has a gasometer?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I do not think that this will be done. These officers will be appointed as necessity requires.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Do the fees come into the Treasury?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Yes. The item was concurred in

TELEGRAPH LINES.

Item 201, providing for the payment of \$194,666, for telegraph lines between Prince Edward Island and the mainland being taken up,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK remarked that the Premier had promised to bring down the contract in this relation.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I did, supposing that there was a contract; but I find that the payment is necessary under the terms of Union.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—Is it settled in the terms of Union?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK—And how was it that it was never paid before?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I suppose that it must have been paid under general telegraphic expenses. I asked Mr. Langton for an explanation, but I have not seen him since.

The item was concurred in.

At six o'clock the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

THE TELEGRAPH LINE ON THE INTER-COLONIAL.

Mr. GOUDGE asked whether the Montreal Telegraph Company have the privilege of constructing a line of telegraph, for general purposes, upon the Intercolonial Railway from the Province of Quebec to Nova Scotia? If so, whether the privilege is confined to the Montreal Telegraph Company? Have the above-named Company built, and are they operating a line upon said Railway? What were the conditions upon which (if granted) the privilege was given, and if they have fulfilled these conditions?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The Montreal Telegraph Company have the exclusive privilege by perpetual contract with the Government, entered into three or four years ago, to construct a line of telegraph along the Intercolonial Railway. That privilege has been

exercised, the Government paying a certain proportion per mile—my impression is \$16 per mile. This amount has been paid, and the Montreal Telegraph Company have the right by the specific agreement regularly entered into with the Government of operating the line. On some portions of the road the Western Union Co. have a line also, but I presume they work in harmony with the Montreal Telegraph Co. The precise conditions I have no objection to state, and I am willing to bring down the papers if anyone wants them. We cannot terminate the contract with the company except by purchase. The Dominion Telegraph Co., some months ago, applied for the right to erect a line along the Intercolonial, but I did not feel we could grant their request without terminating the existing contract.

Mr. GOUDGE—How is it the Western Union has a line there?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I presume by agreement with the Montreal Telegraph Co.

Mr. GOUDGE—How is it they do work cheaper for the Government than for the public?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—They are bound to do the railway work without charge.

THE CARNARVON SETTLEMENT.

Mr. DECOSMOS asked whether any despatches or telegrams have been received from Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies respecting the Address to Her Majesty the Queen, from the Legislative Assembly and Government of British Columbia, forwarded February last, urging Her Majesty's Imperial Government to move the Dominion Government to carry out the Carnarvon settlement in reference to the Pacific Railway? If so, what is the nature of the said telegrams, despatches, etc.; and will they be laid before the House this Session?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There is no despatch that can be laid before the House this Session.

SOREL CUSTOM HOUSE.

Mr. BARTHE moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General

for copies of any petition, correspondence or other documents in the hands of the Government in favour of the building of a Custom House in the town of Sorel, district of Richelieu.—Carried.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY.

Mr. OUIMET moved for an order of the House for copies of all official correspondence and of all instructions issued in relation to the completion or finishing of the building and outbuildings of the Penitentiary of St. Vincent de Paul (Quebec), and in relation to the building of a house for the keepers and employés of the said Penitentiary; also a statement shewing the amount expended for repairs on the residence of the Warden of the said Penitentiary—the whole from the establishment of the said Penitentiary to 1st January, 1876.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he could only agree to this motion in a qualified way. He had no objection to bring down all that was necessary to give the information the hon. gentleman wanted as to the expenditure and other points, but he would not bring down everything.

Mr. OUIMET said his object was to know whether the Government had decided to finish the addition to the building in order to avoid the necessity of transferring the convicts to Kingston.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government were making preparations for building the wing.

The motion was carried.

MONTREAL HARBOUR COMMISSION.

Mr. OUIMET moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement of all salaries, fees and indemnity paid by the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal to any member or employé of the said Harbour Commission since 1872.—Carried.

LICENSING OF ENGINEERS.

Mr. COOK moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all correspondence with the Quebec Board of Trade, Mr. Risley, the Chairman of the Board of Steam-

boat Inspection, and the Government in reference to the passage of an Act for the Licensing of Engineers elsewhere than on Steamboats.—Carried.

TONNAGE DUES IN AMERICAN PORTS.

Mr. NORRIS moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for all correspondence between the Government of Canada and the United States, in reference to the regulations imposed compelling foreign vessels to call and report at Duncan City, in the Straits of Mackinaw, before being allowed to enter Lake Michigan; also in reference to the payment of tonnage dues on all foreign vessels in American ports.—Carried.

PACIFIC RAILWAY CONTRACT NO. 15.

Mr. HIGINBOTHAM moved for an Order of the House for copies of all tenders for the construction of contract No. 15 Canadian Pacific Railway; also all correspondence with reference thereto, together with copies of instructions, if any, issued by the Department of Public Works to the Engineer in charge having reference to said contract.—Carried.

SECTION EIGHT,—INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. FISET moved for an Order of the House for copies of all correspondence between the workmen on section 8 of the Intercolonial Railway and the Government, in relation to the non-payment of their wages for work done under the direction of John O'Donnell, agent of Duncan McDonald, contractor for the said section; copies of their sworn accounts transmitted to the Department of Public Works by divers persons; also copies of all correspondence which may have passed between the Government and the Superintendent of Dominion Railways for the Government, between the Government and the parties interested.—Carried.

THE CHARGES AGAINST JUDGE LORANGER.

On the order being called for the motion for a Committee to enquire into the charges alleged in the petitions respecting Judge Loranger,

Mr. COOK.

Mr. BECHARD said he would not, at this late period of the Session, proceed with a motion involving so important an investigation; but he gave the House an assurance that the subject would be brought up next Session.

THE RAILWAY STATION AT BIC PARISH.

Mr. FISET moved for an Order of the House for the correspondence between the Government or the Intercolonial Railway Commissioners, and the interested parties of the Parish of Bic, with reference to the change of the site of the Railway station at the said place; also for the correspondence between the interested parties of the parish of St. Octave de Métis, and neighbouring parishes, and the Government asking that the station of St. Octave be placed in a more convenient situation.—Carried.

THE ALASKA BOUNDARY LINE.

Mr. ROSCOE moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General, for copies of all correspondence between this Government and the Government of the United States regarding the settlement of the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the correspondence was of a semi-private nature, and he was not sure whether it could be brought down.

The motion was carried.

THE DISTRESS AMONG THE FISHERMEN

Mr. CIMON moved for an Order of the House for all correspondence with the Department of Marine and Fisheries, in the course of last autumn, in the matter of the distress among the fishermen of the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, and the replies of the Department to such correspondence.—Carried.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY AT SOREL.

Mr. BARTHE moved for an Order of the House for copies of all correspondence of whatsoever nature, telegrams, &c., between the Government and the Reverend M. Dupré, priest, Curé of Sorel, President of the Board of the Directors of the Classical and Commercial College, Sorel, Robert Sewell, S. Hayden, Esquire, Provincial

Land Surveyor, and any other person; of any report by the said Hayden or any other person, respecting offer to purchase a piece of land belonging to the Government, situated in the town of Sorel, by the Corporation of the said College of Sorel, together with copies of all communications from any person whomsoever, of whatsoever nature, in relation to this matter, between Colonel Coffin, an employé of the Government, or any other employé of the Government and any other person whomsoever, residing in the town of Sorel or elsewhere, in relation to the said offer to purchase the said piece of land.—Carried.

DREDGING AT LAKE ST. CLAIR.

Mr. STEPHENSON moved for an Order of the House for a return of all expenditure in detail incurred in dredging a channel at the entrance of the Chenal Ecarté, into Lake St. Clair; also, the dredging at Johnson's Bend, as well as in the River Sydenham, together with the Engineer's Reports connected therewith.—Carried.

THE POSTMASTER AT GLENCOE.

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) moved for an Order of the House for copies of all the evidence taken by the Post Office Inspector in regard to charges brought against the Postmaster at Glencoe, together with all reports made to the Post Office Department in connection therewith.—Carried.

COUNTY OF LOTBINIERE.

The third reading of the Bill entitled an Act to detach a certain portion of the County of Lotbinière and to annex it to the County of Beauce, being moved,—

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN moved that it be not read the third time, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the whole House to be amended as follows :—

“Whereas the parish of St. Séverin, in the county and district of Beauce, including therein a portion of the seigniory of Beaurivage, in the county of Lotbinière, has lately been constituted, and whereas the said parish of St. Séverin forms a separate and distinct municipality, and it is expedient to detach the said portion of the seigniory of Beaurivage from the county or electoral district of Lotbinière and to attach it to the county or

electoral district of Beauce, for the purposes of representation in the House of Commons; Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows :—

From and after the coming into force of this Act, that portion of the municipality of the parish of St. Séverin, now forming part of the County of Lotbinière for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, shall be detached from the said county of Lotbinière, and shall be annexed to the county of Beauce for the purposes of representation in the House of Commons.”

Mr. JONES (Leeds) explained that he had opposed the second reading of the Bill, on the ground that Bills of this nature should not be brought in by private members, for if hon. gentlemen began changing their constituencies, to suit their own convenience, he did not know where this would end. It had been said that there was a precedent for it in the proceedings of the Parliament of 1873; but the precedent was bad; and he had objected to the measure because he had frequently heard rumours about the House, to the effect that alterations were to be proposed with regard to electoral districts in Ontario. Constituencies in Quebec were, however, to a certain extent different from those in the sister Province; and under present circumstances he withdrew his opposition.

The amendment being carried, the House went into Committee of the Whole. The Bill was reported with the amendment, which being read the first and second time, and concurred in, the Bill was read the third time, and passed.

CONCURRENCE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved concurrence in the reports of Committee of Supply.

THE WELLAND CANAL.

On item No. 87, appropriating \$2,000,000 for the work of construction on the Welland Canal,

Mr. McCALLUM said he was of opinion that it would be much cheaper to raise the masonry of the locks during construction, so as to prepare for a fourteen feet draught, instead of a twelve feet draught. He wished to know whether it was the intention of the Government to do this, as it could be done much cheaper now than after-

wards; and, also, if they intended to build a new aqueduct across the Welland River or deepen the existing one. He asked whether the Government intended to deepen and complete the feeder, as formerly intended. It was totally useless as it was, and unless about \$100,000 more was spent upon it the money which had already been expended would be lost to the country.

He also wished to get information in regard to the rock excavations—if they would be able to complete this work within a reasonable time, and at a reasonable expense—and wanted to know why the work was not let before.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not think the Government intended to deepen the feeder. They expected to get the rock excavations at Port Colborne executed as soon as possible. It was intended to deepen the aqueduct so that it would allow 14 feet of water ultimately, and this work would be placed under contract as soon as the engineer could get his plans ready. It was not the intention of the Government to construct any of the works for 14 feet that could as well be done afterwards. In places where it was necessary to do any sinking to attain the depth of 14 feet the excavation would be done.

Mr. McCALLUM contended that the rock cutting was a work that ought to have been let because it would take a long time to complete it, and it was questionable whether the work could be done at anything like reasonable expense. Mr. Page in his report on this subject said as to the aqueduct, it was questionable whether they could obtain a depth of 12 feet without injuring the present structure, and he thought it would be better to build a new aqueduct at once than to make these alterations at an expenditure which would be thrown away. Now, in regard to the feeder, the action of the Government had been the means of squandering \$150,000 or \$200,000 of the people's money. Mr. Page said on this point:—

“During seasons of very low water there are, however, occasionally for short periods, less than 12 feet of water on the present lock-sills at Port Colborne. It is therefore proposed when increasing the length of that

structure, or building another one, to lower the sills say 12 inches.

“The contemplated depth of the aqueduct can be obtained by cutting down the crown of the arches from ten to twelve inches for a space of about 20 feet in the centre of the channel through it.

“This can be done without injuring the stability of the structure, if strong bands of wrought iron are let into the stone, extended down into the haunches of the respective arches, and throughout well fastened to the masonry.

“The space above mentioned might then be covered between the abutments with heavy plate iron, well fastened to bands and bearers and otherwise secured so as to prevent displacement from any cause whatever.

“By adopting this course the present aqueduct can be made available for the passage of vessels of the full draft of the enlarged canal, and in this way one of the chief difficulties in carrying out the enlargement at this important point would be obviated at a very moderate outlay.

“Means must, however, be provided for supplying a large volume of water for canal service than could pass through the aqueduct.

And again Mr. Page says:—

“It is, however, important that the feeder should be thoroughly cleaned out, the bottom lowered about two feet, and some additional passing places made.

“By doing this, it is believed that a much greater volume of water could be drawn from the Grand River at its low stages, even in dry seasons, and in this way the difficulties hitherto arising from short supply would doubtless in a great degree be obviated. In case of a wet season occurring during the enlargement of the main line, the deepening of the feeder would admit of the trade passing temporarily by that route, as was done when the construction of the present canal was in progress.

“By adopting this course, it is probable that the work connected with the rock cutting below Port Colborne, instead of being confined to the winter months of several years, might be carried on at least one year continuously, and would greatly facilitate the operations and enable the pressing demand of the trade to be met at the earliest possible period.

“From this lock to Stone Bridge, and below the latter place, there are rock cuttings, in the aggregate fully $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, and 58 feet in width, the bottoms of which are from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet higher than the present mitre sill of the lock. To deepen this will be a work of great difficulty, and will require several winters for its performance, as the cuts are so situated that water pours in in every direction from fissures in the rock, and no drainage from them can be formed within the limits of anything like a reasonable expense. It will therefore be necessary to divide the work into short sections by means of coffer-dams, and have powerful steam pumps at each end of a section so as to unwater it. In

Mr. McCALLUM.

fact, it may fairly be assumed that the indispensable unwatering of the work will cost fully as much as the actual cost of removing the rock."

The Hon. Minister of Public Works had told the House last year, in answer to a question by the hon. member for Toronto, that this work was to be finished by 1876, and yet they had the statement of the engineer that it would take several years to finish works that had not at the present been commenced. It was doubtful to his mind whether they would be able to excavate the rock or not, but he thought they should go to work at once deepening the feeder as was recommended in the engineer's report. \$100,000 more expended on the feeder would be well expended. He was of opinion that it would be years before the carrying trade of the country would be able to take advantage of the benefits accruing to commerce by the enlargement—and the present Government is very much to blame in this matter.

Mr. NORRIS was satisfied that the Welland Canal would in future have to be deepened to the extent of 14 feet, and he would suggest that while they were building the banks of the canal they should build them so as to allow a depth of 14 feet, as they could not be so well raised afterwards as at the present time. If they did not do this, a large sum would be lost in casting aside the lock gates. He hoped this would be taken into consideration. As to the water in the feeder, he agreed that the money that had been expended there had been thrown away, but the hon. member for Monck forgot to tell the House, when he was speaking on the subject, that a large portion of that work was done before the present Government came into power at all. He had no confidence in the scheme when it was proposed by the late Government, and it had turned out as he had anticipated.

Mr. McCALLUM did not wish to deny that the work was commenced by the late Government, and that undertaking was creditable to them, but it was commenced at the recommendation of their own engineer, and he supported the Government in their Canal policy long before the hon.

member for Lincoln had a seat in this House.

The item was concurred in.

THE PARLIAMENT GROUNDS.

On item No. 66, appropriating \$331,000 for the Public Buildings at Ottawa,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked what course the Government intended to pursue in regard to the embellishment of the grounds in front of this building.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that immediately in front of the terrace wall would be simply grass. Some trees would be placed in the open angles between the departmental buildings and the central building. Around the building gardens would be laid out, but it was deemed advisable to have an unbroken lawn in front.

The item was concurred in.

MILITIA.

On item No. 12 appropriating \$20,000 for drill pay and other incidental expenses connected with the drill and training of the Militia,

Hon. Mr. VAIL explained in regard to the cloth that had been selected for the uniforms that some of it had not given satisfaction.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—Is that the grey cloth manufactured at Cobourg?

Hon. Mr. VAIL replied that it was not. The cloth he referred to was the scarlet and green which had been manufactured at Cornwall and Ottawa. So far as he could learn, the grey cloth manufactured at Cobourg had turned out satisfactorily, but it had been found that the red cloth could not be dyed nearly so well in Canada or the United States as in England.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) submitted that if an inferior article was manufactured in Canada, the defect must be in the dye. It would be only fair to our manufacturers to afford them an opportunity for seeing whether they could produce good scarlet cloth or not.

In reply to Mr. Bowell.

Hon. Mr. VAIL stated that every yard of the cloth had been inspected by Mr. Fingland, a merchant of Ottawa,

who had performed this duty in the most satisfactory manner. The services of a military tailor, who was employed in the Department of the Minister of Justice, had also been obtained in this connection. The cost had been light.

Mr. BOWELL—What did Mr Fingland receive?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—\$800.

Mr. BOWELL—How long was he employed?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—I cannot say.

Mr. BOWELL—Had he a clerk?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—He had an assistant for a short time.

Mr. BOWELL—What did he obtain?

Hon. Mr. VAIL—\$320.

The item was concurred in.

Item 66 being taken up,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN hoped that a company of artillery at Gaspé, which had been waiting for guns for four years, would be shortly supplied with them. The officers had passed through the Military and Gunnery Schools in Quebec. When he was in office, the application was made, but could not be satisfied at the time, though the guns were promised as soon as the Government had any at their disposal for this purpose. He hoped that the matter would be taken into consideration.

The item was concurred in.

PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Item 83, relative to the Pacific Railway being taken up,

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) stated that he had taken occasion to express his opinions in this relation, when the House was in Committee of Supply. There was but one opinion on his side of the House; and this was, that faith should be kept with British Columbia. He was also exceedingly anxious that no undue burdens should be thrown on the people; and so strongly did he possess this feeling that he wished to place his views on record—and, accordingly, he moved that there be added the following words:—

“But while granting this sum this House desires to record its view, that the arrangements for the construction of the Canadian

Hon. Mr. VAIL.

Pacific Railway shall be such as the resources of the country will permit, without increasing the existing rates of taxation.”

Mr. PLUMB did not doubt that the hon. gentleman was personally sincere in his desire to prosecute the building of this railway. He was very glad to say that the policy proposed had been adopted by the late Government, and expressly stipulated in all the arrangements they effected with regard to this great national work. In subsequent legislation this very important clause was conspicuous by its absence; and in the preamble of the Act of 1874, special reference was made to increased taxation as necessary to meet the expense to be incurred in the prosecution of this important undertaking. There was no recognition in it of the cardinal principle of the Act of 1872. The railway should be built from ocean to ocean within our own territories in the interest of the people of this country; and this the latter demanded. They never supposed, expected, or intended, as far as he was aware of the intentions of the late Government, to embarrass in any way the public credit, or place undue burdens upon our population, in order to build this line. He believed that it was admitted that the portion between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains could be built at less cost than was estimated when the Act of 1874 was passed; indeed it has been stated that with the present price of material and labour it could be constructed for less than \$18,000 a mile, but if it was located and ready for contract to-morrow, he undertook to say that, under the obscure terms of the Act of 1874, no one could be induced to tender for it. If the Government were in earnest as to building this road—and he had very grave doubts about it—he, knowing something of railway enterprise and of railway contracts, did not hesitate to say that it would be impossible for an ordinary contractor to understand the statutes clearly enough to make a close tender. He would be compelled to tender high in order to make himself safe. If the Administration were willing to take advantage of the present opportunity when the price of railway material was low, as they seemed to be, of the low price of steel rails in 1874, he

had no doubt that low offers would be made, if invited, for the building of the road, as would almost render their refusal impossible.

In view of the number of railroads being built across the continent he could not see why there was such persistence in urging the difficulties in the way of constructing our Pacific Railroad. The Union Pacific had proved a success, notwithstanding the fact that it passed through a country inferior to ours. Population followed railroads, and it was only by running a road to our great North-West that we could get any adequate return from it.

Mr. DECOSMOS said the future historian of the Canadian Parliament would treat this resolution with perfect contempt. Its mover would be regarded as one who was willing to repudiate the solemn obligation of the Dominion with one of its provinces.

Mr. ROSS—No! no!

Mr. DECOSMOS said the question of taxation should never be taken into consideration in carrying out the obligations of the country. Taxation could only reach a certain maximum. If it exceeded that, it became oppression. It never was the wish of the people of British Columbia that such a burden should be placed on the Dominion. Year after year the resolution passed by the late Government had cropped up and been represented as part of the terms of Union. The Minister of Justice had denied the correctness of that idea, yet one of his followers came forward now with an amendment which was equivalent to repudiation. If it did not mean that, it was worthless.

The speech of the Premier was excellent, but when the hon. gentleman took his seat he left the House in a fog. He had not said where the railway would be commenced on the Pacific coast. The hon. gentleman gave new evidences every day of an intention to build the road, but he should state where it would begin and whether work would be commenced this year. The hon. member for Yale had put down the entire cost of building the road from the Ottawa to the Pacific coast at \$71,000,000. That was undoubtedly a more correct estimate than

had been hitherto made by other members; but when he stated the portion west of that, extending to Victoria, would cost \$27,500,000, he greatly exaggerated the cost. It would cost half that amount. The hon. member for Yale had also stated that Burrard Inlet was a better harbour than Bute Inlet. It so happened, however, that it could not be entered like other harbours. For the *Vancouver Pilot*, issued by the Admiralty, says:—

“The strength of the tide in the narrowest part of the First Narrows is from 4 to 8 knots. The only directions for a steamer are to keep the south shore aboard and to be quick and careful with the helm; small craft may go through with ease, the tide being favourable; to a sailing ship a knowledge of the locality is necessary as well as a commanding breeze, and should never be attempted with the full strength of the stream.”

There were two large saw mills from which a large quantity of lumber was shipped. Vessels came to anchor off Victoria in the first place, were tugged into Burrard Inlet, and when they had received their cargo they were tugged into the Straits of Fuca opposite Victoria, or into the open ocean. That was conclusive against Burrard Inlet that it was not a first-class port, suitable for the terminus of the Pacific Railroad. If it were suitable for a terminus, vessels would never take a tug to reach it and leave it, whether with or without a cargo. This is the best evidence that Burrard Inlet is unsuitable. The hon. member for Yale had referred to Bute Inlet, and he would read his utterances on the subject. They were as follows:—

“Last year Admiral Cochrane made a trip to it in a small gunboat, admirably suited for this purpose, in company of Lieutenant Governor Trutch, and on his way the former remarked that if Bute Inlet became the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway it would be impossible for the Eastern trade to pass by it, as accommodation for steamers 300 or 400 feet in length should exist, and it was difficult for that small boat to make the passage.”

He desired to call the attention of the House to the statement of the *Vancouver Island Coast Pilot* which said:—“The harbour at the head of the inlet is about two miles in extent.” Now, it was a great absurdity to state that a vessel 300 or 400 feet long could not move round in a harbour two miles in extent. He knew Admiral Cochrane too well to

suppose he made such a statement; so there must be some misapprehension on the subject, inasmuch as a vessel of that size could move round in Waddington Harbour as easily as she could in the harbour of San Francisco. The hon. gentleman had also said that Burrard Inlet was approachable at any time; but the statement he (Mr. DeCosmos) had made on a former occasion as to vessels going there for lumber, proved conclusively that, in the judgment of ship captains and shipowners, it was not approachable at any time. The hon. gentleman had made another statement as reported in the *Montreal Gazette*, that the delta of the Fraser contained 11,500,000 acres of arable land. He hoped the hon. gentleman would withdraw that statement. He knew the delta of the Lower Fraser well, and in his judgment there were not more than 1,000 square miles, or 640,000 acres. He did not think there should be any exaggeration in regard to the resources of the country. The hon. gentleman had also said: "He would refer to the British Columbia question generally; he deeply regretted the step taken by the hon. gentleman from Victoria last week, and he thought that this hon. gentleman's resolution deserved its fate." That was candid on the hon. gentleman's part, but at the same time he was satisfied the people of British Columbia would think differently. The hon. gentleman had further stated that "it was well known when the contract of the late Administration failed, that it would be impossible to carry out the terms of the union. It had been stated that unless the resolution of which they had heard so much, had been inserted, the Address to her Majesty would not have been passed." He, however, knew as a fact that the leader of the late Government, when the House was summoned in October, 1873, was in favour of constructing that railway as a Dominion public work. They had heard it stated by the hon. member for Charlevoix, that the road should be constructed by a company with a subsidy of \$30,000,000 and \$50,000,000 acres of land; and he had no doubt the hon. gentleman had an object to serve when he made the

Mr. DeCosmos.

statement. His party apparently were afraid that if it were constructed as a Dominion Public Work it would place in the hands of the Government so much patronage that they would be able to retain office as long as they desired. In reference to Governor Trutch, the hon. gentleman had said:

"It had been alleged that the said Government was forced to assent to the passage of this resolution, and he believed that this declaration had never been contradicted, and he had heard both members from Victoria say that they had the authority of Lieutenant Governor Trutch for the statement that he (Mr. Trutch) had never been in a position to give his consent to this resolution."

There were two witnesses, members of the House, against the hon. member for Yale, in regard to this statement, and he would leave it to the House to decide with whom lay the weight of evidence. He was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman state that he (Mr. DeCosmos) had said he had never heard of the resolution with respect to taxation. The hon. gentleman was incorrect. He had never made that statement, for he well remembered having read the resolution as soon as the papers containing the debates of Parliament came to British Columbia. As far as the Legislature of British Columbia was concerned, when they passed the address they knew nothing of the resolution, and they were not then bound by it, nor were they at the present time. The hon. member had further said that the petition to the Queen that resulted in the Carnarvon settlement was carried at a large meeting packed by Mr. Walkem's friends. It so happened however, that the Treasurer of the present Local Government was a member of that league, and had advocated the position taken by the Walkem Government in the hon. gentleman's own constituency whilst on a special mission. The existing Local Government had endorsed the same thing, but so far as he (Mr. DeCosmos) was individually concerned, he always thought the wisest course would have been to have come to the Federal Government and let by-gones be by-gones and endeavour to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion before going to England. With respect to the construction of a railway he would say that there had been

a great deal of disappointment and loss to the Province through the non-commencement of the work. He showed that the terminus selected for the Northern Pacific Railway only contained one or two houses, whereas, had the Northern Pacific Railway Co. decided at the start where the terminus should be, they might have had a large town there now, and be deriving a large revenue from the town lots sold to settlers. The same thing, the vacillation with respect to the terminus in British Columbia, affected Victoria to-day. Had the Government carried out the original policy fixing the terminus at Esquimalt, he had no doubt that the population of Victoria to-day would have been double what it is. The statement of the hon. member for Chalevoix that Esquimalt was the only point for the terminus of this road, would meet with the hearty sympathy of the people of British Columbia. With regard to the question of routes, the Fraser River route he found had been abandoned. The question then was narrowed down to the Bute Inlet route and the route by way of Dean's Channel. If the Government were foolish enough to bring the railroad to Dean's Channel they would affect little or no good for the Province of British Columbia, but some of the greatest benefits would be derived by the Dominion if Bute Inlet were selected. Bute Inlet was so situated in respect to Vancouver Island that vessels going to China or Japan might pass through Johnson's Straits to Queen Charlotte Sound as easily and as quickly as from Dean's Inlet through Milbank Sound. If the road were taken to Bute Inlet it would pass through the best and most accessible portion of British Columbia, where settlement could be easily effected. The region to the north of Seymour Narrows was rich in coal, iron and other minerals. The climate there was not surpassed in any country, not even in England. If it ran by Dean's Channel it would not so benefit and ensure the settlement of the country. If this were accomplished it would be an unfortunate act on the part of the Government, as the land in that quarter was sterile. If the line was taken to Bute Inlet, the Government might afterwards at any time

extend it to the head of the inlet, to Vancouver Island. From Nanaimo to the head of Bute Inlet was a water stretch which the Government might utilise. If the road was brought to Dean Channel, the transpacific business would not be so large as if it was run to Alberni or Esquimalt. The Japanese current flowed into and almost struck the shore of Vancouver's Island nearly opposite, thus making it most favourable to ships passing eastwardly from Yokohama or Hong Kong to Esquimalt; while, if going westward, they would have to, undoubtedly, go south of the Japanese current, as did the Pacific mail steamship running to China and Japan, which took this route in order to enjoy milder weather. The prevailing winds were, besides, in favour of vessels passing westward along the south route. If the Government fixed the terminus at Alberni and Esquimalt, it would not only be in the interests of the Province of British Columbia and of the Dominion, but also of the commerce of the world. He hoped that the Government would obtain the sanction of Parliament before the Session closed to the commencement at an early date of the railway within the Province of British Columbia.

The members were then called in, the House divided, and the amendment was carried on the following division:—

YEAS :

Messieurs

Archibald,	Lajoie,
Aylmer,	Landerkin,
Baby,	Langevin,
Bain,	Langlois,
Bannatyne,	Lanthier,
Barthe,	Laurier,
Béchar,	Little,
Benoit,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Biggar,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Blackburn,	McDonald (C. Breton),
Blake,	MacDonnell (Invern'ss)
Blanchet,	Macdougall (Elgin),
Borden,	McDougall (3 Rivers),
Bourassa,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Bowell,	McKay (Colchester),
Bowman,	Mackenzie,
Boyer,	Macmillan,
Brown,	McCallum,
Buell,	McCraney,
Burk,	McGregor,
Burpee (St. John),	McIntyre,
Burpee (Sunbury),	McIsaac,
Cameron (Victoria),	McLeod,

Caron,	McNab,
Cartwright,	McQuade,
Casey,	Masson,
Casgrain,	Metcalfe,
Cauchon,	Mills,
Charlton,	Norris,
Cheval,	Monteith,
Christie,	Montplaisir,
Church,	Mousseau,
Cimon,	Norris,
Coffin,	Oliver,
Costigan,	Orton,
Coupal,	Ouimet,
Cuthbert,	Paterson,
Daoust,	Pelletier,
Davies,	Perry,
Delorme,	Pettes,
Desjardins,	Pickard,
De St. Georges,	Pinsonneault,
DeVeber,	Plumb,
Dymond,	Power,
Ferris,	Pozer,
Fiset,	Ray,
Fleming,	Richard,
Flesher,	Robillard,
Flynn,	Robinson,
Forbes,	Robitaille,
Fréchette,	Rochester,
Galbraith,	Ross (Durham),
Gaudet,	Ross, (Middlesex),
Gibson,	Rouleau,
Gill,	Ryan,
Gillies,	Rymal,
Gillmor,	Scrivier,
Gordon,	Shibley,
Goudge,	Short,
Greenway,	Sinclair,
Hagar,	Skinner,
Haggart,	Smith (Peel),
Harwood,	Smith (Selkirk),
Higinbotham,	Snider,
Holton,	Sturton,
Horton,	Taschereau,
Hurteau,	Thibaudeau,
Irving,	Tremaine,
Jetté,	Trow,
Kerr,	Vail,
Killam,	Wallace (Albert),
Kirk,	White (Hastings),
Kirkpatrick,	Wood,
Laflamme,	Workman,
Laird,	Young.—149.

NAMES :

Messieurs

Currier,	Platt,
DeCosmos,	Pope,
Farrow,	Thompson (Cariboo),
Jones (Leeds,)	Wallace (Norfolk),
Mitchell,	Wright (Ottawa)—10.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL rose to explain why he had cast the vote he had given on this motion. He had been prevented doing this previously, and had been obliged to vote apparently against views he had supported several years ago, when this question was before the House, in connection with

the entrance of the Province of British Columbia into the Union. What was the motive which inspired the present motion?—It would be unparliamentary to state it; but he would say that he believed that its effect would be to place in the hands of the Government the right to say:—"By the vote of the Conservatives in support of the resolution of the hon. member for Middlesex, which stated to the House, that if there was the slightest increase in taxation involved in continuing the construction of this road, we are absolved from the obligation of carrying out the agreement with the Province of British Columbia." He regretted that the members of the great Conservative party, who were around him, though he had no claim on their consideration, had fallen into the trap set for them, and placed in the hands of the Cabinet a resolution which would be an excuse for inaction. He was one of those who desired to see the compact with British Columbia carried out in its integrity, in all its honesty, and to the letter. While he entertained these views, he was compelled by the force of circumstances to vote practically against them. He had voted for the admission of British Columbia into the Union; he had supported the terms in question; and he thought, that if this step had not been then taken, another flag would to-day float over Victoria and Nanaimo.

He did not blame the Government for its action; he would make no reflection on the Ministry; they might have erred, and he believed they had erred; they had been appalled by the enormous expenditure which they imagined was required to carry out this policy. They were weak-kneed; for if they had a little more firmness, stiffening in the back, self-confidence and self-reliance, they would believe in the ability of Canada to fulfil the engagements which she had contracted. If an opposite course were pursued, more confidence would be created in the outlying Provinces than to-day existed, and a better feeling would prevail between the different sections of the Dominion. He had faith in Canada's ability to carry out the compact in question.

Mr. DECOSMOS.

Hon. Gentlemen--Hear! hear!

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL--Hon. gentlemen might say hear! hear! derisively, but such a faith he possessed; and if the Government did not carry it out, the time would come, and before long, when men would take their places who would do so.

What was the present position? the Government asked the House to vote half a million for the completion of surveys, and to fulfil the terms of the engagement; and what did they find the Administration doing under these circumstances? An hon. gentleman who was known to be one of their out-and-out supporters submitted an amendment, the effect of which was practically to enable the Government to postpone indefinitely--simply because it would increase the taxation of the country--the building of this trans-continental railway. Did they not know that the Finance Minister looked with fear and trembling on the prospect for next year. Did they not know that the hon. gentleman anticipated that the imports would not equal the estimates made; and if in order to meet the expenditure required on the Pacific Railway, an additional fifty cents had to be levied on the imports, was there not sufficient in the resolution adopted to justify the Administration if they would not proceed with the construction of this line. He regretted that the representatives in this House of the great Conservative party of the country had chosen to adopt the policy of the hon. gentlemen from Middlesex. He would not say that this was suggested by the Government; he would not affirm that the Premier had advised and counselled the hon. member, and suggested the wording of the motion; but he would declare that if there was any amendment which could possibly be moved, that would play more effectively into the hands of the Administration in carrying out their do-nothing policy, it was this. He was prepared to stand almost alone in the position he had taken, though he was sorry that this was the case, but he had voted as he had done, not because he was against the carrying out of the railway policy, or in favour of the repudiation of our engage-

ments, but for the reasons he had mentioned. The resolution would be used as an excuse by the Administration, to delay indefinitely the progress of the work. He might be wrong; he trusted that he was; but he feared that he was right. He predicted that there would be next year a deficit of five millions, and he based his opinion on the views of experienced commercial men. As a member of Parliament, who was in some measure responsible for the entrance of British Columbia in Confederation, he desired to place his views on record.

Mr. OUMET regretted that he had not been able to vote with the hon. member for Northumberland. If he remembered rightly, the amendment moved by the hon. member for Middlesex, was inserted in the Act introduced some years ago with regard to the Pacific Railway. This had been done by the Conservatives, not because they were opposed to the construction of this road, but because they did not desire that the country should be overburdened with debt in consequence. They were still anxious, as a party--he would venture to say--to have this railway finished; but they did not want to have too great an expenditure incurred. For his (Mr. Ouimet's) part he had voted for the amendment for the reasons he stated, and because he regarded it as a want of confidence motion against the Government and their project. The Government had voted against themselves, and in such a way that they could not build the road which they had Session after Session asked the House to vote millions to survey. The Government knew it would require a large amount of money to carry out their project, and an increase of taxation would be necessary, and the result of the adoption of this amendment would be to stop the work. The Government, by their actions in the past, had shown they were not in earnest--they did not want to build the road. They had abandoned the through route and were constructing one which would be useless for seven months in the year, and which, the Premier admitted, would have to be replaced with another. The Conservative Party were consistent. By their policy they would have built the road

without increasing the rate of taxation. The hon. gentlemen opposite, however, after expending millions every year on surveys and declaring their intention to build the road, had put themselves in a position that would prevent them from prosecuting the work.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto) felt that the hour was late, the House impatient, and the subject exhausted. The resolution affirmed "that the arrangement for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be such as the resources of the country would permit without increasing existing rate of taxation."

If he understood the remarks of the hon. member for Northumberland, they meant that this country should undertake obligations beyond its resources, and should be subjected to rates of taxation which would be oppressive. Much had been said about the cost of the road. He was not going to discuss its cost, whether that would be as some said \$75,000,000, or \$150,000,000, or \$200,000,000 as was claimed by others. To his mind the case appeared to be something like this: A contract is made between two parties. The one agrees to deliver in Montreal say $\frac{1}{4}$ of a million of bushels of wheat in a vessel of a certain size. He discovers, however, that this vessel draws several feet more water than will enable her to reach that destination, that in fact to do so means the destruction of ship and cargo. In smaller vessels and with longer time, the cargo could be not only fully but safely delivered, neither vessel nor cargo being subjected to loss.

The other party insists that the contract *shall be carried out*, and carried out as arranged and in the larger vessel, although he knows that loss must be the result to all concerned.

Now what are the facts in reference to the Pacific Railway? Not a word said about repudiation. The Government are ready to build the road. To build it in such a way as would ruin the country? No; but in such a way and in such a time as would most effectually preserve the country from ruin.

The hon. member for Northumberland desired to have the work carried out as originally proposed; no one knew better than that hon. gentleman

how unable this country was to bear such a strain. Whether was it more honourable when one found he had made a ruinous bargain to acknowledge it, and to do what he could to rectify it—or to continue madly in the vain effort to carry it out, though he knew it would result in the ruin of the contracting parties.

He (Mr. Macdonald) believed that the passing of this resolution was one of the wisest and best things that had been done this Session, thereby affirming, not on the part of the Government only, but by so large a majority of this House, its policy on this matter—a policy which could not but conduce to the best interests of the Dominion; and he believed that in the morning when the action of this House would be known, there would be a feeling of satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the land, extending to British Columbia.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) said he had supposed from the expressions used by the Premier and some of his leading supporters the other evening, it was the *bona fide* intention of this Government and the people of Canada to carry out the Terms of Union with British Columbia, so far as the building of the railroad was concerned, in such a manner as would not be detrimental to the interests of the country. It was never expected or desired by British Columbia that the Government should be bound by a cast-iron rule to build that railroad in ten years, but the people of that Province did expect that it would be constructed within a reasonable time. From the motion just now passed, he had no hesitation in saying that the people of Canada had no intention ever to build the road in this century or the next. He had hoped they would show some respect for the plighted faith of the country, but his confidence was now shaken, and he was forced to the conclusion that it was their deliberate intention to repudiate the obligations they had so solemnly incurred. This vote had convinced him that the people of British Columbia could place no faith in the promises or professions of either the Government or the Opposition. It was fortunate there was an Insolvency Act on the Statute Books,

and this Dominion ought to take advantage of it to rid itself of its obligations. He was surprised to find the Conservative Party sustaining the Government in their policy of repudiation.

The hon. member for Centre Toronto had said that the Government were willing to complete the road so long as they could do so without increasing the taxation of the country. He did not see that a slight addition to the taxation could ruin the country; the money expended for this purpose would be returned with interest. He hoped he should never see the day when British Columbia would be under a foreign flag; but if such conduct as had taken place to-night was repeated—if the people were deliberately insulted, and the Government refused to carry out their plighted faith—the people of Canada, much as he would grieve over such an occurrence, need not be surprised to see another flag than that of the Dominion flying over that territory.

Mr. LANGEVIN said his hon. friend from Cariboo was quite mistaken about the result of the vote they had just given. The hon. gentleman should remember that the Conservative party, to which he had alluded, were in office when the law of 1872 was passed, which secured the construction of the Canadian Pacific, not for British Columbia alone, but for the whole Dominion. The promise to build the road, the hon. gentleman should remember, was made to the whole country after great deliberation. The hon. member regarded the resolution as a repudiation of the Terms of Union with the Province; if he reflected a few moments he would find he was mistaken. This resolution went further than the Act of 1872, which proposed to construct the line by liberal grants of land and subsidies of money without increasing the rate of taxation. When that law was passed the hon. gentleman had full confidence that the Government would build the road in accordance therewith. By the passage of this resolution we adopted the present rate of taxation, which on a large number of articles was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more than in 1872. The taxation was \$3,000,000 more than in that year, and they had

decided by the resolution that the railway should be constructed under the present rate of taxation. The hon. gentleman would thus see that his speech was a reflection upon the whole House and an injustice especially to the Conservative Party. This resolution more strongly affirmed the principle of the former resolution than anything previously adopted. He was happy to hear the hon. gentleman say he hoped never to see any other flag floating over British Columbia, but the hon. gentleman could scarcely have been serious when he gave expression to the sentiments contained in the last portion of his speech. He (Mr. L.) had been among the people of the Province, and they were as loyal as any in the Dominion. They never spoke of changing their nationality; they might grumble, but that was the prerogative of every Briton. If the resolution was well understood by the British Columbians it would reassure them that Parliament was determined to build the road, and had gone a step in advance of the previous resolution by agreeing to do it with an increased taxation of \$3,000,000.

Mr. BOWELL desired to take exception to the remarks his hon. friend, the Leader of the Left Centre. He must confess he looked upon the resolution introduced by the hon. member for Middlesex in quite a different light to that in which it was viewed by that hon. gentleman. Its principle was affirmed by the resolution of the late Sir George E. Cartier in the Act of Parliament introduced in 1872, and passed, and recited again, in the Act of 1874. Why the resolution of the hon. member for Middlesex was brought up at the present moment was somewhat incomprehensible to him, unless it was to elicit remarks from those who had as little knowledge of what had taken place as his hon. friend from Centre Toronto had displayed. He was surprised to hear that hon. gentleman say the "vote would be received with great satisfaction" and delight throughout the whole "Dominion." One would suppose that the principle of the resolution had never been affirmed before, and that the people of the Dominion knew nothing about it. The Hon. Minister

of Justice, as usual in such cases, greeted that statement with applause; but he could scarcely suppose that the hon. gentleman did not know that those resolutions existed; nor did he suppose he held so low an estimate of the intelligence of the people of this country that they did not know the position the Dominion held in regard to this great enterprise. He knew the party of which he was a humble member was desirous of seeing that great work carried on, and they were not only desirous that the road should be built as rapidly as possible, but he believed the vast majority of the people would vote down the scheme which was proposed to be carried out, of a half railway and half water communication, more particularly when the resources of the country were being absorbed in the construction of branch lines, and subsidising other lines not necessary to the completion of the main road. If the Government were really desirous of building the road at as early a period as possible, and if they could not complete the whole road of the Westward route, they might at least have connected the head waters of Lake Superior with Manitoba at Fort Garry, and with very little more expenditure, if any, than was being made in subsidising the Canada Central road and building the useless Georgian Bay branch. If the road was run to Sault Ste. Marie the Americans would soon make connections on the south side of the lake with Duluth, and then any one travelling to the great North-West would take advantage of that direct all-rail route in preference to the route the Government proposed. He believed the more the matter was investigated the greater would be the objection to these pieces of railroad and water stretches. With reference to the interpretation put upon the resolution by the hon. member for Cariboo he protested against it. They had already affirmed the principle three times before, and if it were submitted to the House fifty times more by the Government it must receive the cordial support of the Opposition. No doubt the Government hoped when they put the resolution in the hands of their supporters, that the Opposition would vote against it, so as to

Mr. BOWELL.

enable them to go to the country, and declare that they wished to build the road no matter how heavily it trenched upon the resources of the country, but it was too transparent a trap to catch any one.

Mr. DECOSMOS was sorry that the motion in amendment of the hon. member for Middlesex had been supported by the Government, and he thought they might have advised their loyal follower from Middlesex to withdraw it. The explanations of the Premier in regard to this railroad produced a better feeling than had been prevalent for some time previously, but this amendment just passed was calculated to shake the new confidence that was springing healthily into existence. He regarded it, therefore, as an injudicious step.

Hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House had a short time previously, with two or three exceptions, voted against the resolution asking for the immediate commencement of the railway in the Province of British Columbia. The defence offered for their attitude this evening was that they were bound by the resolution respecting construction of the railway and the rate of taxation in 1871; but the resolution introduced by Sir George Cartier only extended to the building of the railway by private enterprise and not to its construction as a Dominion public work, and as such the Government had resolved, and were now carrying on this undertaking. He regretted that his hon. friend from Charlevoix, who alone of the representatives of the other Provinces, had visited British Columbia, should have spoken what was reported in the *Montreal Gazette* :—

“The policy of the late Government was to build the road by means of a private company, aided by land grants, and the money subsidy. He was still of opinion that the lands of the North-West should contribute largely to the building of that railway; and that the country should not be called upon to aid it with a larger sum of money than thirty millions of dollars.”

The state of the money market in England now, and on the continent as well, was such that no company, no matter how good the names of its promoters might be, could form a syndicate and float the bonds necessary to

raise the money for the construction of this road. The position taken by the hon. gentleman amounted to nothing more or less than the sheer repudiation of the contract made by the Conservative Party with the people of British Columbia.

The present Government had taken the only course left open to them, that is as far as the construction of this railway as a Dominion public work was concerned. It was wise and statesmanlike.

When this matter came before the House in 1872, he believed that he was the only member who had dared to say that this road ought to be so built. When he returned the following Session he found that the Allan charter had fallen to the ground, even the Leader of the hon. gentlemen opposite favoured this view, and prominent gentlemen in the other branch of the Legislature, who were also interested in securing a charter, had taken the same position. It would never be built for thirty millions of money, and the balance in land. So large a sum of money as 200 or 300 millions of dollars would not, however, be required; 75 or 80 millions would be sufficient for the purpose. The hon. member for Hastings also spoke of the traditions of the Conservative Party, in which, even when rotten and worthless, the hon. gentleman had more confidence than in a principle practicable and workable, which it was the duty of this Government to carry out. Allusion had been made by his hon. friend from Charlevoix to the utterances of his hon. friend from Cariboo. He sincerely hoped that he (Mr. DeCosmos) would be the last to favour secession; but without wishing to threaten, he would tell the House and the country that if faith was not kept with British Columbia, and if the Government did not act rigorously in accordance with the resources of the Dominion, the people of British Columbia would demand of the Imperial Government separation from the Dominion. They would not favor annexation. They would never haul down the British flag; but if the Dominion did not keep faith, the Province would secede and drag down the flag of Canada.

They would have a just and constitutional right to go to Great Britain and say—"You have been a party to this contract. You placed your seal on it; we cannot prevail on the Government of Canada to do its part, and its duty; we have done ours, and we ask you by an Act of the Imperial Parliament to separate us as free as we once were."

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) stated that the arguments of the hon. member for Vancouver were worthless. No one was anxious to see the Province of British Columbia leave the Confederation; but what did it want? Canada was pushing to completion the erection of a telegraph line, and was spending millions in surveys. Since the Union taxes had been increased from 20 to 24 millions; and the hon. gentleman must not forget that at the same time, we were building the Intercolonial Railway, and deepening canals. In a year or so, our expenditures in other respects would be reduced; and with a more numerous population, and the present rate of taxation, from six to seven millions would be spent annually on the line. He thought that British Columbia should be satisfied, as it was receiving from four to five dollars for every dollar it paid into the Treasury, and from \$25 to \$30 would be expended during the next ten or fifteen years for each dollar so paid. Did they suppose that we had nothing to do but plunge into debt to build this road? The country was doing its duty by British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL had listened to the remarks made by different hon. gentlemen, and had waited for some expression of opinion from some member of the Government,—but in vain. He had been surprised to hear the observations of his hon. friend from Toronto Centre, who gave an illustration—about the only point to be found in the hon. gentleman's statements. His hon. friend had asked whether any merchant would deliberately send a vessel down the River, which drew too much water to permit its passage through the Lachine Canal, knowing that if it descended the rapids it would be dashed to pieces on the rocks. But how did this House or

his hon. friend know that this country would be unable to carry out the terms of this contract? And if the hon. gentlemen opposite entertained this opinion, why had they voted two and a half millions for its construction, and the vote of another half million was to be asked to defray the expense of surveying and engineering. If the view in question was correct these three millions would be thrown away; and the Government should not countenance such a proceeding.

British Columbia would not have insisted on the observance to the very letter of the agreement made; and if it had not been for the course taken by the hon. gentlemen opposite, and for the Grand Trunk Railway Company, whose interests were, unfortunately, enlisted against the late Administration, he believed that Canada would have been able to have carried out the arrangement made with British Columbia substantially in its integrity. The hon. gentleman spoke of a bad bargain having been made, but there was no bad bargain. If the Government thought that Canada could build this Railway why did they act as they were doing to-day? and if they entertained an opposite belief, why did they ask for the vote of three millions, which, under such circumstances, would be virtually thrown away?

He deeply regretted the action of the Conservative Party that evening; and also the fact that the good faith of Canada had been, with so much reason, impugned by the hon. member for Cariboo.

Mr. FLESHER said he was not at all deceived by the little by-play on the other side of the House. The resolution was never submitted without a distinct understanding between the mover and the Government, but his (Mr. Flesher's) impression was that no other course was open than to vote for it. To have voted against it would have been to declare that a larger sum of money should be given to the Government to carry on the work than the country could afford. In voting for the resolution he had not the most remote idea of repudiating the arrangement with British Columbia. He had no idea it would result in repudiation,

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or as the hon. member for Northumberland had said it would.

Mr. SINCLAIR felt pleased at the vote the House had given. It was time that Parliament should express clearly its opinion upon this important question. He did not wish to see the railroad abandoned, but if this country should attempt to comply with the terms made either by the late Government or the present one, within the time specified, it would be doing an injustice to the country. There was some excuse for the late Government. They did not realize the gigantic nature of the undertaking, and it was quite possible they imagined it could be completed in ten years at a maximum cost to the country of \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. But the present Government, with larger experience, had consented to have the time limited to fifteen years. They should never have submitted the case to the arbitration of Lord Carnarvon. No country could build the road so cheaply as England, yet the Government of even that wealthy country would not undertake a work which would cost seven times as much as the annual revenue. He was very glad both parties in Canada were beginning to see it was in vain to attempt to build this road within a limited time. All the Government should undertake to do was to go on with the work as fast as the resources of the country would warrant. However much people might differ on public questions, when they found the credit and character of the country at stake, it was well they should throw aside party feeling and act in harmony for the good of the whole community. For that reason he had supported the amendment.

Hon. Mr. POPE was understood to say he would not vote for a resolution which would place the Government in such a position that they could say to Lord Carnarvon, after failing to build the road: "We were anxious to comply with our agreement, but we have had this resolution of Parliament staring us in the face." The Ministry had put forward one of their own followers to shelter them from the consequences of their own agreement with British Columbia and the Imperial Government.

The item was concurred in.

On the item, \$500,000 for Pacific Railway surveying and engineering,

Mr. PLUMB moved the following amendment:—

Resolved, That while concurring in this vote, this House desires to record its opinion that the country is pledged to the construction of the Pacific Railway in its agreement with British Columbia, and that it is in accordance with that agreement and with the public interest that its construction should be proceeded with as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit without adding to the burden of taxation."

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said this vote was for the survey of the railroad, while the resolution referred to the work of construction.

After a brief discussion, Mr. Speaker ruled the amendment out of order.

Mr. PLUMB then moved that the following words be added to the said Resolution:—

"That while concurring in this vote, this House desires to record its opinion that the country is pledged to the construction of the Pacific Railway in its agreement with British Columbia, and that it is in accordance with that agreement and with the public interest that the surveys be energetically proceeded with, in order that the construction of the road should be prosecuted as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit without adding to the burthens of taxation."

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said this was open to the same objection as the other resolution.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that it was in order.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE--If it is in order it simply means this. Neither Government has carried on the work of surveying as fast as it could. This Government has expended a great deal more money in surveys in the last two years than the late Government did altogether. If this amendment means anything, it is a censure on the Government for not having spent more on surveys, and we accept it as that and shall vote against it.

Mr. MASSON asked if this was a vote of censure, what was the resolution that preceded it, yet the Government had voted for it. One of their followers had come forward and declared: "We have no confidence in the Government and we must bind them not to act in a manner that would be detrimental to the interests of the country." They did not consider that a want of confidence motion.

Mr. GOUDGE thought the resolution of the hon. member for Middlesex in the present state of this question was most opportune, and he (Mr. Goudge) had voted for it because the Senate had placed on record a vote of censure against the Government for not proceeding more rapidly with the work. It was apparent that the Senate or that portion of it that voted to censure the Government did not represent public opinion, and had gone beyond their province, for we find in this House to-night both Government and Opposition members almost unanimously re-affirming the resolutions of 1871, subsequently enacted on the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1872, and re-enacted in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874, viz: that the public aid to be given to secure the accomplishment of this undertaking should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money or other aid, not increasing the then existing rate of taxation. When such an attempt had been made to place the Government in a false position, it was proper for the hon. member for Middlesex to move a resolution in this House to re-affirm the policy it had previously announced. He knew that public opinion in the Maritime Provinces approved of the course pursued by the Government. He did not believe the Government had any intention to break faith with British Columbia, but that, in this undertaking, they were proceeding with the work as any prudent business man would in the management of his own affairs.

A vote was then taken on the amendment, which was rejected on the following division:—

YEAS:
Messieurs

Benoit,	Little,
Bowell,	McDougall (Three-R),
Cameron (Victoria),	Macmillan,
Caron,	McCallum,
Cimon,	McQuade,
Costigan,	Masson,
Currier,	Mitchell,
Cuthbert,	Monteith,
Desjardins,	Montplaisir,
Farrow,	Mousseau,
Ferguson,	Orton,
Flesher,	Ouimet,
Gaudet,	Plumb,
Haggart,	Robitaille,
Hurteau,	Rochester,
Jones (Leeds),	Wallace (Norfolk),
Kirkpatrick,	White (Hastings),
Langevin,	Wright (Ottawa).—36.

NAYS:

Messieurs

Archibald,	Kirk,
Aylmer,	Laird,
Bain,	Lajoie,
Bannatyne,	Landerkin,
Barthe,	Laurier,
Bertram,	Macdonald (Cornwall),
Biggar,	Macdonald (Toronto),
Blake,	MacDougall (Elgin),
Borden,	McKay (Cape Breton),
Bowman,	Mackenzie,
Boyer,	McCraney,
Brown,	McGregor,
Buell,	McIsaac,
Burk,	McLeod,
Burpee (St. John),	McNab,
Burpee (Sunbury),	Mills,
Cartwright,	Norris,
Casey,	Oliver,
Cauchon,	Paterson,
Charlton,	Pelletier,
Christie,	Perry,
Church,	Pickard,
Coffin,	Pozer,
Coupal,	Ray,
DeCosmos,	Richard,
Delorme,	Robillard,
De St. Georges,	Ross (Durham),
DeVeber,	Ross (Middlesex),
Dymond,	Ryan,
Ferris,	Rymal,
Fiset,	Scriver,
Fleming,	Skinner,
Flynn,	Smith (Peel),
Forbes,	Smith (Selkirk),
Fréchette,	Snider,
Gibson,	Stirton,
Gillmor,	Taschereau,
Gordon,	Thompson (Cariboo),
Goudge,	Tremaine,
Hagar,	Trow,
Higinbotham,	Vail,
Irving,	Wallace (Albert),
Jetté,	Wood,
Kerr,	Workman.—89.
Killam,	

The item was then concurred in.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Mr. GOUDGE desired to ask at this point if it was proposed to consider the reduction of the present tariff of the Intercolonial railroad? There were a number of items in connection with that tariff that required revision and, he would be happy to learn that a revision was to be made.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said it was stated last year that there were some anomalies in the rates, and when over the road a few months ago he requested the Superintendent-General of railways to make a note of such matters as were complained of with a view to a consideration of the abuses and grievances that might exist. The road would be open some time in June or July, and by that time they would have

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reviewed everything as regards the tariff.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL asked what was the policy of the Government in regard to the running of the road? In order to make the road attractive to tourists they ought to have a rate of speed that would, with as much comfort as could be had, enable the journey between Montreal and Halifax to be completed within 36 hours. He thought a rate of speed of 30 miles an hour could be obtained. The stream of travel which came to this country every season from the States would be attracted to the Intercolonial as the return route.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said they had not yet completed their preparations for the road. They had made arrangements to have Pullman cars on the entire route. A reasonable rate of speed would be maintained, but not larger than any other road in the country. A high rate of speed, as was well known, was expensive to maintain, but he thought it would be sufficiently high to reach the two points within the time named by the hon. gentleman. The tourist traffic of course must necessarily be looked to, because on a large portion of the road there would be very little local business to transact. There were many points of interest to the tourists, and they must necessarily depend to a certain extent on the accidental passenger traffic.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE stated that the nearest point at which the inhabitants of the district of Gaspé could reach the Intercolonial Railway was Dalhousie or at Campbellton, New Brunswick, and had to cross the River Restigouche. He wanted to know if the Government intended to place a ferry steamer at either of these points?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said they must, to a certain extent, depend on private enterprise to make these connections. They could not undertake to put on ferry boats in all directions; it would absorb all the resources of the road.

The subject then dropped.

FISHERY REGULATIONS.

On the vote appropriating \$78,820 for the Fisheries,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said that the Fishery Regulations which had been enforced the fishermen thought were unjust, and they would give rise to a good deal of litigation and trouble, and litigation which every one would desire to avoid. He suggested that the matter be allowed to remain *in statu quo*, and the regulations remain in force which existed prior to the present regulations, and that in the meantime a test case should be submitted to the consideration of the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court decided the fishermen had not the rights they claimed they had, they would have to accept whatever policy the Government would determine upon.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he would call the attention of the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the question, and the matter could be discussed on the Supplementary Estimates.

The vote was carried.

THE GLENDON.

Item 129 being taken up,

Mr. DEVEBER said he wished at this stage to correct a statement made on the floor of the House by the hon. member for Northumberland, to the effect that one of the owners, or the owner of the "Glendon" had told him (Mr. Mitchell) that one-half the amount—\$20,000—paid by the Government would have been accepted, rather than have lost the sale. With the consent of the House he would read a telegram from the owners of the vessel contradicting that statement. It ran as follows:—

"St. JOHN, N. B., March 30, 1876.

"To H. B. DEVEBER, Ottawa :

"We never stated to Mitchell would rather sell at ten thousand (\$10,000) : sold at twenty very reluctantly, and will make affidavit to that effect."

The telegram was signed by the owners.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Who are they ?

Mr. DEVEBER—Daniel W. Clarke, J. D. Macdonald and Robert J. Leonard.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I repeat that one of the gentlemen whose names are attached made that remark to me.

Mr. DEVEBER—Which one ?

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Robert J. Leonard.

The item was concurred in.

The House adjourned at 1:40 o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SATURDAY, April 8, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

OLD RAILS ON GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on Monday, to consider the following resolution :

"That it is expedient to authorize the Government to make a temporary disposition of the Iron rails as they are removed from the Government Railways by loaning them to companies constructing railways which may be regarded as feeders to the Government Lines, such rails to be returned weight for weight to the Government stores at the junction of such lines when taken up."

The motion was carried.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT, in moving that the House go into Committee of supply, said a very large proportion of these estimates consisted either of revotes or sums that had been already expended, with the exception of three items, for which special warrants were taken and which were laid on the table of the House. The most important item as to magnitude was for the additional rolling stock on the Prince Edward Island Railway and for changing the gauge of railroads in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A considerable amount of the cost of this change of gauge estimated for would be repaid by the sale of old rails. The next item in magnitude was \$169,000, which was the unexpended balance of the boundary survey between Canada and the United States, and the unexpended survey between Ontario and the North-West. The former survey had been conducted under the direct superintendence of the British Government. Another item of considerable magnitude consisted of several sums for public works chargeable to income, amounting in all to \$135,000. These had already been

expended and appeared in the statement which he had submitted to the House when making his budget speech. The other large item was for mounted police. It included \$41,000 for arrears from 1873-4 and 1874-5. The House would easily understand in carrying out the organization of this force at such a distant part of the country, where communications were often several months reaching the department at Ottawa, there was very great difficulty in obtaining an accurate estimate of what was required. It took about \$1,000 per head per annum. This was not excessive when the enormous cost of transporting provisions in the North-West was taken into consideration. In the United States service the average cost per head was about the same, and the cost of their service in the far West was considerably in excess of that. He had taken a larger estimate for the future. A very considerable part of these sums might be said to replace other items they did not want. For instance, the \$100,000 for the boundary between Alaska and Canada had not been expended and it was not intended to use it. He submitted a statement of the receipts and expenditure on account of the Consolidated Fund, made to the 1st of April of the present year. The receipts to that date were \$17,231,546; expenditure, \$16,489,828. A certain number of items, brought down under the head of unforeseen expenses, were placed among the supplementary votes.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK wished to call attention to a matter of importance. They had been under the impression that they lived in a country which had the benefit of a responsible Government, and that this Parliament was capable of enacting the laws required by the people of Canada. It appeared, however, from a return brought down by the Government, that they had gone back on the principles they had previously professed. He found that on the 18th of February, 1875, when this House was in Session, the Government had passed a Minute in Council recommending that the Imperial Government should be asked to pass an Act to amend the "British North American Act," and to remove all doubts as

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to the construction of one of its sections. The Imperial Government had accordingly passed an Act repealing the section in question—Sec. 18—and re-enacting another in lieu thereof, thereby legislating with regard to this country without any wish to that effect, being expressed by this Parliament. This was a most extraordinary assumption of power on the part of the hon. gentleman opposite. This was not the first time that such a matter was brought up before the House. In 1871, when doubt was entertained as to the power of this Parliament to pass the Manitoba Act, the Government of that day thought fit to assume to themselves the same power that had been assumed by the present Ministry. When attention was called to this fact the Administration, led by Sir George Cartier, in the absence of the right hon. member for Kingston, was compelled to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and to ask the House to pass an Address to Her Majesty, asking for such legislation as was in question. On March 23rd, 1871, the present Minister of Justice in his usual able manner, said:—

"He proposed, in these resolutions, to establish the principle that legislation on matters affecting this country should only be undertaken, by the Imperial Government, when sought for by the people of this country, through their representatives. This principle became of still greater consequence when the legislation sought for was of a character which would alter in a material point the compact upon which the union itself was formed—which violated, in its most important ingredient, the question of the distribution of power—to reintroduce the former evils from which the people of old Canada suffered, and which led to the introduction of the Constitution under which we now lived. Not only that, but that it should be done at the instance of a Minister of the Crown, when there was nothing to prevent them from asking the people of this country, through their representatives, what change, if any, should be made in the constitution of the country. That a Minister of the Crown under such circumstances should have ventured to apply to the Home Government, and should have sent home a draft of a bill which they asked Earl Kimberley to make law, was without precedent, without parallel, without excuse, without palliation. He asked the House to agree that it was their duty to take care that they should determine what legislation the Imperial Parliament be asked to enact on their behalf. Hon. gentlemen opposite might say that the sense of the Parliament of Canada had already been taken on the Bill.

"SIR GEORGE E. CARTIER—Hear! hear!

"Hon. Mr. BLAKE thought that was the paltry evasion they would make, but he would tell

them that the draft sent to England went far beyond the Manitoba Bill.

"The question was whether the people were prepared to surrender into the hands of the Government of the day, that power which the Government of the day was assuming it possessed—the power to ask the Imperial Parliament to make laws for us; or whether the House did not think that every sense of duty called upon them to determine that their sense—that was the sense of the people—was to be taken upon, and was to form the basis of that Imperial legislation.

"Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT spoke in the same strain, and thought that the Government, before taking the vote, should consider whether it would not be better to decide that for all time to come, no change should be made in the British North America Act, except in the usual approved mode of address to the Queen.

"Hon Mr. HOLTON had remarked that, if the Government could take such action with reference to an unimportant measure, there was no reason why this could not be done with regard to the most important.

"Mr. Speaker, (who then had a seat on the floor of this House,) had expressed his views in his usual trenchant manner, and had ably indicated the right of the House to ask for any legislation which was to be undertaken.

"Hon Mr. HOLTON then moved, seconded by Hon. Alexander Mackenzie,—“and this House is of opinion that no changes in the provisions of the British North America Act should be sought for by the Executive Government without the previous assent of the Parliament of this Dominion.”

"The vote was :—Yeas 137; nays none."

If the action that the Government had taken, were permitted with reference to unimportant matters, the power might be assumed in regard to questions of extreme importance to the country. It was to be remembered that Parliament was actually in session when this violation of the constitution occurred. They had read for the first time this day a Bill sent down from the Senate, to enable witnesses to be examined on oath before both Houses of Parliament. In 1873, Parliament passed an Act to enable Committees of both Houses to administer oaths to witnesses; and it was disallowed, thus ceasing to be law. Yet in this Act, they actually found that the Imperial Parliament was legislating for Canada. He would like to learn the opinion of the Minister of Justice regarding this matter. They had gone further, and added this clause:

"The Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the 31st year of the reign of Her Majesty, Chap. 24, entitled, An Act to provide for oaths to witnesses being administered in certain cases for the purpose of either House of Parliament, shall be deemed to be valid,

and to have been valid as from the date in which the Royal assent was given thereto by the Governor General of the Dominion of Canada."

The Imperial Parliament had no right to legislate in this manner, without the previous assent of the Parliament of Canada. In order that some record might be had of this circumstance, he moved, seconded by Mr. BOWELL :—

"That it appears from papers laid before this House, that the Executive Government by Order in Council, passed on the 18th of February, 1875, while this House was in Session, recommending the passage of an Imperial Act, to remove all doubts as to the right of the Parliament of this Dominion to possess the power of passing an Act, providing for the examination of witnesses on oath, by members of the Senate and the House of Commons;

"That in pursuance of such recommendation, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act, Chap 38, Vic. 38 and 39, whereby section 18 of the British North America Act of 1867 was repealed, and another section was substituted for the section which was repealed;

"That this House on the 27th of March, 1871, on motion of Hon. L. H. Holton, and seconded by the Hon. A. Mackenzie, had resolved as follows :—“And this House is of opinion, that no change in the provisions of the British North America Act should be sought for by the Executive Government without the previous assent of the Parliament of this Dominion; that the previous assent of the Parliament of Canada to the change in the provisions of the British North America Act sought for by the order in Council as aforesaid, was not obtained; and that this House regrets that any Imperial legislation affecting the British North America Act of 1867 should have been sought by the Executive Government without the previous assent of the Parliament of Canada expressed in the usual manner by addresses from both Houses of Parliament to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.”

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said as to the general principle enunciated by the hon. gentleman, of course he gave his entire assent to it, but there was a great difference between the two cases cited. The proceedings of a former Parliament were entirely different to those connected with this motion; in that case Parliament had expressed its opinion in a most deliberate manner on the passing of an Act, the legality of which was regarded as doubtful. But this was not a change in the sense the hon. gentleman had referred to. It was adding to the powers that Parliament possessed instead of changing any powers they had. The position then was that the Imperial Government

were simply asked to implement an agreement to which both houses of Parliament had unanimously come and which it was decided they had not the power to come to. Therefore it was simply legalizing their previous action. It might have been better even then to have proceeded by address. And he admitted frankly it should be so whenever a change was wanted. If the hon. gentleman pressed his motion they could only say they must treat it in the usual way as one that seemed to be entirely uncalled for.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said as the hon. gentlemen had admitted that they had done wrong and were sorry for it, he would withdraw his motion as his object had been accomplished by bringing the matter before the House.

Mr. BOWELL objected to the withdrawal of the motion. He thought it was well to consider the position of the present Minister of Justice and the present Premier on this subject when they were on the other side of the House. They did not now appear to be so anxious to carry out the principles they advocated then. He could not see that any distinction could be drawn between the positions in which the hon. Premier had placed this question. He said that the Imperial Parliament had only made law that which was not law and which was *ultra vires* in its character. Therefore, they asked the Imperial Parliament, without the consent of this Parliament, to make that law which they had no right to make law.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No!

Mr. BOWELL said it would not have been law unless this course had been taken, and it was conceding the point that the Imperial Government had a right to legislate for Canada.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the Act in question was not referred to the Minute in Council, and no recommendation was made by this Government with regard to the Senate Bill for the legalization of oaths.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD deprecated any infringement upon the provisions of the British North America Act in a manner in which would interfere with the rights of the different

Provinces of the Dominion. He believed, however, that there were occasions when this Legislature might fairly address Her Majesty in regard to Bills, the validity of which were questioned, without reference to the Provinces, but with the greatest circumspection.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE pointed out that that they had a common object in this matter, and suggested that it would be more advisable to withdraw the motion than to allow it to be lost on a division.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said the design of the Imperial Act was to increase the power of the Dominion Parliament, and it was in the increase of power that he saw the danger. For instance, if the Dominion Government passed an Order in Council asking the Imperial Government to give them power to deal with questions of education which were within the purview of the Provincial legislatures, what would the people of the provinces say?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I admit the danger of it in relation to the provinces, but this was not of that nature at all.

Mr. BOWELL, in answer to the statement of the Hon. Minister of Justice that the Act in question was not referred to in the Minute in Council, said that in the despatch signed by Lord Dufferin and forwarded to Earl Carnarvon, he found the following language:—

“Although the point has not been touched upon by my Privy Council, I am anxious to draw your Lordship’s attention to the fact that the same considerations which led the Crown to disallow the Oaths Bill of the Session of 1873 seem also applicable to the powers which for some time past have been vested in the Senate under an Act of Canada of 1868 [31 Vict., cap. 24.]”

In the report of a Committee of the Privy Council, he found the following:—

“The despatch further stating that ‘by an Act of the Canadian Parliament of 1868 [ch. 24], provision was made by the first section for examining witnesses upon oath at the Bar of the Senate, and that Act had been allowed to remain in force,’ and pointing out that that section was void and inoperative as being repugnant to the provision of the British North America Act, and cannot be legally acted upon.”

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE.

This showed that although the Imperial Government was not directly asked to legalize that Act their attention was called to it in such a way as to indicate to them the necessity of allowing it to remain law. He did not desire to place Parliament in a false position on the question. It should be remembered that when the hon. member for Chateaugay made his motion in reference to the North-West Territory Bill the Ministry rose in their places and acknowledged the error they had committed by the fact that they voted in favour of the motion. They had the same power to have rejected that motion as the hon. gentleman had to reject the motion before the House. But the Government did not wish to have their names recorded against a motion, the principle of which they themselves had affirmed. They said: "If you put it in the manner you now put it, it must be regarded as a vote of want of confidence." Now the late Government accepted motions on going into Committee of Supply, and declared that they did not regard them as votes of want of confidence.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—But they were not motions censuring the Government.

Mr. BOWELL said it was always contended that this was the way in which they could bring such questions before the House, and that the Government of the day had no right to regard them as votes of want of confidence.

The House had an example that the Government could, when it suited their convenience, accept such motions as votes of want of confidence. Only last night they had voted down the same principle they had before affirmed. However, if those who had more experience than himself did not believe this motion should be pressed, he did not object to its being withdrawn.

The motion was accordingly withdrawn.

THE BAIE VERTE CANAL.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury) said he wished to draw the attention of the House before going into Committee of Supply to the absence of any item in the estimates for the Baie Verte Canal.

Mr. BOWELL—Another want of confidence motion?

Mr. BURPEE said it was not, but it was quite as important as any subject which had been brought before the House this Session. It had occupied public attention in the Lower Provinces for many years. It had been brought before this House several times, and sums had been placed in the estimates for its construction. The utility of the canal would strike any person who would take the pains to look at the map of the country. It was requisite to facilitate intercolonial trade, without which the union of the Provinces would be but nominal. Before Confederation a proposition was made to the Local Legislature to charter a company to build this great work. The argument used at the time against granting the charter was that Confederation was about to take place, and the Federal Government could undertake the work. The two great improvements spoken of in New Brunswick before the union, were the Intercolonial Railroad and the Baie Verte Canal. The Intercolonial was made a condition of Confederation, and although the canal was not, it was understood it was also to be constructed. Great stress was laid on the Intercolonial railway particularly, and it was distinctly understood that a commercial route would be selected. Mr. Tilley refused to become a member of the Government until an assurance was given that the road would be built as a commercial work. He (Mr. Burpee) did not hesitate to say, if the people of New Brunswick had not been satisfied that this point was settled and that the construction of the Baie Verte Canal would be proceeded with, they would never have consented to the Union. It was well known that for the Intercolonial Railway a military and not a commercial route had been chosen. The line might have been run by the southern route, which would have brought it much nearer to St. John without increasing the distance to Halifax. If that route had been chosen on line No. 3 of Mr. Fleming's Report, which is known as the Northern line, the road would have been 185 miles nearer St. John and one mile nearer Halifax. By line No. 10, one of Fleming's centre routes, 64 miles nearer to both cities; No. 8 line of Fleming's report, 142 miles nearer St.

John and 21 miles nearer Halifax; No. 6 line, 106 miles nearer St. John and 12 miles further from Halifax.

The advantages to be derived from the Baie Verte Canal were unquestioned at the time of Confederation. Scarcely anybody raised a voice against it, and Mr. Young, at the meeting of the Dominion Board of Trade in 1871, spoke as follows:—

“But there can be no doubt that the inland propeller can descend the St. Lawrence and go direct to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; and this fact brings up other important considerations. Among projected canals there is the Baie Verte Canal, to connect the Bay of Fundy, on the Atlantic, with the Straits of Northumberland in the Gulf, and the Murray Canal, to connect the Bay of Quinte with Weller’s Bay on Lake Ontario. If the Baie Verte Canal is possible of construction, the work will be highly important, and, in its results, of a truly national character in all its respects. The City of St. John, in New Brunswick, as well as all other places on the Bay of Fundy, would be brought 430 miles nearer Montreal, Quebec or Toronto for the water-borne vessels, than at present; and if such a canal were constructed, the propeller of 900 tons sailing from Lakes Superior, Michigan, or Ontario, could proceed direct to Halifax or St. John with Western States or Canadian products.

“It would be difficult to point out all the advantages which would result to Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by the construction of the Baie Verte Canal. If the 900-ton propeller could deliver western or Canadian products at Halifax or St. John, these places would thus become cheap depots for such products. Assorted cargoes of fish, hoops, shooks, lumber, &c., could be made up at these ports for the West India Islands and South America, and could bring back return cargoes from these countries of sugar, coffee, hides, tallow, etc., to be again re-shipped as return cargo to Canada and the Western States by the inland propeller, and thus be delivered at less cost by such means than by any other possible route.”

He also quoted from the report of Mr. Patterson, in his report of the commerce of Montreal, for 1869, as follows:—

“The value of the proposed canal, in more intimately connecting all the Provinces, must be evident to all who have examined the geographical situation. At present there is little or no community of interest between the portions of the Provinces on the Bay of Fundy and those on the Gulf,—although separated by but a narrow strip of land. For want of a few miles of canal navigation, a profitable development of the fisheries by the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia is seriously hindered; the fishermen of Cape Ann, in Massachusetts, being nearer the valuable mackerel fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence than the Canadian fishermen who live on the Bay of Fundy. By means of the proposed canal the waters of the Bay and Gulf would be united, and the fisheries brought within the reach of the fishermen of all the Provinces;—passing

easily, so to speak, from one sea to another as the fishing season might render necessary.

In 1870, Messrs. Allan, Gzowski, Calvin, Laidlaw, Garneau, Stairs and Jardine, were named, by the Dominion Government, Commissioners to institute and make a thorough enquiry on a comprehensive improvement of the canal system of the Dominion, and were instructed to report “On the construction of a canal through the Isthmus dividing the Bay of Fundy from the Gulf St. Lawrence at Baie Verte.”

Those gentlemen in their report stated:—

“Inseparably connected with the growth of intercolonial trade is the construction of the Baie Verte Canal. The advantages that must accrue, not merely to the Dominion as a whole, but to the commerce of the Maritime Provinces, are so clearly pointed out by the Boards of Trade of all the leading cities of Canada, and by men interested in the development of our commercial cities—not simply the merchants of St. John and other places in the locality of the proposed canal, but merchants of Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec—that it is superfluous for the Commissioners more than briefly to refer to a few salient features of the scheme.

“A steamer laden with flour for St. John, N. B., now goes down the Gulf as far as Shediac, where the cargo is transported by rail to its destination. The total distance by water from Shediac through the Gut of Canso and round the coast of Nova Scotia to the Bay of Fundy, as far as the commercial capital of New Brunswick, is about 600 miles, and the consequence is that there is little or no direct communication between the Bay of Fundy ports and those of the River St. Lawrence.

“By a canal through the Isthmus, from Shediac, the distance to St. John will not be more than 100 miles. This fact will show the insuperable obstacle that now exists to anything like extensive commerce between Montreal and the Bay of Fundy ports of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and the great impulse that must necessarily be given to the trade by the opening out of a route which will shorten distance so considerably, furnish an inland navigation from the lakes to Boston, and consequently lessen freights between those points at least twenty-five per cent.”

In consequence of this report, surveys were ordered and a vote was put in the estimates. The Government gave notice in the *Canada Gazette* that at a certain date they would advertise for tenders for construction of the work. He confessed he was surprised at the Opposition to that work developed in the House by some members from Nova Scotia. It was also said some of the promoters of the Coughnawaga Canal lent aid to that Opposition.

Mr. BURPEE.

In this House the hon. member for Halifax gave the work his unqualified opposition, and other hon. members from the same Province, one after another, rose in their places and denounced it, and were supported by some influential members from other Provinces. Members from Cape Breton gave as a reason why Government should consider liberally the improvements on St. Peter's Canal, and other Nova Scotia public works, that they had combined and killed the Baie Verte Canal. Witnesses from Nova Scotia, before the Commissioners, had said that they would rather have the \$8,000,000 spent upon their own public works; and this avaricious principle did more to destroy and weaken this great work than all that was urged against it. The canal, if built, would cross the narrow neck of land near the line between the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the scheme was opposed by Nova Scotia members, because they feared that its construction would cause the loss of considerable trade which Halifax and various ports in that Province at present enjoyed. Vessels were now compelled to pass around the dangerous coast of Nova Scotia to reach St. John, the western ports of Nova Scotia, small ports of New Brunswick, and ports east of New York on the American side. A strong rivalry naturally existed between the cities of Halifax and St. John, and this had its effect in strengthening the Opposition in question. The opponents of the scheme had canvassed against it; and a memorial signed by nearly all the members for Nova Scotia, directed against it, had been presented to the Government. The inducement very generally held out was, that if this project were killed the appropriation of eight millions could be utilized for the construction of local works in the Maritime Provinces; and this was a most vicious and mischievous argument. He, with certain hon. gentlemen from New Brunswick, had asked the Premier if the canal was to be abandoned, and the money appropriated for it so distributed; and the answer had been, that if the project was given up it would make no difference with regard to the treatment of claims for the construc-

tion of public works. The result of the Opposition had been this: a commission was appointed to enquire into the matter. The Commissioners were Hon. Mr. Young, of Montreal; Hon. W. P. Howland, of Toronto; Mr. C. W. Lawrence, of St. John's, N. B., and Mr. Jack, of Halifax. Their conclusions were:—

“That the canal, if built, will be 15 feet deep and 100 feet at bottom, and cost \$8,000,000.

“That, for the trade of Great Britain, South America, the West Indies and Newfoundland, the canal is not required.

“That the trade of Prince Edward Island with Great Britain does not require the canal, which would not be of much advantage to that Island.

“That it would be difficult to say what would be the effect of the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals when completed, on the question of transportation between the Upper Lakes and the Maritime Provinces.

“That it was doubtful whether a route *via* the canal could successfully compete with railroad routes now built and being built, or routes by railroad and water mixed in vessels now being used in those Provinces; and that the evidence taken and observations made impressed them deeply with the vast resources of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and the large increase that may be reasonably looked for in their trade and commerce.”

He would remark that the Chairman of the Commission, Hon. John Young, signed the report without any reference to any other report, though one of the Commissioners, Mr. Lawrence, dissented from it, and published his reasons for doing so. He (Mr. Burpee) had read the minority report with a great deal of interest, and he thought that the Chairman had done this Commissioner an injustice in abstaining from making either a direct or indirect reference to his report.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Allow me to state that Mr. Lawrence was requested to send in a minority report to be printed with the other. He refused to do so, and no one is to blame for the omission save himself.

Mr. BURPEE said that might be true, but, notwithstanding, Mr. Young should have given the fact in his report that the Committee were not unanimous. He could not understand why the question of trade with South America and Great Britain had been considered by the Commissioners, as no one had ever claimed that the canal, if

made, would be of any advantage in this relation. With regard to trade with Newfoundland, it was a disputed matter, but parties claiming to be good authority on the trade with Newfoundland gave it as their opinion that if the canal was constructed a considerable trade would spring up between the Bay of Fundy and that colony. The report stated that the canal would be of no benefit in regard to the West India trade, but other high authorities took opposite ground.

As far back as 1827, the *New York Albion* wrote:—

“Would not the Mother Country grant a sum in aid of the Baie Verte Canal, since it would make St. John an excellent depot for articles of prime necessity in the West Indies? If once opened, the produce of Canada, Prince Edward Island, the coast of Labrador, and that of her own soil, would concentrate at the Capital of New Brunswick, it would be equally the mart for return cargoes of West Indian Produce.”

The agreement in sentiments between the President of the Dominion Board of Trade, 1871, and the *New York Albion* of 1827, is as striking as the views are reasonable.

The Canal Commission, 1871, says:

“The Ontario and Quebec merchants can supply the firms of St. John interested in the West India trade, with the description of merchandise for which there is an ever ready and remunerative market in the tropics, and in that same way get back sugar, molasses, and other West Indian and South-American produce, which is now supplied indirectly to so large an extent through the United States.

“In the enquiry as to the probable prospective increase of trade with the West India Islands and South America, the views of the authorities cited above must carry great weight. In their opinion, if Canada is to build up a British and Foreign West India trade for her Western products, she must have Maritime depots.

“The Baie Verte Canal is regarded by them as indispensable to the extension of the commercial relations of Canada with the British and Foreign West India Islands.

“The construction of the Canal should not be dependent on the extent of the existing trade between the Dominion and these Islands, but on the trade which the Canal will create.”

Mr. Young also gives it as his opinion that very little trade would go through the Canal from Prince Edward Island at present. If there was reciprocity with the United States there would be a large trade through the

Canal. At present there was not very much trade there, although there was a considerable amount of trade between Prince Edward Island and St. John. Reciprocity with the United States was almost indispensable to the trade of Prince Edward Island. With reference to the trade with the Bay of Fundy he had already referred to that. The fact was that trade with the Bay of Fundy with the Upper Provinces was almost entirely shut out for the want of this canal.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that, perhaps his hon. friend would postpone his remarks until Monday. He did not anticipate the hon. gentleman would occupy so much time, and as there was so much other business before the House, he would ask the hon. gentleman to proceed with his speech on Monday.

Mr. BURPEE acceded to the request, and the matter was postponed.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved the House into Committee of Supply on the Supplementary Estimates,—Mr. Young in the Chair.

THE NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

On item No. 6, appropriating \$119,435.32, to provide for further expenses for current fiscal year, in relation to the North-West Mounted Police,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said this seemed to be a very large amount. He found that the sum already voted for the militia service this year, showed an increase of \$107,000, and the sum asked for now, added to the former vote, would show an increase of over a quarter of a million.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said that these votes were up to the 30th June. The votes the hon. gentleman had referred to were for after 30th June.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Then the amount actually expended during the current year will be \$345,000.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Nearly so, including arrears which were carried forward.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE pointed out that owing to the difficulty of getting in these accounts they had run from one

year to the other, and stated that there really was only a slight increase this year. This year they hoped to be able to reduce the expense by raising grain themselves.

Mr. BLANCHET asked what was the approximate expense of the Mounted Police since their formation.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said the actual expenses for the three years including the current year, amounted to \$878,803, as nearly as they could make it out. That included a considerable amount for supplies for buildings which had been made by the men, and which it had been impossible to disentangle from the accounts.

Mr. BABY said the United States' troops sent out to the West during the Indian War, cost \$1,000 a head per year. He desired to know if the Mounted Police had cost as much.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said if he had anything to regret, it was that they had not been supplied enough. All that could be done was being attempted to raise grain around the posts or to purchase it in the Territories. The Government were doing what they could to induce people to settle there, but for a year or two supplies would still be very high.

Hon. Mr. POPE asked if the horses of the North-West would not live on the grass of the prairies where our horses would die.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he had instituted enquiries as to the horses of the North-West, British Columbia and the Western States. They were not yet completed, but the information he had led him to the belief that, except to a very limited extent, they could not use the native horses. They did not possess the size or the other qualities requisite. Oxen were largely used, but it was represented to him horses would also be required.

The item was passed.

Items 8 and 9 passed without discussion.

On item 10 to provide for cost of increased staff, &c., for Parliamentary Library, in accordance with the report of the Committee, \$4,000,

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said this was apparently a small sum of money, but

it was an unnecessary appropriation. A return had been brought down on his (Mr. Kirkpatrick's) motion, and if the Premier was acquainted with the condition of affairs which it revealed, it would be well the House should have his opinion on the subject. In 1868 a Committee sat to investigate the expenses of the internal economy of the House. They reported that the number of extra clerks should not exceed ten. Since then election committees had been abolished, yet there were 37 extra Sessional clerks, five of whom were permanent. The same report also recommended the number of messengers should not exceed 40; there were now 48. Now, where was the necessity of having so many extra clerks and messengers. This vote was unnecessary. The amount could be taken out of the contingencies vote. He was so astonished at the facts revealed in the return brought down, that he thought it would be well to appoint a Committee next Session to ascertain whether the abuses could be remedied.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the hon. gentleman could not have read the report of the Library Committee. It showed this appropriation was necessary.

Hon. J. H. CAMERON said it was not enough. If the hon. member for Frontenac had any Augean stable to cleanse, he should not turn the stream into the library. Both Houses had unanimously resolved to give this additional assistance to the librarian, believing it would be necessary.

Mr. BABY said the Library Committee had carefully considered the question, and had recommended nothing that was unnecessary.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET wished to know if the officers to be appointed were to be paid by statute or under the supervision of the Speaker?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was probable the new Library would not be occupied for some months yet, but he had no doubt the additional officers would be paid under Statute.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK said he did not complain of necessary expenditure. What he did complain of were the

abuses in the internal economy of the House. The Commissioners were not expending the money entrusted to them wisely or well.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said there was a decrease in the estimate for extra clerks and messengers for the coming year.

Mr. BOWELL wished to know who had given the Clerk authority to employ 32 extra clerks?

The SPEAKER—I gave him the authority.

Mr. BOWELL said if the rule meant anything, it signified that when the clerk found extra clerks necessary, he should employ them, or call the attention of the Speaker to the fact, and select them with the Speaker's approbation. It had been stated in the lobbies that persons were kept on duty until otherwise provided for, and also that men were put on the staff who really did, and had done, nothing. It was time that the House should take this matter into its own hands, and, following the example of the Imperial Parliament, appoint a Committee to enquire into the question. The salaries paid to these extra clerks were enormously high; some received \$600, others \$500, and others \$400. He objected chiefly to the system, because these clerks were shuffled in by the scoop-full without regard to the necessity for their appointment.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) thought that if these statements were correct, they revealed the existence of an extraordinary state of things. He had always been under the impression that the clerks were fully employed, and that they did their work well. He was informed that at least one sessional clerk had not even made the pretence of doing anything for his pay, but was attending all the Session to his duties in the press gallery.

Mr. SPEAKER stated that he was surprised to hear these comments. He was not aware that any employé drew pay who did not work for it. Sessional clerks were paid, he believed, \$4 per day, and compared with former years, their numbers were not materially increased. He and the Commissioners

of Internal Economy had done their utmost to reduce, as far as possible, expenditure in this Department; and offices becoming vacant had not been filled up. He could not imagine any point to which the slightest objection could be taken, save to the number of extra clerks which was perhaps larger than there was necessity for; but he believed it was not larger than it had been for many years. It was difficult, however, to induce officials to accept positions in the post office even with increased pay, so hard was the work. He had been under the necessity of ordering one sessional clerk to take a position in the Post Office on pain of losing his appointment altogether. He had no difficulty in obtaining clerks, he was sorry to say; applications were extremely numerous, and many were the tales of distress which he heard. He would be delighted to be relieved from the very grave responsibility and annoyance attendant on the performance of these duties.

Mr. BOWELL thought that this difficulty was easily solved, as the 110th rule provided that the Speaker had nothing to do with these appointments unless his attention were drawn to them by the Clerk of the House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL hoped that if these evils existed—and he did not doubt it—they would be remedied, now that the attention of the Speaker was drawn to them. He thought that the appropriations in connection with the library, particularly for legal works, were rather large.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT replied that they had found law books to be very expensive.

Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Cardwell) stated, that during recess the First Minister had asked him whether he would have any objection to assist the librarian to go over the whole list in the library, and give any aid in his power to complete as far as possible the list of legal works which it was necessary to purchase.

He told his hon. friend that the amount, he thought, which would be required would be infinitely larger than anything he had yet put in his estimates. The expense of law books

was very much greater than that of ordinary books, and the amount asked for was not nearly sufficient to make the law library as complete as was necessary for the judges of the Supreme Court. He was quite sure his hon. friend would only require that explanation to know that it was not an unnecessary item.

In compliance with the request of the First Minister, he had given the librarian, during the past summer, what advice and assistance were in his power in respect of the necessary selection.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he was glad of the explanation that had been made by his hon. friend, but he wished the Government to bear in mind that that was not a permanent vote.

The item was carried.

MILITIA DRILL.

On item No. 12, appropriating \$20,000 for drill pay and other incidental expenses connected with the drill and training of the Militia,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that last year, owing perhaps to the hard times, or perhaps other accidental causes, the number which presented themselves for drill was larger than usual. Consequently the appropriation was exceeded by about \$20,000, for which amount they now asked.

Mr. POULIOT considered this expenditure, money thrown away, while there were so many useful things on which it might be expended. He suggested that the Minister of Public Works should be favoured with the appropriation, then he would be able to do something for the good of the Dominion. In his constituency there was a harbour which needed improving, and he hoped the attention of the Government would be given to the matter.

Mr. ROSS (Prince Edward) was of opinion that the bone and sinew of the Volunteers should be better paid than they were. He saw an item of \$50,000 for Rifle Associations, but he thought the money of the country should rather be spent on those who knew how to use the rifle in an expert and practical manner, than on those silver-headed-

caned, patent-leather-booted and kid-gloved gentry to whom he regretted this appropriation was being made. The men on whom so much money was expended were not the men that would do the most service to the country. It was the men who had served their country in 1865 and 1866; and if they were called out he would venture to say that an army of 25,000 or 30,000 of them could be obtained within ten days. He thought that the veterans of 1812 should be paid larger pensions, and that the men who lost their health at Erie should be taken into consideration by the Government next year.

Mr. CASEY said he could not agree with the remarks which had fallen from the hon. gentleman who had just taken his seat, but he thought there was some truth in the view he had expressed in regard to drill. A good deal of money was wasted, for the reason that it was utterly impossible, with the amount of money annually voted for militia purposes, and in the time allotted, to make efficient soldiers out of raw recruits. He considered that if the Government decided to take out only a small proportion comparatively of the volunteers of the country and drill them for a considerable time this year, not at battalion head-quarters, but in the usual brigade camps, the money would be most economically expended. He was sorry to hear the hon. gentleman make the remark he did in reference to Rifle Associations.

Mr. ROSS—I repeat it.

Mr. CASEY said the only instrument they had of keeping up enthusiasm amongst the volunteer corps was rifle shooting, and many joined the regiments for the purpose of practising rifle shooting and being allowed to take part in rifle matches. These matches did more to keep volunteer corps together than any other agency. And again, people called on suddenly, not trained in the use of the rifle, would be practically useless in the field although they might be sufficiently enthusiastic.

Mr. ROSS said he did not mean the Rifle Associations in the rural districts, but those at head-quarters, where the kid-gloved soldiers luxuriated.

Mr. MACKAY (Cape Breton) considered rifle shooting of more importance to our volunteers than drill, because the amount of place at the disposal of the militia for this year was altogether inadequate to the wants of the country.

The item was carried.

On item 77 to provide for the cost of building and equipping a steamboat to maintain communication between Prince Edward Island and the mainland during winter months, in accordance with the terms of Union, \$30,000,

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET asked whether any contract had been given to Mr. Sewell?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There will be.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET wished to know where the engines would be obtained?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said enquiries had been made to ascertain whether compound engines could be made in this country. He believed the machinery would be got in Montreal.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Will the vessel be ready this year?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Yes.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said he was in Quebec not long ago, and was told by a gentleman there that the vessel that was being built for this service was wholly unfit for it. He did not wish to find fault with the Government; he merely desired to call their attention to what had been told him.

Mr. DAVIES understood the vessel was to be built under Lloyds survey. He considered the model was perfect. With regard to the engines he would like to have them built at some place where they had more experience of building such machinery than in Montreal or Quebec. It would be better to go abroad for the engines.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET said there were manufacturers in Montreal and Quebec who could turn out the very best machinery.

Mr. FRECHETTE said there was one of the best establishments in Lévis.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there never was a compound engine

Mr. Ross.

built there. He had letters from several manufacturers declining to build the engines because they had no experience in the manufacture of them, and had no patterns. There had been very few such engines built in this country. Only two or three shops had models of the kind that would suit. The Government would take good care that nothing should be made out of the country that could be made in it.

The Committee rose and reported progress.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Bill to amend an Act intituled: "An Act to make further provision as to Duties of Customs in Manitoba and the North-West Territories; and further to restrain the importation or manufacture of Intoxicating Liquors into, or in the North-West Territories," was read the third time, and passed.

The House adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, April 10th, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 1.30 o'clock.

ORDERS DISCHARGED.

Hon. Mr. LAIRD moved that the following Orders be discharged:—

Bill respecting Dominion Lands reserved for Railway purposes.

Resolution—That it is expedient to make special provision respecting Dominion Lands withdrawn from the general provision of the Dominion Lands Act, as to sale and settlement, for purposes connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway; and to provide that two-thirds of all cash received for such lands shall be carried to a special fund for such purposes as aforesaid, to be dealt with in such manner as may be deemed expedient by the Governor in Council.

The motion was agreed to.

LENDING IRON RAILS.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:—"That it is expedient to authorize the Government to make a

temporary disposition of the iron rails as they are removed from the Government railways by loaning them to companies constructing railways which may be regarded as feeders to the Government lines, such rails to be returned weight for weight to the Government stores at the junction of such lines when taken up."

Mr. BOWELL asked what railways were referred to from which the rails were to be moved and loaned to private companies?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the road from St. John to Halifax was the railway. The road from Moncton was already laid with steel rails, and the Government were replacing the iron rails on the other portion as fast as they could.

Mr. BOWELL wished to know if the House was to understand from that that the rails which were being taken up were unfit for use. If so, they would not be required by other companies; if they were not worn out they should not be taken up. He was aware the Act declared this line should be laid with steel rails, but that referred only to the new portion of the road; on the other portion the iron was to be replaced with steel as soon as it became necessary to renew the rails. The principle involved in this resolution was vicious. He did not see why these rails should be given to local roads, though they might be feeders of Government railways, any more than to others in different sections of the Dominion. He could easily see how the adoption of such a scheme as lending these rails would lead to abuses. No doubt the Government were honest in their intention, but the experience of the past did not justify a reasonable expectation that rails once loaned to private companies would ever be returned. It would be something like the municipal loan fund. When the time would come to demand that the rails be returned, the companies would plead they had been used in the public interest, and claim exemption from returning or paying for them. If it were the policy of the Government to subsidize private companies throughout the Dominion, he had no objection to it. He would

cast his vote in favour of assisting all railroads running into the interior of the country, but he did not see why companies in a particular part of the Dominion should be specially favoured at the expense of other sections. If they wished to avail themselves of these rails which were being removed from the Government roads, let them buy what they required and pay what they were worth. Such rails as it was found necessary to remove should be sold for what they would bring, and there would be an end of the matter. He did not think the principle involved in this resolution was a correct one, and in order to prevent the Premier, in case anything should arise out of the lending of these rails, saying no objections were raised to this measure, he (Mr. Bowell) wished to place his protest on record.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there were about ninety miles of iron rails to be lifted yet. Of these about fifty miles might probably be used for some years longer, but they would have to be patched and it would never do to repair with steel rails. The track must be laid entirely either with iron or with steel rails. It was quite impossible to mix the two kinds. It was easier for rolling stock to pass over steel rails, and there was less liability to breakage. These reasons had induced the late Government to commence the process, of which he quite approved, and which he was carrying out as fast as possible. As to the policy of giving these rails to private companies, which would act as feeders to the road, he thought it was a good one. The cash value of the available rails at present was about \$117,000, assuming they would command as high a price in the future as in the past. These feeders would bring a large amount of traffic to the road. He thought this policy would accomplish a great deal of good.

Mr. McCALLUM held that if this power was given to the Government, they could use it to keep themselves in power. He opposed the resolution; and though he knew the Government would not make support a condition for the loan of rails, it would be well understood that they would expect

the support of companies getting the rails. It was said that companies thus favoured would give good security, but such security had been supplied by the Grand Trunk, Great Western, and Northern Railway Companies, yet last year the Northern Railway Company had been forgiven three millions. It was agreed that the other million was to be paid within a certain time; but only the other day the Premier had requested an extension of time touching this matter. The Premier had not always been of the opinion that it was necessary to use steel rails on the Intercolonial Railway. He remembered the time when in 1871, the hon. member for Lanark had moved that it be laid with iron; and the hon. member for Lambton, had voted for this resolution.

The purchase of certain steel rails was a monument of the Government's folly; and to hide their blundering they now wished to make it appear, that if these rails were not required for the Pacific, they were needed for the Intercolonial Railroad. He entered his protest against the passage of the resolution which was wrong in principle and would be wrong in practice. Our revenue was not too abundant, and if we did not want the rails in question, they should be sold, after giving proper notice.

Mr. MASSON enquired the meaning of the following portion of the resolution, "such rails to be returned weight for weight to the Government stores" "at the junction of such lines when taken up."

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that when taken up, they were to be returned to the depots at the junction of their lines with the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL thought that the wording of the resolution was perfectly clear. If transient travel was to be secured, a high rate of speed had to be secured, and to ensure this, the line should be laid from end to end with steel rails. He was surprised to observe the position taken by the hon. member from Hastings, and he heartily approved of the policy of the Government in extending assistance to feeders of the Intercolonial Railway.

Mr. McCALLUM.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) could not see how the rate of speed could be effected by the fact that a portion of the road was laid with iron, and a portion with steel rails; a long delay would take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway if the policy proposed were pursued. The business of the country should be conducted in a sensible practical way, and these rails, if they were not required, should be sold.

Mr. IRVING maintained that the Government proposed to follow the course pursued under similar circumstances by the Great Western, Grand Trunk and Northern Railway Companies.

Mr. PLUMB was not aware that in order to properly inaugurate this railway and establish a uniform rate of speed, it should be laid entirely with steel or iron. He was also not aware that such competition was offered by the great central lines as to necessitate the preparations of which mention was made. He thought that the rails in question should be sold to the branch lines. He could not understand exactly how they could be loaned on principles untinged with partizanship or favouritism. He was of opinion that the Government should not be too hasty with regard to the laying of the line with steel rails, as it was conceded that their use was still a matter of experiment, as far as advantage conferred equal to the additional price compared with the price of good iron rails was concerned. He considered that the objections raised to the policy of the Government were well taken.

On motion of Mr. MACKENZIE, the House went into Committee on the resolution, Mr. Ross (Middlesex) in the Chair.

The Committee reported the resolution without amendment.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved the resolution be read the second time and concurred in.

Mr. BOWELL moved, in amendment:—"That the resolution be not now concurred in, but that it be referred back to the Committee of Whole for the purpose of amending the same so as to provide that the

iron rails moved from the Government railways shall be sold to the highest bidder, after due notice shall have been given of such intention to sell the same." He moved the motion because he dissented entirely from the principle and also from the reasons given by the Hon. Prime Minister in moving the resolution. He objected to the loaning out to private companies of rails which were now worth \$25, \$30 or \$35 per ton, and having them returned weight for weight when they would only be of the value of scrap iron. If it was to be the policy of the Government to subsidize local lines that policy should be made applicable to all sections of the country.

Mr. FLESHER, in seconding the amendment, said he objected to the motion on the ground that he regarded it as a subsidy of local lines. He thought great difficulty would be experienced in ascertaining when the rails were to be taken up by the local lines.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said he should certainly vote for the amendment, as he did not approve of the principle contained in the original motion. Property for which the country had no longer any use ought to be sold to the highest bidder in the open market. The principle of the resolution was contrary to the policy the Hon. Premier had advocated both in this House and the Legislature of Ontario. When Mr. Sandfield Macdonald introduced a Bill asking for the sanction of Parliament to a Bill providing for grants to railways, the hon. gentlemen then said that Parliamentary control was a farce unless they had power to vote on each specific appropriation, and the principle of the motion before the House was a complete abnegation of Parliamentary control for the convenience of the Government. If they wanted to make a present of these rails, the companies should be specified. The rails would, most probably, never be returned, for as each rail became worn out it would be thrown aside.

Mr. WORKMAN said that it would be a very unprofitable transaction if the Government were to dispose of these rails now. Owing to the market

being over supplied, the price of iron rails was only one-half what it was three years ago. If they lent them out now and sold them four years hence the price that would be obtained for them would be much greater than that which could be got now.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was a question of public policy whether it was fit and proper to aid these connecting local roads which served as feeders to the Government roads, and whether they should not, in the least expensive and least objectionable manner, aid these lines. He was prepared to vindicate his vote on that ground.

Mr. MILLS did not see a very great deal of force in the observations made by the right hon. member for Kingston. All the railways of this country might be regarded more or less as public corporations. They were granted powers which were not conferred on any other companies. They were authorized to take away the property of private individuals in the same way as the State. What the Premier proposed to do in this case was to take iron rails and loan them to corporations whose existence was only justified on public grounds. Those rails would cost the public nothing, since the Government were to receive the same quality in return, while the country would be the gainer.

Mr. WALLACE held that if these rails were of any good they could be used where they were, and the country would have the advantage of them for some years. This resolution was for the purpose of subsidizing local railways. In Ontario the way railroads were built was by private companies which were aided by municipalities and the Local Legislature. The same principle should be adopted in the Lower Provinces.

Mr. PLUMB said there could be no objection whatever to granting aid to the lines which would be feeders to the Government railways; but before any such subsidy was granted, no matter how much it was, the names of the lines thus aided should be given together with the amount of rails they were to receive. He had no doubt such a proposal would receive every consideration if rightly presented to

Parliament, but it was too much to ask the House to vote these subsidies blindly.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE wished to know the railways to be subsidized.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he would give the names of all the railways that could in any sense be considered as feeders. There was the branch which might be necessary to reach deep water at Dalhousie, six or seven miles long; the road starting from Chatham, crossing the Intercolonial, and running towards Fredericton; the road from the harbour of Richibucto to the main line; the road from the main line crossing the counties of Queens and York to Fredericton; the St. Martin and Upham road, and the road from Parrsboro' to Pugwash. These were the whole of the roads he knew of that had connection with the Intercolonial by crossing it.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE said there was the Baie de Chaleurs Railroad, which was intended to be a feeder of the Intercolonial, and was intended to open up the whole district of Gaspé, with a population of 36,000 souls and an immense trade. The hon. gentleman seemed to know nothing about that road. He (Mr. Robitaille) wished to inform the hon. gentleman about it, so that he could furnish a few of those rails to the Company.

Mr. ROCHESTER was of opinion that the mode of disposing of those rails proposed by the Premier was a good one. When they were worn to a certain extent they must be removed, and if laid on the feeding lines the Government roads would indirectly have the benefit of them. It could hardly be expected they would be taken from that country and loaned to railroads in Ontario.

Mr. WHITE (Hastings) thought it would be better to sell the rails to the companies for old iron.

The House then divided on the amendment, which was rejected on the following division:—

YEAS:

Messieurs

Baby,	McCallum,
Benoit,	McQuade,
Blanchet,	Masson,
Bowell,	Monteith.

Mr. PLUMB.

Cameron (Victoria),	Montplaisir,
Caron,	Orton,
Daoust,	Pettes,
Desjardins,	Platt,
Farrow,	Plumb,
Flesher,	Pope,
Gaudet,	Robinson,
Haggart,	Robitaille,
Harwood,	Rouleau,
Jones (Leeds),	Short,
Langevin,	Wallace (Norfolk),
Little,	White (Hastings),
Macdonald (Kingston),	White (Renfrew) and
McDougall (Renfrew),	Wright (Pontiac).—37.
Macmillan,	

NAYS:

Messieurs

Archibald,	Killam,
Aylmer,	Laffamme,
Bain,	Laird,
Barthe,	Lajoie,
Bertram,	Langlois,
Biggar,	Laurier,
Blackburn,	MacDougall (Elgin),
Blain,	MacKay (Cape Breton),
Borron,	Mackenzie,
Bowman,	McGregor,
Brouse,	McLeod,
Buell,	Metcalfe,
Burk,	Mills,
Burpee (St. John),	Mitchell,
Burpee (Sunbury),	Moffatt,
Cartwright,	Norris,
Casey,	Oliver,
Cauchon,	Paterson,
Cheval,	Pickard,
Christie,	Pouliot,
Church,	Power,
Cockburn,	Pozer,
Coffin,	Robillard,
Delorme,	Rochester,
De St. Georges,	Ross (Middlesex),
DeVeber,	Ross (Prince Edward),
Dymond,	Rymal,
Ferris,	Skinner,
Fiset,	Smith (Peel),
Fleming,	Smith (Selkirk),
Fréchette,	Smith (Westmoreland),
Galbraith,	Snider,
Gillies,	Stirton,
Gillmor,	St. Jean,
Gordon,	Taschereau,
Goudge,	Thompson (Haldimand),
Hagar,	Thomson (Welland),
Hall,	Tremaine,
Higinbotham,	Trow,
Holton,	Vail,
Horton,	Wallace (Albert),
Huntington,	Wood, and
Irving,	Workman.—87.
Kerr,	

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Does the hon. gentleman intend to found a Bill on that resolution?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No, I do not.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—This will be a breach of the Constitution.

NEW BRUNSWICK FISHERIES.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT having moved that the Speaker do leave the

Chair, and the House go into Committee of Supply,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL stated, that before the motion was carried he wished to call the attention of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the question of certain rights and privileges claimed by fishermen of his County and Province, in connection with the enforcement of certain rules and regulations issued by the Government. He had allowed the matter to stand over to so late a period in the Session, owing to the absence of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, to whom he had a suggestion to make which, if accepted, would save a great deal of ill-feeling and bad blood, and perhaps more serious results, as feeling ran very high in this relation. The fishermen had enjoyed these rights for seventy-five or eighty years—in some instances longer—and they believed that they ought not now be deprived of them, and it would be impossible to remove this impression from their minds unless a decision contrary to their views was rendered in a court of law. His proposition was that a case should be selected for submission to the Judges of the Supreme Court, whose ruling would be binding. He made this proposal in the interests of peace and order, right and justice, and he trusted that it would be accepted. In case it was not considered favourably he would move, "That it be resolved that the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that this House do take into consideration the regulations made by the Government in May last, with relation to the fishery question, and the fishermen's interests in New Brunswick."

Hon. Mr. SMITH presumed that his hon. friend had authority to speak for the fishermen of his country regarding this matter. In framing the resolutions, there was no intention and no desire to interfere with any of the riparian rights in question; and he still held that these regulations did not contravene any such right. He would be glad to solve the difficulty in any reasonable manner; and he would request his hon. friend to postpone the matter until to-morrow, in order that he might consult with his colleagues.

At the same time he might say that the proposition would probably be accepted; but if it turned out that they could not agree on the statement of facts to be submitted to the Court for decision, it was to be understood that this arrangement would go for nothing.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL observed that he had been frequently consulted by the fishermen in this connection. He had been present at four large meetings; and he had advised them to secure the best legal counsel. He was satisfied that if his proposal was accepted, as it was proposed—in good faith—it would be accepted by the people of his county.

Mr. POULIOT urged that fishermen living on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in his county, possessed in this connection a stronger claim for consideration than the fishermen whose case was advocated by the hon. member for Northumberland; he strongly recommended this matter to the favourable attention of the Hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

THE BAIE VERTE CANAL.

Mr. BURPEE (Sunbury) proceeded to resume his speech on the question of the Baie Verte Canal.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL wished to be understood that if the hon. gentleman proceeded he should claim the right of reply.

Several members objected to the hon. gentleman proceeding with his remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. gentleman was out of order in speaking on a motion to go into Committee of supply on a subject of which notice had been given.

Mr. BROUSE moved the adjournment of the House in order to put matters right.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that it was irregular to speak on a motion for the adjournment of the House on a subject of which notice had been given.

Hon. Mr. VAIL said the matter was of considerable importance, and that if the hon. gentleman was allowed to go on, a full discussion should be permitted. He regretted that it had been brought up at so late a period of

the Session, as the subject was of a character that entitled it to full and earnest consideration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said that as the discussion of the subject was likely to develop into a long debate, he would ask the hon. gentleman not to proceed now, as a long debate could not be indulged in without blocking the pressing business of the House.

Mr. BURPEE consented not to proceed with his speech, and the matter dropped.

THE AMBROSE SHEA CLAIMS.

On motion of Mr. Cartwright, the House then went into Committee of Supply.

On item 37, appropriating \$11,866 for the purpose of meeting the probable claims of Hon. Ambrose Shea,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that this item was put in the estimate to meet the possible expenditure which might be necessitated by the report of the Committee of the House which considered the matter. Of course the Government would consider it their duty to enquire into the grounds on which the claim was based. The amount in the Supplementary Estimates was the exact amount without either interest or commission on the sum claimed by that gentleman.

The item was passed.

CHANGE OF GAUGE ON RAILWAYS.

Items 39 and 40 were passed.

On item 41, to pay for balance of cost of change of gauge on railway lines, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (\$38,758.12 from 1874-75) \$168,768.12.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN asked what the change of gauge would cost altogether?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said there had been expended up to the present time \$821,124, but there were credits for old material sold, which would make a considerable reduction on this amount. There was expended on the Windsor and Annapolis Railway in repairs as well as in change of gauge, very nearly \$105,000. The reduction in the expenditure would be about \$80,000, by the sale of old material. The expenditure on the Windsor and

Hon. Mr. VAIL.

Annapolis Railroad altogether was \$926,000, of which \$126,000 was yet to be voted, but the 80,000 was to be taken from that amount for old material. They had obtained 37 new engines, and other new stock of the very best description, and he supposed there was no road on the continent better supplied with rolling stock and other material.

The item was passed.

Item 42 was passed without discussion.

WHARVES ON LOWER ST. LAWRENCE.

On item 43, \$124,777 (Vide public accounts 1874-5, part 2, page 398),

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he did not see in the details of this amount anything about the surplus sum required for the wharves on the Lower St. Lawrence. The amount voted by Parliament was \$23,000; the amount expended, \$36,383, making a surplus expenditure of \$12,883, or more than fifty per cent. If the Premier would investigate this matter he would see the money had been squandered. There were too many clerks, overseers and foremen for the number of men employed. The reason was the work had been done by days' labor. The Premier must have been deceived or he certainly would not have allowed the work to be done in that way.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he was obliged to the hon. gentleman for the manner in which he had called attention to the matter. He promised to look into it. He was desirous to have the work of the Department done most carefully and economically.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said if the work had been done by contract the appropriation would not have been exceeded. When other work was to be done down there—and he hoped the Premier would see his way to making some needed improvement in that direction—he hoped it would be performed by contract.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said he would not be present when the vote for boundary surveys would be reached. He wished to ask if it was intended to have the boundary line surveyed and defined between Alaska and Canada. A good many Americans were en-

croaching upon our territory while they were very jealous of Canadians going into theirs.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the Government had made every effort to get the United States authorities to join them in obtaining a survey of the boundary in that particular part, but it was very difficult to get them to move in the matter. That was the only thing that had stopped them.

The item was passed.

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES — MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

The Supplementary Estimates for 1877 were then taken up.

Item 1 was passed without discussion.

On item 2, for the salary of one Stipendiary Magistrate, or County Court Judge, to provide, if necessary, for the vacancy created by the death of the late A. T. Bushby, Esq., in British Columbia, \$2,425,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE, in reply to Sir John A. Macdonald, said this was simply for one year, until the question of the County Court Judges in British Columbia was settled.

The item was passed.

With reference to item No. 8, providing for the payment of \$200 to Ensign Fahey, in accordance with a report of the Medical Board,

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT explained that this was the renewal of an old grant. Ensign Fahey had been injured at Ridgeway, and had been granted a pension of \$200 for five years, with the understanding that if he (Fahey) remained in a disabled condition at the end of this period, it would be renewed for a similar time. The Medical Board reported that this was the case, and accordingly the pension was continued.

Mr. IRVING trusted that when occasion arose, these graceful tributes for services rendered the country would be made more general in order to afford encouragement to our volunteers.

The item was passed.

Item No. 9, providing \$10,000 to purchase forage for, and for contingencies in connection with the North-West Mounted Police, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. POPE thought that this service was managed at present in a very extravagant manner.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE replied that he would be glad to hear any suggestions as to the way in which the appropriation could be reduced. The original estimate comprised only $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of oats per day for each of the horses, based on the supposition that large quantities could be raised at the posts, but further information led him to believe that this hope could not be realized; and this sum was in part intended to provide for the deficiency.

Hon. Mr. POPE—Could not the force be reduced?

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I do not think that it could be reduced at present. The military force in Manitoba has been lessened one-half during the present year, and that is something.

Hon. Mr. POPE urged that the volunteer system should be introduced in the North-West Territories, and if such provision were made he thought a reduction in this force would be quite feasible.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) held that they must be dependent for some years for protection on the Mounted Police Force.

The item was passed.

Item 10, appropriating \$200,000 for the Cornwall Canal, being taken up,

In reply to Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN,

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE explained that originally they had not intended to do anything in connection with this work during the present year, but they had subsequently thought it advisable to make a commencement, in order that they might next year proceed with it more vigorously.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) enquired whether it was the intention to make any appropriation for the improvement of navigation on Red River, between Winnipeg and Lower Fort Garry. Were an interruption which existed removed—vessels could pass from Winnipeg and Fort Garry direct to the mouth of the Saskatchewan. This would be a very great convenience, and he thought that it could be secured with the expenditure of from \$5,000 to \$8,000.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that they were not in the possession of information which would enable them to present an intelligent estimate in regard to this matter to the House. It was also to be remembered that a bridge, which would not be a swing bridge, was to be built across the river some 23 miles below Winnipeg and between this place and the Lake. The vessels used on the river were utterly unsuited for lake navigation.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL hoped that it was not intended to erect a bridge which would interfere with the freedom of navigation, compelling the transshipment of cargoes, a very serious matter. He trusted that the Government would reconsider its decision, if such was its object.

Hon. Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) held that the interruption of navigation by means of such a bridge would cause great inconvenience and hardship. A boat at present plied between Lower Fort Garry and the Saskatchewan.

The item passed.

MONTREAL EXAMINING WAREHOUSE.

Item No. 11, providing for the expenditure of \$50,000 in connection with the erection of Montreal Examining Warehouse, being taken up,

Mr. DESJARDINS made reference to the Martin Contract. He stated that while Bourgoin and Lamontagne—to whom the contract had since been awarded—had tendered for excavations at the rate of \$6.50 per yard, Martin's tender for this portion of the work had been \$4.30 per yard. A telegram was sent to the former requesting them to come to Ottawa on this business; and on the 13th of May a similar dispatch was sent to the latter. On the 21st of May, notification from the architect, of a change in the conditions of the contract with reference to the excavation work, was received, and on calculation being made, Martin's tender was found to be the lowest by \$1,084; nevertheless, a memorandum of the Minister of Public Works, of date the 25th of May, stated that the tender of Bourgoin and Lamontagne had been accepted, on condition that the rate for the excavation, walls, and foundations, was reduced

Mr. SMITH.

from \$6.50 to \$5. A letter was sent from the Department of Public Works on the 28th, informing Martin that his tender was the lowest; but, notwithstanding all this, the contract was given to Bourgoin and Lamontagne. Martin wrote desiring to know why the Government had changed its first decision, and rejected the tender which had been accepted; and this letter was dated the 2nd of June. It remained without reply. On the 8th of June Martin wrote a second letter requesting the reasons why a change in the conditions had been made, and why such action had been taken as was mentioned: but acknowledgment was simply made of its acceptance. This note was dated the 10th of June. On the day following, Martin wrote, stating that on the 13th of May he had received a telegram desiring his presence at Ottawa. He had gone to Ottawa, and had been informed by Mr. Trudeau, the Deputy Minister that his tender was the lowest. He was asked several questions, amongst others, what security he could furnish. He had offered either a money deposit or a mortgage. He then wished to know why the contract had been taken from him; and he asked whether this was due to the fact that he had the misfortune to be a Conservative. To this letter no reply was vouchsafed. On the 2nd of June the tender of Bourgoin and Lamontagne was accepted, on the 4th of June the report of the Committee of the Privy Council was approved of by the Administrator of the Government, and on the 25th of May an Order in Council was passed, accepting the tender of Bourgoin and Lamontagne on condition that the price for extra work was reduced to \$5 per yard. He did not pretend to say that Bourgoin and Lamontagne were not as competent as Martin to perform the work; but the matters of justice and impartiality were in question. He hoped that the Minister of Public Works could give an explanation that would satisfy the public. These questions had been discussed in the press, and on the hustings during the late local elections, and it had been charged that the change had been made owing to political motives. When it was found that the works would be more considerable

than the architect had at first foreseen, it would be seen that Bourgoïn and Lamontagne had been informed that they could change their contract prices, while Martin had not been placed in so advantageous a position, although the latter's tender was the lowest by the amount of \$1,084. Bourgoïn and Lamontagne did change their rates, and they had received the contract.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied, that it being discovered that extra excavations would have to be made, a second provision was made in the tender to obtain the schedule of prices at which these extra depths, which were assumed, not positively known, might be taken. Bourgoïn and Lamontagne were the lowest tenderers for the superstructure, the main point, by nearly a thousand dollars; and provided that the outer work was taken at lower prices, they considered those persons were entitled to the contract. Bourgoïn and Lamontagne at first refused to accept the price mentioned, considering it was too low; and the next tender was that of Martin, with whom they communicated. Shortly afterwards, however, the former returned, and accepted the conditions which were in question. He knew nothing about either of the contracting parties; he made it his business never to know anything about people under these circumstances, and contracts were awarded on principles which admitted of no challenge.

Mr. MASSON remarked that Martin was telegraphed to come to Ottawa; when the latter arrived he was told by the Deputy of the Department that he had received the contract, which almost immediately was transferred to Bourgoïn and Lamontagne. He did not wish to touch on the political question, but he would observe that Martin had a reputation to maintain. They were aware that a kind of rivalry existed between these contractors, and he could not but think that Martin, under such peculiar circumstances had a right not only to demand, but to obtain an explanation of the reasons which had actuated the Government with reference to this matter. He asked whether the Administration had acted in a business like manner. Martin's tender was the lowest, but

despite this fact, Bourgoïn and Lamontagne had been placed in a more advantageous position, and to them the contract had been transferred. Should such action be taken with reference to contracts generally? He thought not. Martin had offered satisfactory security, and who knew but that if he (Martin) had received the same offer that had been extended to Bourgoïn and Lamontagne, he would not have lowered his rates for making the superstructure, and thereby a real saving for the country would certainly have been effected. He considered that the Government had taken an improper course. His hon. friend from Chateauguay remembered the question which came up last year, when a Sub-Committee was appointed by the Public Accounts' Committee to investigate the contract awarded for supplying with wood the Penitentiary of St. Vincent do Paul. A gentleman had tendered at a certain price, and had every expectation of securing the contract, but he was ultimately informed that a party who had tendered at a higher rate would obtain it on condition of lowering it, and this was certainly not just. It was a system which was consistent with the duty of a Government towards the tenderer that he should know that if he were the lowest tenderer he should have the contract, provided he could give sufficient security. In this case the gentleman was not only to give security, but to deposit the money required as a guarantee that he would carry out his contract. Mr. Martin's contract was proved to be \$1,000 less than the successful tenderers', who were political friends of the existing Administration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he knew nothing about the Penitentiary contract the hon. gentleman had alluded to, further than it was let by one of the hon. gentleman's political friends. In this particular case he contended the contract was let to the lowest tenderer. It was exactly as he had stated it, and further explanation he did not feel himself called upon to give.

Mr. DESJARDINS pointed out that the architect had said that on the whole it was not only fair to assume, but it was a real fact, that by a correct

computation it was shown that the Martin tender was \$1,084 less than that of Bourgoin and Lamontagne.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that in a tender let at Kingston, a political friend of the hon. gentlemen opposite tendered three dollars below a political friend of the Administration, and the lowest tenderer got the contract. It was precisely so in this case.

Mr. MASSON said he had no complaint to make in reference to the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary contract for wood, which had been given to friends of the Administration.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said the contract was given out by a political friend of the late Administration.

Mr. MASSON said that gentleman had no doubt changed his political principles lately. When gentlemen from the Lower Provinces and the Province of Quebec and members of the Crown changed round, it would not be surprising that the Warden of a Penitentiary should allow his political opinions to change. It had been proved that the Warden of the Penitentiary had awarded the contract upon the urgent representations of the hon. gent's political friends. Mr. Masson here read extracts from the report of the Committee which inquired into the matter, and said that at one of the meetings of that Committee the hon. member for Chateauguay asked if it was not the custom of the late Government to give contracts to their political friends? To this inquiry the witness replied that they invariably gave the contract to the lowest tenderer. He next stated that under the late Administration the Government had always given the contracts for supplies for the Government institutions to the lowest tenderers, and he could prove by the record that in the majority of cases the contracts were given to Reformers.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said, as the hon. gentleman had referred to this matter, he thought he should have gone a little further and referred to the enquiry which was made respecting the purchase of a quarry at St. Vincent de Paul.

Mr. MASSON—It is not in point.

Mr. DESJARDINS.

Mr. HOLTON said it was perfectly in point, and he called upon the hon. gentleman to read that report. With regard to the wood contract, the Warden stated emphatically that he regarded the party who had made the lowest tender as not qualified to fulfil the contract, but it had been awarded to one who had put in a higher tender, on his accepting it at the figure of the lowest tender. The public had suffered no wrong, and the Warden who had awarded the contract was, when in this House, a supporter of the former Administration, and had been appointed to his present position by the right hon. gentleman himself. As the hon. member for Terrebonne would not read the report in regard to the quarry purchased, he would do so himself. The sub-Committee examined Mr. F. X. Auclair, the proprietor of the farm on which the quarry was situated, and other witnesses. The report was as follows:—

“It appears from the evidence that the quarry in question was offered to the Government by its original proprietor late in November 1872, for the sum of \$9,000; that no answer to this offer was received; that early in the following month of December Mr. E. H. Lemay purchased the quarry from Auclair for the sum of \$9,000; that later in the same month of December, valuers were appointed by the Government or by the Directors of Penitentiaries, under instructions from the Minister of Justice, to report on the value of the quarry, which was variously estimated at \$29,750, and at \$25,750; that the quarry was offered by Lemay to the Government for \$18,000, at which price it appears to have been finally accepted by the Government in the month of January 1873, and a vote for the money was obtained at the next Session of Parliament; that Mr. C. A. Dansereau, chief editor and co-proprietor of *La Minerve*, a journal established in Montreal, took an active part in the negotiation of the Lemay, sale of the quarry to the Government by and in consideration of his supposed influence, or the influence of his firm and journal, he was to receive individually, according to Lemay's evidence—but for his firm according to his (Dansereau's) own evidence—one-sixth part of the profits arising from the transaction; that over and above one-sixth share of the profits so stipulated for, Dansereau demanded of Lemay the sum of \$2,000 for an election fund, which he (Dansereau) says Lemay had previously agreed to pay, and that this demand was made pending the election in the County of Laval, in October 1873, and the money was intended to be used in connection with these elections, but it does not appear that Lemay ever paid this sum of \$2,000 or any portion thereof. It seems to be established beyond dispute or doubt that double the sum was paid for the quarry that it was offered or might have been purchased for; that the sale by Lemay was

effected through the influence of Dansereau with the Government, and that a considerable portion of the sum paid for the quarry in excess of the price at which it was offered to the Government by Auclair was intended to be used in the promotion of elections in the interest of the political party then supporting the Government."

He (Mr. Holton) did not intend to go any further into this matter than to call attention to the facts connected with it.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN wished to know why the hon. member tried to connect his (Mr. Langevin's) name with this transaction.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON said it was because reference was made to the hon. gentleman in the evidence.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said there was malice in the hon. gentleman's attempt to represent him as being implicated in the matter. It was not in accordance with the evidence to say the quarry was offered to the Government for \$9,000. It never was communicated to them, and that fact changed the appearance of the matter altogether. The Government having been ignorant of any such offer, the course they pursued was perfectly right. If they had known it could be bought for \$9,000 they certainly would not have paid more for it. Experts were appointed to value the property, and the matter was regularly brought before Parliament. But this transaction had nothing to do with the question before the chair, and he hoped the House would not be diverted from it by the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON quoted from the evidence of Messrs. Moylan and Lemay to show that reference was made to the Hon. Mr. Langevin by them.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said this was brought up as a screen to the other matter. When he, a short time before, had brought to the notice of the Premier the fact that money had been squandered on public works on the Lower St. Lawrence, instead of imputing wrong motives to the Government, he merely directed attention to it. The Premier had thanked him for the manner in which it was referred to. He (Mr. Langevin) had been a Minister of the Crown himself, and he treated

hon. gentleman opposite as he desired to be treated himself.

Mr. DESJARDINS said the hon. member for Chateauguay had attempted to justify one wrong by another.

The matter then dropped.

RAILWAY LANDS IN VANCOUVER ISLAND.

Mr. DECOSMOS asked:—Do the Government intend to surrender to British Columbia the belt of land reserved for Railway purposes on Vancouver Island, or do they intend to perfect their title and offer the same for sale in conformity with the Dominion Lands Acts?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We do not pretend to have any claim to the land.

THE DEBT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. DECOSMOS asked:—Do the Government intend to carry out the agreement made in 1873 by and between the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada, respecting the advance by the latter to the former, of the difference between the actual and allowed debt of the said Province at the date of Union? And why did the Government refuse to carry out the said agreement in 1875?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The agreement made by the Government is defined very clearly in the Act of Parliament of 1874, for regulating the advances to all the Provinces. As to the second Branch of the hon. gentleman's question, the sum of \$189,000 was advanced to the Province of British Columbia, but it was not considered expedient to advance any further sum.

FISHERIES ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Mr. POULIOT moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for a statement of the fishing licenses granted since Confederation for setting up fisheries on the beach of the St. Lawrence in front of the parishes of Notre Dome du Portage, River du Loup and Cacouna, shewing:—1st. The names of the persons to whom licenses were granted, together with the amount paid for each such license. 2nd. The amount of fines and penalties paid for infractions of the law in set

ting up such fisheries, with the names of the persons who paid such penalties and the amount paid by each of them.—Carried.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Mr. ROSS (Middlesex) moved an Address to His Excellency the Governor General for copies of all correspondence between the Government and the Lieutenant Governors of the different Provinces regarding the relative jurisdiction of the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments over the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors; together with all decisions of the Courts in the different Provinces bearing upon this matter. He said it was within the knowledge of every member of the House that the question of a Prohibitory Liquor Law had been for the last two or three years spoken of everywhere as one of great importance. Statistics had been laid before the House from foreign countries bearing on the liquor traffic. In coming down, however, to legislation, the advocates of prohibition had encountered difficulties of a nature to which he proposed to call attention. It was not within their power, until the establishment of the Supreme Court, to settle the question of jurisdiction. Owing to the peculiar nature of our Constitution the powers of the Dominion Parliament and Local Legislatures were so stated that it was impossible to say whether this House could pass a prohibitory liquor law or not. This question had been before the Courts in New Brunswick, where the power of the Provincial Legislature was decided by Mr. Justice Ritchie in the following words:

“To the Dominion Parliament of Canada is given the power to legislate exclusively on ‘the regulation of trade and commerce’ and the power of ‘raising money by any mode or system of taxation.’ The regulation of trade and commerce must involve full power over the matter to be regulated, and must necessarily exclude the interference of all other bodies that would attempt to intermeddle with the same thing. The power thus given to the Dominion Parliament is general, without limitation or restriction, and therefore must include traffic in articles of merchandize, not only in connection with foreign countries, but also that which is internal between different Provinces of the Dominion as well as that which is carried on within the limits of an individual Province. As a matter of trade

and commerce, the right to sell is inseparably connected with the law permitting importation. If, then, the Dominion Parliament authorize the importation of any article of merchandize into the Dominion, and places no restriction on its being dealt with in the due course of trade and commerce, or on its consumption, but exacts and receives duties on such importation, it would be in direct conflict with such legislation and with the right to raise money by any mode or system of taxation, if the Local Legislature of the Province into which the article was so legally imported, and on which a revenue was sought to be raised, could so legislate as to prohibit its being bought or sold, and to prevent trade or traffic therein, and thus destroy its commercial value, and with it all trade and commerce in the article so prohibited, thus rendering it practically valueless as an article of commerce from which a revenue could be levied.”

According to the opinion given by Mr. Justice Ritchie, it would appear with the Dominion Parliament rested the jurisdiction wholly. In a case tried in Ontario a different opinion seemed to be expressed by one of the judges. This was a case in which the power of the Local Legislature to pass such a law was decided. Chief Justice Richards made the following remarks:—

“We think, looking at the legislation by the Province of Ontario as applicable to the giving the powers of limiting the number of taverns in a municipality or prohibiting the sale by retail of spirituous liquors by shopkeepers in such municipality, that this is a power which may be properly exercised by the Local Legislature as a matter chiefly of policy, of a merely local and private nature, when it does not interfere with the sale of imported or manufactured liquors otherwise than as by retail.”

In their efforts to secure legislation with a view to finally prohibit the liquor traffic, the advocates of prohibition were met with the conflicting opinions of two learned Judges. In view of these facts, and in view also of the fact that by one clause of the Supreme Court Act, the power is admitted by the Government of referring cases of doubtful jurisdiction to that Court, it was thought desirable, in order to prepare the way to further action, to ascertain whether this Dominion Parliament or the Local Legislatures could prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. That clause of the Supreme Court Act was as follows:

“It shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to refer to the Supreme Court for

hearing or consideration, any matter whatsoever, as he may think fit; and the Court shall thereupon hear and consider the same and certify their opinion thereon to the Governor in Council."

It would be universally admitted, so far as the importation of intoxicating liquors was concerned, this House alone had jurisdiction, but in the matter of the manufacture and sale the conflicting opinions of the two judges justified them in seeking for the decision of the Supreme Court. It might be said in taking this course, the advocates of prohibition were abandoning the ground they had taken. He contended they had not. They had always insisted that the liquor traffic, like others, was capable of being regulated by law, although it was surrounded by many difficulties. They thought the power of the law on behalf of temperance and sobriety was sufficiently important to justify them carrying on this agitation to accomplish the object they had in view. Every right-thinking man would agree with him, that if this question belonged of right to this Parliament, they should know it as early as possible, but if it was not within their power to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, they should know this also, in order that the time and attention of hon. members might not be occupied with the discussion of subjects beyond their jurisdiction. In moving the resolution, he hoped that hon. members would consider that he proposed taking the proper course, preparing the way step by step for the legislation which they and so many in this country considered to be advisable, and which he thought hon. members would sustain the very moment they felt the country was ready for the inauguration of a prohibitory liquor law. Without further remark he begged to move the resolution.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE was not aware that any correspondence on this subject existed, and of course over the decision of the courts they had no control. Steps however would be taken to procure reports of such decisions as could be ascertained to have been pronounced. As far as this was concerned, the Government had no objection to the motion; but with reference to the suggestion thrown out, and which he beg-

ged pardon for supposing was the principal object of the motion, he had to point out that it was a very serious question indeed to propose to utilize for the purpose which the hon. gentleman mentioned the power by which the law enabled the Governor in Council to refer matters to the Supreme Court for consideration. This was an Appellate Court, formed for the purpose of determining the correctness or inaccuracy of the decisions of the various provincial tribunals and that class of cases which might be brought before these tribunals for adjudication, and which might afterwards come before it in the proper and normal discharge of its functions as a Court of Justice. It was obvious that it would be a serious matter, in the performance of these duties, for it to give a preliminary opinion under this exceptional power, without all the advantages, and without those aids to arriving at a correct conclusion, to be found in the presentation of a case—narrowed, if you will, but also made more clear by the ordinary forms in which cases were presented to the courts, both as to issue and as to argument; also by the process of decision and of judgment in the inferior courts; and lastly made more clear by the argument in the court above. All our notions of the dispositions of our rights before the courts, were based — and rightly in his opinion — on the theory that even the most learned and most intelligent of judges would but very imperfectly discharge their duty if unaided by the reflections of counsel on either side. No one, or few at least, would be willing, he fancied, in important and delicate matters, to entrust their interests into the hands of a judge for his decision, on the bare statement of the case, without taking care to present an argument; and yet he knew of no means by which, in the exercise of this peculiar power invested in the Governor in Council, they would be able to have an efficient argument before the Judges of the Supreme Court, and present all sides of an important question like this, so as to be sure of a judgment after a full discussion of the matters at issue. There was another strong objection to submit, as a general rule, to such reference to the Supreme

Court. A similar Court was established at a period almost coeval with the establishment of the Constitution of the United States; and the principle had there been jealously preserved, that constitutional questions of this description ought to be adjudged of by the Court only on the presentation of a particular cause between parties. Indeed there is no power, and he believed that there should be none, to dispose of a question on the submission of a general case, as now proposed. This point had been considered on more than one occasion. It was presented the other day with reference to a provision in a Bill, when he gave his opinion as to its inconvenience. He observed that the other branch of the Legislature had come to a resolution in that sense on the subject; and he believed that it was this day presented with regard to another important question. He had ventured to observe, although he did not say, that a circumstance might not arise in which it might be useful to avail themselves of this power with respect to such questions as might come before courts of law, that the precedent set them in connection with the United States' Court, and also invariably, or almost invariably observed with reference to the Judicial Committee—and it was a wholesome precedent, only departed from on pressing emergencies—that in all cases in which a matter could come judicially before the Supreme Court, it ought to be represented to come before it judicially, and not in any other way and should be followed faithfully in this country. With regard to this class of cases, there could be no difficulty about their coming before the Court judicially; they could be raised in reference to any Acts of a Local Legislature—as had been done before local Courts. This question had so been raised in New Brunswick and Ontario, as his hon. friend had said; and he had some reason to believe that an appeal would be taken from one of these decisions. At any rate, if this were not proposed, nothing would be easier than to find a case in which an attempt could be made to quash a municipal by-law; or the object could be effected in some other way with the view

of testing the validity of the local law involving this constitutional point. He would venture to suggest that his hon. friend, and those who were similarly interested in this subject, should see that use was made of the ordinary methods for bringing this question before the Supreme Court; and he thought the House would agree with him in the opinion that they ought to hesitate before they proposed to bring it in this extraordinary and necessarily perfunctory manner—before the consideration of that Court. The motion was agreed to.

MR. ROCHESTER'S CLAIM.

Mr. McDUGALL (Renfrew) moved for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into a claim made by George Rochester and which had been considered by the Dominion arbitrators, before whom a considerable amount of evidence taken. The claim he explained arose from the loss of timber belonging to Mr. Rochester owing to the breakage of a boom at Arnprior in the year 1871. The booms there were owned and under the charge of an officer appointed by the Government. It was quite true that it would be hard in all cases to make the Government responsible for damages occasioned owing to exceptionally high water, or other extraordinary causes. He would show that on this particular occasion, the person who had charge of the booms had neglected his duty; this was clearly shown in the evidence. The Hon. Jas. Skead was one of the witnesses and he quoted from that gentleman's evidence, as well as from the evidence of several other witnesses, to show that the officer in charge had been warned that the boom was likely to give way. One of the Arbitrators had, however, favoured Mr. Rochester, and seemed to feel that a very considerable injustice had been done this gentleman. He asked the House to consider whether or not this had been the case, and whether the neglect was wilful or otherwise; he thought that under the circumstances a Committee should be appointed. It was true that the evidence might imply that an injustice had been wilfully done to this individual, but he made no such charge, let the inference be what it might.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE.

The fact was—as every right-minded person would admit—the decision was certainly extraordinary; and if it were proved that the decision should have been different, he thought that justice should at any rate be done to persons who deserved it. He moved that the Committee be composed of Messrs. Galbraith, White (Renfrew), Wright (Pontiac), Archibald and the mover.

Mr. ROCHESTER supported the resolution. Some five or six individuals were directly interested in the matter. From what he knew and had seen, he thought that a Committee should be appointed; and if owing to the fact that the Session was on the point of closing, this request was not granted, he trusted that the Government would take this matter into consideration and ascertain whether justice had been done. The Government had an officer at Arn prior to take charge of the booms and slides and see that they were kept in proper repair; and from the evidence it would be seen that this official had not performed his duty on this occasion. This officer had been repeatedly warned that the boom would break, and also that the east wind—which had been blowing at the time for some days—had kept the logs of lumber so close to the head of the boom, that the timber could not be got away. He was told not to let down any more and, as far as the evidence went and they knew, this person paid a deaf ear to all these warnings. Further, he left the place and came to Ottawa, where he remained for two days before, and two or three days after the breaking of the boom, to which occurrence he paid little heed. He (Mr. Rochester) fancied that, if the circumstances had been different, the award of the arbitrators would not have been what it was. An election was in progress in the County, and the Chairman of the Board had repeatedly expressed himself strongly in favour of the Conservative candidate, Mr. O'Rielly. He did not hesitate to say that the Chairman had acted in a very partisan manner on that occasion, and political feeling was apparent throughout the entire proceedings.

Five or six of the persons examined

before the Arbitrators were friends of the present member for South Renfrew, and he had no hesitation in saying not only from what he had read of the evidence, but what he saw himself, it was turned into a political affair, and that was the consequence of the award being given as it was. The amount that was claimed was not much, and from what he could learn the claimants asked simply for what they had lost. Their losses direct and indirect would amount to \$14,000, whereas they had only claimed \$7,000. He did not see that there would be any necessity for appointing a Committee at this late period of the Session, but he trusted the Government would look into the matter, and they would find that right and justice had not been done to these people. He regarded it as the duty of the Government to see that justice was done them.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said this was a motion to obtain a select Committee for the purpose of reviewing the judicial decision of one of the bodies created by Parliament to adjudicate on certain matters. He explained that this question was submitted to the Dominion arbitrators some years ago, they rendered an adverse verdict, and as he was desirous of having justice done in this matter it was recommitted to the arbitrators, there being a change in the meantime in the Board. The arbitrators again came to the same decision and refused to reverse the verdict, the Chairman dissenting from the award. To ask for the appointment of the Committee under these circumstances was what they could scarcely assent to. If it were to become a practice in this House that a judicial decision should be referred to a Committee of Parliament with a view to its reversal or with a view to sustain it, such decisions in themselves would become a farce. While he had given every opportunity of justice being done, it was quite impossible that they could go any further in the matter. If there had been an injustice done, he regretted it very much, but there must be some mode of obtaining a settlement in such cases, and that mode of settlement having been resorted to, these cases could not be brought to Parliament, merely

because parties were dissatisfied with the decision.

Mr. McDOUGALL (Renfrew) said that as it was so late in the Session they would only be able to make a partial investigation if a Committee were appointed, and, therefore, he would not feel justified in going into the matter now. However, he did not think the parties had had justice dealt out to them, whether intentionally or otherwise, by the arbitrators. With regard to the statement of the Premier that under no possible circumstances might they review a decision of the official arbitrators, he hoped that between this and the next meeting of the House the Government should have reason, on proper representation, to change the view they had taken on this subject.

The motion was withdrawn.

THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST.

Mr. ORTON begged to move the adjournment of the House in order to place on record a very important matter in connection with the agricultural interests of the country.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called attention to the fact that the hour for private business had expired.

Mr. MASSON said the hour for private business had passed ten minutes, and that a motion for adjournment was always in order.

Mr. SPEAKER—I have not called the hon. gentleman to order.

Mr. ORTON, in proceeding, said he desired to call attention to the action taken by the Agricultural Committee. He found by the report of that Committee that an immense amount of testimony had been given by gentlemen, both from Ontario and Quebec, and some from Nova Scotia, setting forth the views of the leading men in those Provinces, in regard to the agricultural interests of Canada. The Printing Committee had seen fit to decline publishing that evidence, which he thought was very weighty, coming as it did from the presidents and other officials of agricultural societies, or from leading members of the grange associations of the country. There was also the evidence of the leading millers of the country, and the reeves of Township Councils, together with the views of large meetings of farmers, called for the purpose of answering questions which had been promulgated with a view to eliciting information necessary for the Committee to become possessed of. He would endeavour to give to the House a digest of that evidence.

Mr. YOUNG rose to a point of order. The hon gentleman was not speaking to the motion of adjournment, and he would ask if this was the proper time to discuss that report.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. gentleman had not up to that point transgressed the rules of order.

Mr. ORTON then read the following summary of the evidence to which previous reference has been made:—

He wished to read some of the names of those who had given testimony upon this important question, and he thought it would be conceded that the evidence of these gentlemen was quite as weighty as the evidence taken orally before that Committee, which consisted chiefly of the evidence of Members of Parliament, and only two outside the House from any distance were summoned. One was the Master of the Dominion Grange, and the other the President of the Agricultural Society of Essex. The names were as follows:—

John Shapman, County and Township of Leeds, Gananoque Station; Joshua Legge, Jr., Leeds and Landsdowne, County of Leeds; S. Stanley Howell; Robert Garbutt, President East Hastings A. S.; John Fuller; John A. Kirk, Secretary-Treasurer, Glenelg A. S.; Samuel Wilmot, Bowmanville D.A.S.; Henry Collins, Reeve of North Monahan; John Walton, Peterboro'; Thomas Tellford, Township Clerk, Ennismore; W. S. Sutherland, Glenalan, farmer and miller; Thos. Harrison, President of Hope A. S.; Matthew G. Miller, Deputy Reeve of Minto; William Beaty, Township of Landsdowne, Leeds, S. R., Ontario. W. Stewart, Warden, County of Richmond; J.P. Stockwell, Mayor of Danville, County of Richmond, Quebec. J. H. Rankin; Thomas Lampson, Emily; John H. Ball, Niagara; J. Thos. Murphy, Simcoe, N.R., N.A.S.; Jas. Cumming; J. M. Tyson & Co., Clarksburg, Grey P.O.; Wm. Gibson, Garafraxa, County of Wellington; N. C. Ford; J. S. Thompson, Brantford, Ontario. Andrew Ray, President Shefford, A.S., Quebec. David Plows, miller, Brantford; Joseph Harris, farmer, Township of Hope; Wm. Jamieson, Township of Horton, Renfrew; Samuel Woolner, President, Garafraxa A.S., No. 2 and six others; Hugh Roberts, Reeve, Township of Pilkington; J. P. Stitson, Ontario; James Cross, Reeve of Peel, County of Wellington and four others; H. Underhill, Brant; John McRuar, South Dumfries, County of North Brant; Thomas Thompson, President South Victoria A. S.; Robert Shearer, farmer, Niagara; John S. Heaslip, Reeve, Township of Gainsborough, County of Monck; Alexander Lattimore, Deputy Reeve, Township of Wainfleet; Francis Cassidy, Garafraxa, Centre Wellington, President A.S.; Andrews and Bros., merchants, millers, Thornbury, County of Grey; Donald Douglass, Warkworth, County of Northumberland; John Currie, President A.S., N.R., County of Perth; John Challen, Townsend, County of Norfolk; Wm. Leslie, Puslinch P.O.; Robert Currie, East Wawanosh, Wrenham P.O.; John Taylor, Jr, Clerk and Treasurer, Corporation of Brockville; James Wilson, Fergus; James Laidlaw, Guelph; Henry W. Mabee, Treasurer of Township of Charlotteville A.S.; William Dawson, Treasurer, A.S. of South Norfolk; C. Edwin Cresswell, Edmundville P.O.; James Braithwaite, Hullet,

County of Huron; C. Kuntson, Vice-President, E.B.A.S., Emily, County of Victoria; J. Jaffe Dubbin, Deputy Reeve, West Garafraxa, S.T., A.S.; John Pearson, Sebringville, County of Perth; Nathan Chwah, Ontario. P. Power, M.P., Halifax, Nova Scotia. Moses J. Ormstead, ex-President South Wentworth A. S.; William Pindale, farmer, ex-President Centre Wellington A. S. V. Pt. Township Nichol; Local Committee of Association, County Lincoln, Township Grimsby; R. S. Stephenson, Secretary-Treasurer, Ancaster A. S.; J. M. McDermott, Palmerston Co, Perth; James Goldie, Guelph, President Millers' Association of Ontario; Joseph Mummy, Reeve, Township of Moulton; P. R. Randall; Andrew Milson, Maitland, Co. Grenville, ex-President of A. S., Ontario. H. G. Joly, M.P.P., Province of Quebec. John Shaw, Port Ryan; Morris C. L. Kitchen; Richard Gadden, Vice-President, Malden, Anderson Township, County of Essex; Wm. Lukes, P., Newmarket, County of York; Roland Gregory, Secretary Grange No. 82, St. Catharines; Alex. McLaren, Grange Depot No. 149, Chatham P.O.; Jas. Tufe, Secretary of Lumy Grange No. 215; Edward Lee, G. T. O., Township Wainfleet, County of Monck; Thomas Graham, Township Nepean, County of Carleton, Ontario. D. F. Davis, Aylmer, County of Elgin, Ontario. William McCain, Reeve of Gosfield; Henry Botsford, Amherstburg; G. Morse, Leamington; J. Misler, Co. of Wellington; Ashfasby, Port Hope; Pierre Tremblay, Tilbury, West Essex; John B. Carpenter, Simcoe; S. Wade, Master Grange Division, County of Elgin; J. H. Broadfoot, D. Reeve, Nichol; H. Anderson, Clerk, Township of Westminster; James Patton, President of A. S. of S. Bruce; Richard Rivers, M. G. T. O., Walkerton, County of Bruce; William McEnery, farmer, G. Depot, Reeve, County of Halton; John Warren, First Depot, Reeve, County of Halton; John Waldie, County of Halton, Township of Wilson; John Beatie, County Clerk, County of Wellington; John Darby, Secretary, Division Grange No. 20, County of Simcoe; James Miller, County of Peterboro', Ontario. John Burwash, President A. S., Quebec. W. H. Leech, Bluevale P.O., of Elgin Division Grange; William Stoddart, President South Simcoe A. S., On-County of Huron; M. Sweetnam, Township of Howick; John Robison, Deputy of County tario. Leander Rand, Cornwallis, Kings Co.; J. A. Peterson, Aylesford, Nova Scotia. John Fletcher, Vice-President of Brunel A. S., Township of Essa, County of Simcoe; Arch. Rankin, Lanark Agricultural Society, Secretary; Thomas Duff, Cookstown, Master Grange No. 89; Robert Gordon, ex-Reeve of Arthur, North Wellington; Michael C. O'Donnell, Deputy Reeve; Jas. Manning, Master Grange No. 37, Tecumseth, County Simcoe, Ontario. George Clayers, Missisquoi, President of A. S., Quebec. Thomas Kelly, President East Grey A. S.; Richard Blain, Dickson Mills, Galt; Albert Rawling, Lambton; J. S. Brow, merchant miller, Meaford; William Windatt, Reeve of Darlington; Daniel Dyer; M.

Ballantyne, President S. Perth A. S.; John Hallenger, President Arthur A. S.; Tom Coveney, Secretary A. S., Township of Logan, County of Perth; Henry Graves, Vice-President Innisfil Branch A. S., N. Simcoe, Ontario. Hugh Daly, J.P., Kildare, County of Joliette, Quebec. John Kain, Reeve, Howick, from a public meeting held in Gorrie; J. Bt. Rutherford, Reeve, on behalf of his neighbourhood, N. Perth; Henry Middleton, Grange room, Orana; John VanHorn, President County of Kent A. S.; Edward McCallum, Duart, County of Bothwell; David Wilson, County of Kent A. S.; J. S. Jarvis, farmer, Township of Stewart, County of Kent; Robert Lowe, practical miller and dealer in grain, Chatham; Framan A. Society, Township of Mara, N. R. County of Ontario; James Graham, President Branch Port Perry and Scugog A. S.; John B. Leasby, President Uxbridge T. P. A. S.; Charles March; G. J. Miller, farmer, Niagara; John Tolmie, Secretary of Bruce Grange; William Lees, owner of Fallbrook Mills, Township of Bathurst, County of Lanark; Robert Cleland, Reeve of Elora, County of Perth; John Ross, A. S. C. C.; William and J. Spink, Duffin's Creek, South Ontario; C. R. Mallony, President H. K.; Platt Henman, Grafton; Walter Riddell, Cobourg, Ontario. H. Davenport, Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. M. Sinclair, Secretary Thames Grange, St. Mary's, Ontario.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.—(FRENCH.)

Antoine Paiment, Comté de Terrebonne; J. H. Lecourt, prêtre, Directeur des Fermes du Petit Séminaire de St. Thérèse; Felix Gouin, Président de la Société d'Agriculture, Comté d'Yamaska; S. Bertrand, St. Mathias; Louis Lévesque, Ste. Mélanie de D'aillebout; Le Maire de St. Ambrose, Comté de Joliette; Etienne T. Pâquet, M. P. P., St. Nicholas, Comté de Lévis; Louis Pelland, Président de la Société d'Agriculture, Comté de Berthier; P. E. Dostaler, C.L.; J. Bte. Dupuis; Louis Lévesque, Président de la Société d'Agriculture de Joliette; L. R. Bellerose, J.P., Comté de Joliette; Le Maire de St. Félix de Valois; Isaac Barrette, Ste. Elizabeth; E. J. Guilbault, Manufacturier et Maire de la Ville de Joliette; Joseph Moreau, St. Aubert, Maire de Richmond et plusieurs autres; S. Tassé, prêtre, Ste. Scholastique, Comté des Deux Montagnes; J. N. A. Archambault, Président de la Société d'Agriculture No. 1, Comté de Verchères; J. N. Messier, Rougemont, Comté de Rouville; M. G. Hardy, Grondines; Joseph Picard, Cultivateur; J. Elie Bilodeau; Ferdina Savary, St. Raymond, Comté Portneuf; Thomas Roy, Président de la Société d'Agriculture, Comté de St. Jean; Joseph Massicotte, Champlain; A. Archambault, et autres.

Among the replies was the following from Mr. Joly:—

“QUEBEC, 24th March, 1876.

“G. T. Orton, M.P., Chairman Agr'l. Com.

“MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I only received to-day a printed form of questions from your Com-

mittee, in the labours of which I take a deep interest, and hasten to send you my answers. I am afraid they are rather lengthy, but I must acknowledge that I feel some satisfaction in being allowed to give my views on the subject, however little weight they may carry.

“It is a sort of a protest against the accusation of inconsistency which has been brought against me during this Session in the House of Commons and in the Press, for having given up the main plank of the platform of our Parti National. We claimed, above all things, a National Commercial Policy. My friends have been twitted with having given it up, and I was brought in as the leader of the Parti National, but I have not given it up.

“If I remember correctly, you helped me in 1873 to obtain the exemption of duty for the beet-root sugar manufacture, and I hope you will approve my views on the subject.

“I remain, my dear Doctor,

“Yours sincerely,

“H. G. JOLY.”

Mr. Joly's replies were as follows:—

Is it in the interest of the Dominion that we should continue to admit American produce free, while Canadian produce exported over the border has so heavy a tax levied on it?

A.—No, it is against the interest of Canada. I humbly think we should not admit anything free of duty except the raw material required for our manufactures.

What duties, if any, would you impose on flour and various grains and other foreign farm products; or what guiding rule as to such impositions of duties would you advise?

A.—I would respectfully recommend to lay aside all abstract theories and to adopt no other rule but that of our own interest.

What effect has free admission of Indian corn on price of coarse grains in your section of country?

A.—We are not much affected in our part of the country, because unfortunately we do not produce much more than what is required to supply our own wants; but it appears to me that wherever the farmer produces more than he required for his own use, and has a surplus for sale, he must suffer by the competition. It is true the purchasers, among whom the manufacturers and the workmen ought to count for a very large proportion, may buy a little cheaper than the farmer, but as a natural consequence, they will have to sell their goods cheaper to the farmer, whose purchasing powers are diminished. It is not by cheapening everything we can hope to attain national wealth. The dearer we pay, the better for us, provided our paying power keeps pace with the increase of price. Ask a workman which of the two he prefers—flour at \$4.50 a barrel and no work or flour at \$6. and plenty of work. Farming and industry are a good strong team when they are driven together. Divide them and you have a one horse concern or rather two that will not do anything like the work of a good strong double team.

Do you advise legislation with a view to establishing and promoting in Canada, the cultivation of sugar beet, and the manufacture of sugar therefrom; also cultivation of tobacco and flax? And what legislation would best conduce to the end in view?

A.—The House of Commons in 1873 expressed itself in favour of exemption from duties for a certain number of years of the beet-root sugar manufactured in Canada. I think nothing could be more efficacious for promoting that industry. True that, so far, it has not taken root in the country, but strenuous efforts are made to introduce it. The difficulties are great, greater even than in France, Belgium and Germany, but I trust they will be overcome, and rely especially on that exemption from duties as the greatest encouragement that can be given. As regards tobacco the tax on Canadian grown tobacco yields but a very small revenue while it hinders the cultivation. It ought to be abolished and the tax on imported tobacco increased. We can produce very good tobacco in Canada. I see no reason why ours should be inferior to the Connecticut or Kentucky. All we want is experience, which can only be acquired by practice, and no one will grow tobacco on a large scale with the present tax.

As for flax its cultivation will never be profitable without linen factories, and those who have a practical knowledge of the subject know how difficult it is to work profitably a linen factory in Canada under present circumstances.

Do many of the sons and daughters of farmers in your locality, whose taste or physical capacity lead them to desire other employment than farming, seek employment in the United States? If so, what remedy would you advise?

A.—A great number of people leave our part of the country every year for the factories in the States, and will continue to do so as long as we cannot give them work. Of course our market is too limited to employ them all; but, limited as it is, we could employ a good many more than we do if we kept our market to ourselves, which we ought to do, since the United States refuse to open their market to us.

Does the free importation of American flour, with ut reciprocity, put you at a disadvantage as compared with American competitors? And if so, state reasons.

A.—I think those who have grain for sale must feel it seriously.

Have you found grinding in bond convenient and practicable and fair to all parties concerned, and would you recommend it in case of the imposition of a duty on foreign wheat?

A.—No.

As an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. imposed in the United States on flour against the fixed specific duty of 20 per cent. per bushel on wheat, generally operates as a discriminatory tariff against the Canadian miller, would the establishment of discriminatory duties by the Parliament of Canada, in your opinion, be advisable?

Mr. ORTON.

A.—Yes.

Do you think the admission of American horded cattle, horses and sheep into Canadian markets at a 10 per cent. duty, while the United States impose a 20 per cent. duty on similar animals sent from Canada, acts injuriously on Canadian farmers? And would you recommend a similar duty to that imposed by the United States?

A.—Yes.

Can the Canadian farmer raise profitably all the grain required to fatten his stock, or will it pay him better to buy Indian corn?

A.—With a good system of farming we ought to produce enough to fatten our cattle.

What articles produced on the farm require a home market for their sale?

A.—All bulky articles.

What changes, if any, are required in legislation to make agriculture a more desirable and profitable occupation for the people?

A.—Give up all abstract notions and study the real interest of the farmer and manufacturer; they ought to go together.

Mr. ORTON, having read this statement, withdrew his motion.

THE BOURGOIN-LAMONTAGNE CONTRACT.

The House then resumed consideration of item 11, in Committee of Supply.

Mr. DESJARDINS observed that the prices were so nearly alike that it was difficult at first sight to say whether Mr. Martin or Messrs. Bourgoin and Lamontagne should have had the contract; but, nevertheless, to the former should have been confided the construction of the building. If we were to admit the principles laid down by the Hon. Premier that such works as the foundation of a building must be considered as an extra work, it would lead to many abuses, because it would always be easy for a man abiding by his political feelings to deprive a tenderer of his rights in a contract. In this particular case the Hon. Premier admitted that Bourgoin and Lamontagne had at first refused to accept the contract; that Martin was called for; that he accepted the undertaking according to tender, and yet we find that not only are Bourgoin and Lamontagne intrusted with the contract, but that they are even admitted to modify their tender so as to put themselves in a like position as Martin.

The item was passed.

STEAM COMMUNICATION TO PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Item No. 15, providing the sum of \$25,000 for the cost of building and equipping a steam boat to maintain communication between Prince Edward Island and the mainland during winter months, in accordance with the terms of Union, being taken up,

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET asked for information in respect to the conditions of the contract made with Mr. Sewell in this connection.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE regretted that he was unable to comply with the request at the moment; he would do so, however, to-morrow.

Mr. MASSON—Will the boat cost \$55,000.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—That includes everything.

Mr. MASSON—Is the boat purchased from Mr. Sewell?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I stated distinctly on Saturday last, that no contract was as yet signed, but that it would be signed in a few days.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Has any report, or survey of the vessel which is to be sold by Mr. Sewell, been made for and to the Government.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I do not think that the Government want any such report. There is nothing up as yet but the frame of the vessel, which is, moreover, to be built under the eye of Lloyd's officer, and of an inspector to be appointed by the Government.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Was the price paid to Mr. Sewell, without any report having been made to the Department?

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—The price is not paid.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The price is \$50,000.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Is the model of the boat such as is suitable for the purpose; and has there been a specific statement of the cost received?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—The price will be \$50,000, and the model has been specially designed for the purpose in view.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Have you a report on that point.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I presume that we have the ordinary report of the departmental officer at Quebec, and of the Deputy Minister, Mr. Smith. I do not know that any report has been made by a shipbuilder; that is a matter of detail to be attended to afterwards.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Neither one nor the other of the officers named know the first thing about the suitability or unsuitability of a model. The points are—first, whether the contract has been signed, or any sum fixed, and secondly, whether the model is reported to be fit for the service contemplated. I ask the Premier whether he has finally closed the contract; and whether he is in possession of a report, not alone as to the extent to which the work has progressed, but as to the capacity and room allowed in the frame for the necessary engines, equipment, and machinery; and whether the model shows that the vessel will be suitable for the work required. He should have the advice of able and experienced men in this matter like Lloyd's Surveyor, or practical shipbuilders of Quebec, and not of a departmental officer, and of the Deputy Minister.

Mr. BOWELL—Then the telegram which the hon. member for Frontenac read the other day, and which the Minister of Finance said was not true, was literally true.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It was not.

Mr. BOWELL—Yes.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—It was not.

Mr. BOWELL—The telegram was to the effect that a contract had been entered into, and when the question was asked, whether the statement was correct, the reply was that we had better look to better sources for information, certainly leaving the impression that not only did no contract exist, but also that there was no truth in the telegram at all.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Then the statement was not correct, for no agreement at the time had been made.

Hon. Mr. BLANCHET—Has Mr. Sewell given any security for the due performance of the conditions of the contract?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Of course he has.

Hon. Mr. ROBITAILLE—I think that this will be a useless expenditure as we have an excellent steamer called the *Glendon*, which would be useful for the purposes in view, and which is fit for no other purpose.

The item was agreed to.

INDIAN ANNUITIES.

On item No. 18, appropriating \$11,000 to bring up the annuities payable under the Robinson Treaty to the Chippewas of Lake Huron and Superior from 96 cents to \$4 per head,

Mr. BLAKE explained that under this treaty the Dominion was responsible for the payment of the money as it was one of the debts of the old Province of Canada. The money would be first paid by the Dominion, and afterwards it would be adjusted by the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

Mr. BOWELL said in connection with this he desired to call the attention of the House to some money that should have been paid to the Mohawks settled on the Bay of Quinte. He had called the attention of the late Administration to it, and the then Minister of Justice reported in favour of the payment of the money. Before the clergy reserves were set apart certain concessions in the Township of Tyendinaga were surrendered by these Indians to the Government. The proceeds of that sale were to be invested and the interest paid by way of annuity to the tribe, and was paid on certain portions of the land. When the clergy reserves were set apart a portion of these Indian lands, as well as Government lands, were taken for the clergy reserves. The clergy reserves had been sold and the whole amount had been put into the general fund. The sum realized on account of that portion of the clergy reserves which had been Indian lands should have been put into the Indian fund.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE said he was not able to discuss the subject to which

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

his attention had been called, but if the hon. gentleman would give him a memorandum in regard to the matter he would look into it.

The item was agreed to.

THE ARCHIVES.

On item No. 29 of the Estimates, appropriating \$3,000 to meet expenses in connection with the care of Archives,

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN called the attention of the House that there were important documents, both in France and in England, in relation to the history of this country, under the French and the English regime. He desired to know whether the Government desired to have any of these documents copied, and observed that the expenditure of a small sum of money for the purpose, for one or two years, would considerably enrich our sources of information on the subject.

Mr. BABY said there was a large amount of correspondence of a historical character in the British Museum which should be copied. The United States had been allowed to copy all the documents in the British Museum in relation to their history, he trusted that the Government would grant a small sum for that purpose.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said the subject was an interesting one, and he could imagine that both in the British Museum and the French Archives interesting documents with reference to the early history of this country might be found. A sum voted for this purpose would be well employed. A portion of the vote under consideration would no doubt be at the disposal of the Government, and might be used in this direction, and if it were found insufficient, hon. gentlemen would not probably object if they took a few hundred dollars out of the amount voted for unforeseen expenditures.

The item was carried.

THE DAWSON ROAD.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) said before the Committee rose, he desired to call the attention of the House to a statement made by the hon. member for Terrebonne in relation to Mr. Carpenter of the Dawson road. That hon.

gentleman had said that Mr. Carpenter had paid the Superintendent of the American Line to take emigrants to Manitoba by their line in preference to taking them over the Canadian line. He (Mr. Smith) had telegraphed to Mr. Kittson of St. Paul, Minn., as follows:—

“Asserted here Carpenter, Dawson road, paid you to carry emigrants rather than take them himself. Is this true.”

In answer to this telegram he received the following reply:—

“St. Paul, Minn., 11th March.

“To Hon. Donald A. Smith, M. P., Ottawa :

“I was under impression that such an arrangement was made at Winnipeg, but on consulting our Superintendent, Halcomb, I find that it is not the case.” (Signed)

“N. W. KITTSON.

He regarded it as a matter of justice to Mr. Carpenter to mention this, and no doubt it was exactly the true state of the case.

Mr. MASSON did not think he ever spoke of an arrangement being made with any company. His information was that Mr. Carpenter paid a certain sum, \$11 he believed, to induce emigrants not to go by the Dawson road, and to go through the United States. He believed that the hon. gentleman could get information on that point in his own constituency.

Mr. TROW said this telegram bore out what he had already stated. The contractor could have no object whatever in inducing emigrants to go by another line when they were a source of profit to himself.

The Committee rose and reported.

THE MENONITES.

On the motion for concurrence in the item \$15,000, part of unexpended balance of 1874-5 for immigration and quarantine,

Mr. YOUNG said he had seen it reported that in another place a distinguished gentleman hailing from Toronto had indulged in remarks condemnatory of the introduction of the Menonites into Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Those remarks were calculated to give rise to fears in the minds of the Menonites and prevent them from settling in our country. He was amazed to find such language

used in such a quarter. He knew, as a matter of fact, from experience, there was no class of settlers more desirable than those very Menonites. They were a most industrious, thrifty and honest people, and made the very best settlers. The objection was urged that they were settling in townships contiguous to each other. He could see no objection to that. It was done with other classes of immigrants with the best results. But the main objection to the Menonites was that they were granted the privilege of exemption from bearing arms. It was because they wished for such an exemption that they had emigrated from Europe, and they had a special agreement with our Government securing to them that privilege. Although it was secured to them, there were many of the young people who held different views, and in case of war it was probable they would take up arms in defence of their homes. It was most unfortunate that such a question should be raised. If any doubts were created on this point, it would prevent the immigration of those valuable settlers. The members from Manitoba would admit that the influx of Menonites into this Province had done much to relieve the distress prevailing last year by the large expenditures they had made in purchasing the necessaries of life. His own German constituents, who had never seen and did not know them, had taken such a deep interest in those people that they had generously offered to become security to the extent of \$100,000 for the repayment of the money advanced to them by the Government. The statements made in another place were too important to be allowed to pass without a protest from some one on the floor of this House. He desired to state what he believed to be the general feeling throughout the Dominion, that these people should be encouraged to settle in our country. If there were 100,000 of them in the North-West, they would soon make our waste lands blossom like a rose.

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk) had much pleasure in endorsing all that the hon. member for Waterloo had said with regard to the Menonites in the North-West. From the moment of

their arrival they had shown themselves a useful and industrious people. Their presence had sensibly affected the trade of Winnipeg, largely increasing the business of the merchants. The Menonites had shown themselves to be a well conducted people. He had not heard of a single case of disorder among them since they came to the country. As to their objection to bearing arms, he trusted there would never be any necessity for it, but if it should come, they lived on the frontier and would be likely to help to defend themselves. No better people had been brought into the country and no settlers could be more desirable.

The item was concurred in.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Last year before the House adjourned the Government asked authority to place that portion of the Pacific Railroad extending from Rat Portage to Cross Lake, under contract. We expected at that time the re-survey would be completed in time to do so during the season. It took the whole summer to accomplish that and we are not yet in a position to invite tenders. I have again to ask the House for the authority we obtained last year. We have had the contract ratified from Fort William to the neighborhood of Shebandowan, a distance of 45 miles. As I said a few nights ago in the House, we diverge from that line some 23 or 24 miles from Fort William, so as to reach the North-West Angle of Lac des Mille Lacs, from which we proceed in a straight direction, and we have the survey completed to Rat Portage. I want authority to place that portion under contract. We offered for the contractors a distance equivalent to that under the former contract in the new line chosen from the point of departure on the line from Shebandowan. This they have declined, as they have a right to do, and we want authority to accomplish this. I give notice of the following motion:—
 “That the Government be authorized
 “to enter into contracts during the
 “Recess with parties sending in the
 “lowest available tenders for the works
 “of construction of the following portions of the Canada Pacific Railway,

Mr. SMITH.

“viz: From Fort William westward
 “towards Lac de Mille Lac and the
 “crossing of Steel River from Rat
 “Portage to Cross Lake.”

Mr. CURRIER—Is that intended to make an unbroken line, or is any portion of the route to be by water?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—This is the main line. It will be all rail when it is built, but it will pass by the lake in the meantime, but will not go an inch off the main line. We do not propose to place any under contract but these two ends in the meantime, because we hope to have an arrangement made a year hence that we can get contractors to take the line.

The House adjourned at 10.40 p. m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, April 11, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Two o'clock.

FEEES ON PRIVATE BILLS.

Mr. BLAIN moved that the fees on the Bill to incorporate the United Empire Loan Company be refunded, it having been withdrawn in consequence of the rough handling it had received in the Senate.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL said he would not oppose the motion, but he did not approve of the principle of returning fees for Private Bills withdrawn under such circumstances.

Mr. YOUNG said it was asserted that many persons applied for charters of this kind for speculative purposes merely. He thought care should be taken to prevent this, and to see that they were not granted to men of straw.

Mr. PLUMB thought care should be exercised to see that those charters did not fall into the hands of parties who merely sold them for what they would bring. He hoped the suggestion of the hon. member for Chateauguay, to employ an expert to look through those Bills and put them in proper shape, would be adopted.

Mr. BLAIN held it was the duty of the House to pay no regard to any man that applied for a charter, but to grant every application that was

properly made when all necessary formalities had been complied with.

The motion was carried. •

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE moved that the Government be authorized to enter into contracts during the Recess with parties sending in the lowest available tenders for the works of construction of the following portions of the Canada Pacific Railway, viz:—From Fort William westward towards Lac de Mille Lac and the crossing of Steel River from Rat Portage to Cross Lake.

Mr. THOMPSON (Cariboo) asked whether it would not be advisable in making this suggestion the hon. gentleman should also include the western portion of the road? It might be advisable before next Session to do some work there.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had already stated the only thing that prevented them having a general tender asked for, was their inability to present anything to tenderers in British Columbia. Although the line for some distance was presumably located permanently, an instrumental survey had not been made. A vote had been taken for the purpose, so that, if possible, they could have a portion of the work commenced during the coming season. It would be asking authority they had no probability of exercising until late in the fall when they could submit the tenders to Parliament as provided for in 1874, if the hon. gent.'s suggestion were acted upon.

Sir. JOHN A. MACDONALD did not see why the hon. gentleman did not ask this authority when the House was full.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said he had mentioned, in making his explanation, that he intended to ask for this authority. It was put off in order that they could get all the information possible.

Mr. CURRIER thought it was a great pity the Government should propose to expend money on this route between Thunder Bay and Fort Garry. A land and water line could never compete with the all-rail route between Duluth and Fort Garry. This was a

matter every practical man must understand. Therefore, he thought it would be much better to delay expenditure on that road until the time arrived when an all-rail route could be constructed to Fort Garry.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE replied that it was to be an all-rail line from end to end.

Mr. CURRIER—I understood the hon. gentleman the other night to say that it was not to be so.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Not at all; I never said so.

The motion was carried.

THE JESUITS' BARRACKS.

Mr. MASSON enquired of the Minister of Public Works when the papers for which he had asked, with reference to the Jesuits' Barracks of Quebec, and their transfer from the Local to the Federal Government will be brought down. They should have been brought down ere this, he remarked; and it was a matter of importance, that when this was done, they should be printed.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE stated that it was quite impossible as yet to bring them down. The last communication from the Government of the Province of Quebec on this subject was dated the 5th of April; and this they had not had time to consider. They might bring down the papers as they were, but the correspondence would be entirely incomplete. He had no objection, however, to do so.

Mr. MASSON—Do I understand that we are not to have these papers at all while the correspondence is going on?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—We cannot bring an incomplete correspondence before the House.

Mr. MASSON—The Premier will remember that my motion was carried, and under the circumstances, he is bound to bring down the correspondence up to date.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I stated explicitly when the motion was carried that I was unable at the time to say what correspondence existed on the subject, and that I could only bring down what was consistent with the pub-

lic interests. I guarded myself carefully on that point. The hon. gentleman can see any of the papers he desires; but I think it would be absurd to place an incomplete correspondence before the House.

Mr. MASSON—It can be retained for a century if that course be pursued. The question of title that is at issue can only be decided between the Imperial and Federal Governments, but I did not ask for correspondence that had passed between these Administrations. There can be no secret to be concealed, and I hope that when the correspondence is brought down it will be printed.

CONCURRENCE.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT moved concurrence in the reports of Committee of Supply, and the first item respecting fisheries being taken up,

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL remarked that he had the day previous called the attention of the Government and more particularly of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, to the state of the case, with relation to the fishermen of New Brunswick. He had made a proposition which his hon. friend had kindly consented to consider, and he would like to hear what his hon. friend had to say on the subject.

Hon. Mr. SMITH replied that the matter had been under consideration. He had also consulted with the Minister of Justice, who had no objection to the acceptance of the proposition in question. It was to be understood, however, that convenient despatch would be made in this connection with regard to the submittal of the case.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL believed that it was in the interest of the Government and of the fishermen that a case should not be chosen until he had had an opportunity for visiting his constituents, and making personally an explanation to them of the difficulties of the position which both they and the Government occupied. He thought that if this was done, and if the view entertained by the Government on the one hand were contrasted with their claims, this would lead to a proposition that would bring about a more easy reconciliation of present differences than

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would be otherwise possible. He did not think that he could pay a visit to his county for this purpose until some time during the present summer, but he would endeavour to do so as soon as possible, and secure the nomination of some person authorized to act for the fishermen, to prepare a case for submission to the Minister of Justice, and his hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, for their assent, concurrence, amendment or suggestions, prior to being laid before the Judges of the Supreme Court. He fancied that this would be satisfactory to his hon. friend.

Hon. Mr. SMITH had certainly understood that the hon. gentleman spoke on behalf of the fishermen, and that the latter would undoubtedly assent to the terms of the proposition.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL replied that on the day previous he had stated that he had visited his county last year; that by request he had attended public meetings in four leading fishing districts; that he had been asked to give his advice and counsel, and that he had complied; that he had no positive authority to make a distinct proposition, and also that he had no doubt whatever that the proposal he had made, being as it was in the public interest, and in the interest of peace and order, right and justice, would be accepted by the fishermen when matters were explained. He had never pretended that he was authorized to make any proposition; but he did feel confident, from what had occurred between the fishermen and himself, that any proposal he might make would be accepted by his constituents. He requested his hon. friend not to be too hasty, but to afford him opportunity for going down and placing the facts before the fishermen. Under these circumstances he entertained no doubt whatever as to the acceptance of the proposition in question.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—I understand that this is a question of law. The fishermen have some rights, the hon. gentleman asserts, and this is to lead to a final termination of the question.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I did not assert it—the fishermen assert it.

Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The hon. gentleman has raised a storm which he is now prepared to calm. He told the fishermen to assert it. I understand that it is a simple question of law which it is proposed to refer to the Supreme Court.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—It is not a simple question of law which is to be referred to the Supreme Court, and I wish my hon. friend to understand that I did not rise a storm which I now desire to calm. I never raised a storm; and further, I never did assert that the fishermen had rights, but that I believed they had rights. Being a layman I offer no legal opinion.

Hon. Mr. SMITH—I would call attention to the correspondence which passed between us, in which he asserts, most positively, that the fishermen have rights with which the Government should not all interfere. I have no objection to giving the hon. gentleman a reasonable time. I suppose that a month or two will be all that is necessary; I do not want any unnecessary delay to take place, as I desire the question to be set at rest.

The item was concurred in.

On item No. 52, appropriating \$3,000 to meet expenses in connection with the care of Archives,

Hon. Mr. POPE said he was most anxious that something should be done in regard to the archives. There were many documents of great importance in England and France which ought to be copied, and they could be copied as easily and as cheaply this year or next as they could 10 years hence. The sum in the estimates was not sufficient to do this, and he would strongly urge a larger appropriation for the copying of these documents.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said he had informed the House on the previous day that a considerable portion of the \$3,000 would be available for that purpose, and he also intimated that if that money was not found sufficient that they might supplement it from the vote for unforeseen expenses. He understood that the Minister of Agriculture intended to have some of the documents copied. It was not, however, desirable to give indiscriminate

authority to copy everything relating to Canada.

The item was concurred in.

WAYS AND MEANS.

On motion of Mr. CARTWRIGHT, the House went into Committee of Ways and Means.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT then moved the following:—

“Resolved, That towards making good the supply granted to Her Majesty for the year ending 30th June, 1876, the sum of \$1,139,338.28 be granted out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

“Resolved, That towards making good the supply granted to Her Majesty for the financial year, ending 30th June, 1877, the sum of \$19,486,602 be granted out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.”

The resolutions were adopted.

The Committee rose and reported the resolutions without amendment.

The resolutions were read the second time and concurred in.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT introduced the Supply Bill founded on the resolutions.

The Bill was read the second and third time, and passed.

The House then adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 9 p.m.

A Message was received from the Senate, agreeing to the following Bills, with amendments, viz:—

No. 76. To amend “The Insolvent Act of 1875.”

On motion of Mr. Blake, the said amendments were concurred in.

No. 30. To amend and consolidate the Laws respecting Indians.

On motion of Mr. Laird the said amendments were concurred in.

No. 34. To incorporate the Canada Assurance Corporation.

On motion of Mr. Cameron (Victoria, Ont.), the said amendments were concurred in.

No. 48. To incorporate the Union Assurance Company of Canada.

On motion of Mr. Cameron (Victoria, Ont.), the said amendments were concurred in.

No. 65. To amend the Charter of “The St. Lawrence Bank,” and to change the name of the said Bank, to that of “The Standard Bank of Canada.”

On motion of Mr. Cameron (Cardwell), the said amendments were concurred in.

Also,—agreeing to the following Bills, without amendment, viz:—

No. 61. To amend the Act 35 Victoria, Chapter 108, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company (Limited)."

No. 79. To further amend the Act to incorporate "The London and Canada Bank," and to amend the Act amending the same.

No. 96. To amend the Acts therein mentioned, as respects the importation and manufacture of intoxicants in the North-West Territories.

No. 8. To amend the Act 37 Victoria, Chapter 51, intituled: "An Act to authorise the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion."

No. 80. Respecting loans by the British American Land Company.

No. 45. To incorporate the Chartered Bank of London and North America.

No. 86. To detach a certain portion of the County of Lotbinière, and to attach it to the County of Beauce.

No. 101. For granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1876, and the 30th June, 1877, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service.

Also,—agreeing to the amendment made by this House, to the Bill (No. 82) of their own, intituled: "An Act to remove doubts under the Acts therein mentioned, respecting the Corporation of the Quebec Harbor Commissioners," without amendment.

Also,—agreeing to the following Bills, with amendments, viz:—

No. 63. To incorporate "The National Trust and Investment Company of Canada (Limited)."

On motion of Mr. Cameron (Cardwell), the said amendments were read the first time.—Further consideration to-morrow.

No. 4. To incorporate "The National Exchange Company."

On motion of Mr. Workman the said amendments were read the first time.—Further consideration to-morrow.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

No. 46. To incorporate "The London and Ontario Investment Company (Limited)."

On motion of Mr. Cameron (Cardwell), the said amendments were read the first time.—Further consideration to-morrow.

No. 27. To incorporate "The Scottish Canadian Loan Company."

On motion of Mr. Cameron (Cardwell), the said amendments were read the first time.—Further consideration to-morrow.

No. 75. To incorporate "The England and Canada Mortgage Security Company."

The said amendments were read the first time.—Further consideration to-morrow.

The Bill (No. 100) from the Senate, intituled: "An Act to provide for the examination of witnesses on oath by Committees of the Senate and House of Commons, in certain cases," was read the second time, considered in Committee of the Whole, reported, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie it was resolved, that when the House adjourns, it do stand adjourned until to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, noon.

The House adjourned at 10:15 o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, April 12, 1876.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 12 o'clock noon.

TRUST AND LOAN COMPANIES.

A message was received from the Senate informing the House they had made certain amendments to a number of Bills to incorporate Trust and Loan companies.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE said if the companies had no objections to these amendments, the Government had none. He disapproved, however, of one amendment which extended the time for the sale of real estate from five to ten years. He wished it to be understood that in the general act which the Government would introduce next Session they would adhere to the five years limit.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT said it was with the very greatest doubt and hesitation the Committee or himself

had allowed these companies to take power to borrow money on deposit in conjunction with the power to borrow on debentures. He wished it to be very distinctly understood that the Government did not hold themselves in any way pledged to concur, in future legislation, in that double borrowing power. The matter required careful consideration, but he could see great risk and danger in the powers attempted to be exercised.

Mr. PLUMB trusted that all such companies would be brought under the provisions of a general law, enabling the Committee to deal with all bills on the same basis.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE presumed that the various bills in question had better be finally read, as the Government had no objection to any of the amendments.

They were accordingly read the third time, and passed.

THE OFFICIAL REPORTS.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON moved the adoption of the report of the Committee charged with the management of the debates.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I do not think that notice has been given of that motion, and at this stage of the Session I must take upon myself the unamiable responsibility of objecting to any motion being put of which notice has not been given—at all events, with reference to this important subject.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Surely the hon. gentleman will not oppose the Government in this matter.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—This is not a Government measure.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—If this report is rejected there will be no *Hansard* next year.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That is precisely what I desire.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—Then the hon. gentleman must take the responsibility.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I will take the responsibility.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—I cannot make the motion, if there is an objection raised.

Mr. SPEAKER—The motion is not in order.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I hope that my hon. friend, in a spirit of fair play, will withdraw his objection.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—On this subject I have made up my mind unalterably; and nothing will induce me to withdraw my objection at the present stage. My deliberate opinion is, that a large majority of the members of this House are opposed to the continuance of the *Hansard*. The subject has been postponed until only a mere handful of members is present. I know the frequency with which important matters are brought up at this period, and if I am here to-day, it is because this is the case. I take the responsibility, sitting on this side of the House,—which I often took, when on the other side—of insisting on the observance of the rules respecting matters I deem of sufficient importance to justify that course.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I regret the fact that a disposition is shown to strangle this infant child of the Printing Committee. I am not aware that the report is adverse to the continuance of the *Hansard*. The reports may not have been as copious in reproducing speeches as some hon. gentlemen might have desired; but I would only say this—the managers of it have very fairly done what they could to give a correct representation of what has occurred in this House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—That is quite true. The work has been very well done; I do not complain of that at all.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—If there is anything defective it is to be found in the carrying out of the details of the system, which we should rather try to improve. The hon. gentleman states that owing to the thin attendance we should not now deal with so important a matter; but Parliament has already sanctioned the establishment of the *Hansard*. Two years ago we voted a sum of money for the purpose; and we did the same thing last year. Therefore, if there is any endeavour to obtain a snatch judgment on the question, it is not shown by those who wish to continue the system, but by those who

wish to prevent the carrying out of so useful an institution—an institution of which I am decidedly in favour. I believe that we ought to continue it, and improve on it; and in the interest of good Government, that a true and faithful record should be had of the statements of hon. gentlemen on either side of the House. I cannot imagine any other reason for the attempt to kill it off, than a wish to prevent the existence of such a record. As to the expense, I do not think that the country should complain of it, for it is a mere bagatelle compared with the usefulness of the *Hansard*, which enables hon. members authoritatively—if the occasion presents itself—to quote the hon. member for Chateauguay *versus* the hon. member for Chateauguay, or the hon. member for Northumberland *versus* the hon. member for Northumberland.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON—When I discovered that the hon. member was opposed to the consideration of the report, I endeavoured to obtain a meeting of the Committee, which I think has the right to continue the system under the existing Order of the House; but I was unable to secure a quorum. Under the circumstances, we can have no *Hansard* at all.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The expression of the House, communicated to the Committee, is sufficient.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—There is no House.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—The Government represent the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I believe that the majority of the House are opposed to the continuation of the *Hansard*. If I were not of that opinion, certainly I would not assume the responsibility of taking the course I am now pursuing. With reference to the manner in which the reporters have discharged their duties, I have no fault whatever to find. I think that these duties have been fairly and faithfully performed. I strove with others for many years to have this system tried. It has been tried; and to my judgment, it is a failure. We are better without than with it; and I think that this is the present

sense of the House. Those who are in favour of it ought to have moved earlier in the matter. They had abundant time, and this is one of the Standing Committees of the House. They have always the ear of the Chamber; and there would have been no difficulty in bringing up the report at an earlier period when the benches were filled. If this had been done, I should have explained my views, and acquiesced with the decision of the majority if adverse to my opinions with the best possible grace.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—Why did you not take the legitimate way to ascertain what the opinion of the House really was; you may be wrong?

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—It was not for me to take the initiative. I repeat that I take the perhaps unamiable responsibility of enforcing the rules of the House.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman from Chateauguay has pronounced a most severe censure on the Committee to which this subject was relegated. The hon. gentleman has pointed out that this Committee wilfully allowed this very important subject to pass over until the last moment, when everybody must know it was too late to come to any conclusion on it. It was the duty of that Committee not only to see that the *Hansard* was attended to for this Session, but that some policy should be arrived at for its continuance next Session. My hon. friend says he feels that the majority of the House are against the *Hansard*. I beg leave to differ with him, and to say I believe that when the House meets next Session the majority will be found to be in favour of its continuance. The country is in favour of it, and will not be willing to give it up. This will be a retrograde step in respect of a most important subject. I am convinced, now the country has had the advantage of an official record, it will insist on its continuance. The people have a right to have a report of the debates of their representatives which has some official character, and which is not tainted by the supposed political proclivities of the different newspapers which would otherwise be the sole re-

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positories of the proceedings of this House. It would be a great mistake, an abnegation of the only means the House have, as representatives of the people, of obtaining a legitimate influence with the country, to stop these reports. In England the *Hansard* is sustained by private enterprise, but I believe if it were found that this were not sufficient to keep it up, the people of England would call upon the House to grant a sum of money for the purpose of having an official report of the proceedings of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. CAUCHON said they never supposed the report of the Committee would have been opposed. It was thought that by making a change in the organization of the staff they would get a better report. When he saw the danger that it would be opposed, he tried to get a quorum of the Committee together in order to continue the existing arrangement, but failed. He hoped the hon. gentleman would not oppose the motion.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON—I do object.

Hon. Mr. POPE thought he could convince the hon. member for Chateauguay that he was wrong in stating that the majority of the House was opposed to the *Hansard*. The hon. gentleman said he did not like to take the responsibility in this small House of allowing this thing to go on. He wished to assure the hon. gentleman that he had accepted a much graver responsibility. The House had decided that they should have the *Hansard*, and it was not right for that small House to reverse the decision. He was sure his hon. friend was wrong in taking the responsibility he did at the present time. Although he (Mr. Pope) was one of those opposed to the establishment of the *Hansard*, he would not do anything to prevent the carrying out of the expressed will of the House.

The point of order was sustained, and the House adjourned at 1.15 o'clock until 3 o'clock, at which hour the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod entered and informed the Speaker that His Excellency the Governor General requested the presence of the House in the Senate Chamber, to which the members repaired with the usual ceremony.

BILLS ASSENTED TO.

The Commons being in attendance, The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery read the titles of the Bills to be passed severally as follows:—

An Act to provide for the appointment of Assistant Inspectors of Penitentiaries in Manitoba and British Columbia.

An Act to provide for the Salaries of County Court Judges in the Province of Nova Scotia, and for other purposes.

An Act to amend the Criminal Laws relating to Violence, Threats and Molestation.

An Act respecting the Intercolonial Railway.

An Act to make more effectual Provision for the Administration of the Law relating to Corrupt Practices at Elections of Members of the House of Commons.

An Act to authorize the Shareholders of "The Union Permanent Building and Savings' Society" to change the name of the said Society to that of "The Union Loan and Savings Company."

An Act to authorize the Shareholders of "The Provincial Permanent Building and Savings Society" to change the name of the said Society to that of "The Provincial Loan and Savings Company."

An Act to extend the Acts respecting Dominion Notes to the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, British Columbia and Manitoba.

An Act to amend the Railway Act, 1868.

An Act to provide for the payment of a Temporary Grant to the Province of Manitoba.

An Act to extend the Acts therein mentioned, respecting Weights and Measures, and the Inspection of Gas and Gas Meters, to Prince Edward Island.

An Act to supply an omission in the Act 37 Victoria, chapter 42, extending certain Criminal Laws of Canada to British Columbia.

An Act to amend the Acts therein mentioned, respecting the Militia and the Defence of the Dominion of Canada.

An Act to provide for the more effectual enquiry into the existence of Corrupt Practices at Elections of Members of the House of Commons.

An Act further to amend the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway Act.

An Act to amend the Act respecting Inland Revenue.

An Act to make further provision for the institution of suits against the Crown by petition of right.

An Act respecting Roads and Road Allowances in Manitoba.

An Act respecting the Capital of the Great Western Railway Company, and for the capitalization of certain charges and liabilities.

An Act to amend the "The Trade Mark and Design Act of 1868."

An Act to amend the Act to incorporate "The Commercial Travellers Association of Canada."

An Act to amend the Act thirty-eight Victoria, chapter ninety-three, intituled: "An Act to incorporate the Canadian Gas Lighting Company."

An Act to enable the Welland Vale Manufacturing Company to obtain an extension of a patent known as "Rodden's Improved Capped Ferrule or Socket."

An Act to amend the Acts respecting "The Citizens Insurance and Investment Company," and to change the name of the said Company to that of "The Citizens Insurance Company of Canada."

An Act to amend the Act intituled: An Act to incorporate "The Clifton Suspension Bridge Company."

An Act to make provisions for the crossing of navigable waters by railway or other road companies incorporated under Provincial Acts.

An Act to make provision for the winding up of Insolvent Incorporated Banks.

An Act to amend the Act to make better provision, extending to the whole Dominion of Canada, respecting the inspection of certain Staple Articles of Canadian Produce.

An Act to amend the Act to incorporate "The Canada Shipping Company."

An Act to confirm the amalgamation of the City Bank and the Royal Canadian Bank, and to incorporate "The Consolidated Bank of Canada."

An Act respecting the attendance of Witnesses on Criminal trials.

An Act to amend the Act thirty-fifth Victoria, chapter one hundred and

eleven, intituled: An Act to incorporate The Mail Printing and Publishing Company (Limited).

An Act to extend the provisions of the Act thirty-first Victoria, chapter thirty-three, respecting the retiring allowance of Judges, to the Chief Justice and Justices of the Court of Error and Appeal for the Province of Ontario.

An Act to extend the time for the commencement and completion of the Great Western and Lake Ontario Shore Junction Railway; and for other purposes.

An Act respecting the North-West Territories, and to create a separate territory out of part thereof.

An Act to authorise the Shareholders of "The Security Permanent Building and Savings Society of St. Catharines," to change the name of the said Society to that of "The Security Loan and Savings Company."

An Act to extend the provisions of an Act relating to "The Upper Ottawa Improvement Company."

An Act to amend the Act Incorporating "The Ottawa Gas Company," to confirm a resolution of their Shareholders placing preferential and ordinary stock on the same footing, and to confirm, amend, and extend their corporate powers.

An Act to continue for a limited time therein mentioned the Canada and Detroit River Bridge Company as a Corporation.

An Act respecting the Mechanics' Bank.

An Act to amend the Act 31 Victoria, Chapter 3, respecting the indemnity to members of both Houses of Parliament.

An Act to amend the Act of incorporation of the Banque Saint Jean-Baptiste.

An Act to amend the Act 31 Victoria, Chapter 5, as respects the Public Accounts.

An Act to make provision for the collection and registration of Criminal Statistics of Canada.

An Act to amend the Railway Statistics Act.

An Act to remove doubts under the Acts therein mentioned, respecting the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal, and to amend the same.

An Act to amend the Act thirty-eighth Victoria, chapter twenty-three, respecting the Northern Railway of Canada.

An Act respecting the Desjardins Canal.

An Act to amend the Act thirty-fifth Victoria, chapter one hundred and eight, intituled: "An Act to amend the Act incorporating the London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company (Limited)."

An Act to further amend the Act to incorporate "The London and Canada Bank," and to amend the Act amending the same.

An Act to amend the Acts therein mentioned as respects the importation or manufacture of intoxicants in the North-West Territories.

An Act to provide for the examination of witnesses on oath by Committees of the Senate and House of Commons in certain cases.

An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws respecting Indians.

An Act to incorporate the Union Life and Accident Assurance Company of Canada.

An Act to incorporate the Empire Fire and Marine Assurance Corporation.

An Act to amend the charter of "The St. Lawrence Bank," and to change the name of the said Bank to that of The Standard Bank of Canada.

An Act to amend the Insolvent Act of 1875.

An Act to detach a certain portion of the County of Lotbinière and to attach it to the County of Beauce.

An Act respecting Loans by the British American Land Company.

An Act to remove doubts under the Acts therein mentioned respecting the Corporation of the Quebec Harbour Commissioners.

An Act to incorporate the Canada Fire and Marine Insurance Company.

An Act to amend the Dominion Lands Act.

An Act to make further provision in regard to the Supreme Court and the Exchequer Court of Canada.

An Act to enable Ozro Morrill to obtain a patent for certain inventions and improvements in Sewing Machine Shuttles.

An Act to incorporate "The Chartered Bank of London and North America."

An Act to amend the Act thirty-seventh Victoria, chapter fifty-one, intituled "An Act to authorize the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion."

An Act to incorporate "The Scottish Canadian Loan Company."

An Act to incorporate the "London and Ontario Investment Company (Limited)."

An Act to incorporate "The British Canadian Loan and Investment Company (Limited)."

An Act to incorporate "The Atlantic and Pacific Fire and Marine Insurance Company."

An Act to incorporate "The Maritime Savings and Loan Society."

An Act to incorporate "The England and Canada Mortgage Security Company."

An Act to incorporate "The National Investment Company of Canada (Limited)."

An Act to incorporate "The National Exchange Company."

To these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the House in the words following:

"In Her Majesty's name His Excellency the Governor General doth assent to these Bills."

THE SUPPLY BILL.

Then the Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed His Excellency the Governor General, as followeth:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The Commons of Canada have voted the Supplies required to enable the Government to defray the expenses of the Public Service.

In the name of the Commons, I present to Your Excellency a Bill intituled: "An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1876, and 30th of June, 1877, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service," to which I humbly request Your Excellency's assent.

To this Bill, the Clerk of the House, by His Excellency's command, did thereupon say:

"In Her Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General

thanks Her loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence, and assents to this Bill."

THE SPEECH.

Then His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to deliver the following speech.

*Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate :
Gentlemen of the House of Commons :*

I thank you for the care and deliberation with which you have discharged the duties that have devolved upon you during the Session.

The Bill you have passed relative to the management of Indian affairs and the gradual enfranchisement of Indians will not only be useful as a consolidation of existing Statutes, but will afford further evidence of the interest taken by the people of Canada in the welfare of their Indian fellow-countrymen. It is interesting to know that many of its provisions were suggested by the Indian Councils of the older Provinces.

It is my intention during the recess to make treaty arrangements with the Indian Tribes in the Western Saskatchewan country for the extinguishment of their title, and thereby open another large tract of fertile territory for settlement and cultivation.

The formation of the new District of Keewatin in the Eastern part of the North-West country, and the progress made in opening up railway and telegraphic communication to the interior will, with the improvements effected in our land system, further prepare the way for the rapid settlement of those vast regions, and will, at no distant day, materially contribute to the trade, and extend the prestige of the Dominion. I am glad to be able to say that we have now over 700 miles of telegraph in operation west of Red River.

The amendments made to the laws relating to elections for the House of Commons will, I trust, have the result of obtaining an unbiassed expression

of the opinion of the electors in selecting their representatives.

The measures you have passed for the purpose of securing a careful return of Criminal, Insolvency, and Railway Statistics will, I doubt not, be of essential service in promoting important objects, as well as in providing much needed information on each of these subjects.

Gentlemen of the House Commons :

I thank you for the supplies you have voted for the Public Service. I shall not fail to consider the clause you have attached to the vote for the works of construction on the Pacific Railway.

I am glad that a wise economy obviated the necessity of imposing any fresh taxation on the people; and I trust that increased commercial prosperity will justify your confidence in the future.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate :

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

I regret I am unable to announce that any further progress has been made with the arrangements for the settlement of the compensation to be paid for our Fisheries, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Washington.

I trust that on your return to your respective homes you may find the promise awaiting you of a prosperous season, and that your labours out of Session may be as useful and beneficial as they have been during your attendance in Parliament.

Then the Honourable the Speaker of the Senate said:—

Honourable Gentleman of the Senate ;

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

It is His Excellency the Governor General's will and pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued until Monday, the twenty-second day of May next, to be here holden, and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued until Monday, the twenty-second day of May next.

ERRATUM.

In the report of the Debate, in Committee of Supply, on item 77, \$30,000 for pay and maintenance of Dominion Force in Manitoba, page 722, second column, and between the third and fourth paragraphs, the following remarks of Hon. Mr. Tupper were accidentally omitted:—

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the present Government, by issuing advertisements to the effect that those who enlisted and served for two years would be entitled to 160 acres of land, and drawing no distinction between those who enlisted for the first time and those who rejoined, were guilty of getting men to serve under false pretences.

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Motion in amendment to the amendment—

"That all words after "that" be struck out, and that it be *Resolved*, That this House deeply regrets to learn from the speech of the Hon. Minister of Finance on Friday last, that the Government has not proposed to this House a policy of protection to our various and important manufacturing industries; and that the large amount of capital now invested in these industries, and their present depressed condition, render such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity. (Ruled out of order.)—*Mr. Workman*—318.

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 "That the Honourable Hector Louis Langevin, the Member representing the electoral district of Charlevoix in this House, having stated from his place in this House that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence that the Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon, the Member representing in this House the electoral district of Quebec Centre, and the President of the Privy Council of Canada, was instrumental in hiring, or causing to be hired, a number of men who are employed in summer as members of the River Police at Quebec, and in sending them or causing them to be sent to the electoral district of Charlevoix during the recent election

of a Member to represent that district in the House of Commons; and that the said men were headed or accompanied by one Edmund Trudelle, an officer or employé of the Customs Department at Quebec, and that the whole or a large portion of said body of men were conveyed to said district in vehicles, the cost of such hire being charged to the said Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon, who has promised to pay, or directed or caused the same to be paid, the said men so headed or accompanied being sent to said electoral district to interfere illegally in said election, to disturb said election, and thus to deprive the electors or a portion of the electors of said district of their freedom as such electors; and the said Honourable Joseph Edouard Cauchon having denied these charges; it is ordered that the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections do enquire into all the circumstances connected with the above charges, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before them, and the proceedings of said Committee on the subject"—*Hon. Mr. Langevin*, 737.

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- The amendment of Mr. DeCosmos having been withdrawn, it was moved in amendment—
“That the word ‘financial’ be struck out of the resolution, and the words ‘manufacturing and commercial’ be inserted in lieu thereof.”—*Mr. Blain*, 143.
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- It was moved in amendment to the resolution as amended (by Hon. Mr. Tupper) that the word “Mining” be inserted, which was also agreed to, 149.
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 Pacific Railway—Exposition of the
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 Canadian Vessels in American
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 Ottawa Post Office, 1119.
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 Pacific Railway—Rat Portage to Cross Lake, 1174, 1175.
- Native Wines, 915.
- 'N. Churchill,' The—
 Question, Hon. Mr. Mitchell; Answer, Hon. Mr. Smith, 505.
 Address to His Excellency, 915.
- New Members, 3.
- New Brunswick—
 The School Law—Message from His Excellency, 49.
 Indian Commissioner, 819.
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 Old Rails on Government Roads, 916.
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- Newspapers and Periodicals—
 Res.—
 "That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, praying that there be laid before Parliament a statement setting forth the total number of newspapers and other periodicals in each county and city of Dominion, which have paid postage on paper 'sent from the office of publication,' with the total revenue received therefrom during the three months ending the 31st December last—Mr. Young, 166.
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- New Westminster County Court Judge, 634.
- Nicolas Rioux—Seigniorship of, 916.
- NORRIS, Mr.—**
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 Canadian Vessels in American Waters, 1122.
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- Northern Railway, 764, 1036.
- North-West Council, 729.
- North-West Mounted Police, 1146.
- North-West Territory Separation Bill, 1 R., 86; 2 R., 194; Consideration in Committee, 461; 3 R., 462.
- Nova Scotia—
 School for Indians—Question, Mr. Costigan; Answer, Hon. Mr. Laird, 822.
 Harbour Improvements—Questions, Mr. Church; Answers, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 841.
- Obstructions in Niagara River, 446.
- Ocean and River Service, 790.
- O'Donoghue, W. D.—
 Notice of Motion, 112.
 Motion—
 "That the House go in Committee of Supply"—Hon. Mr. Cartwright, 796.
 Motion in amendment—
 "That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that whereas this House did on the 13th day of February, 1878, vote an Address to Her Majesty praying that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons connected with the North-West trouble, for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only Louis Riel, A. D. Lepine and W. D. O'Donoghue, and that a like amnesty should be granted to L. Riel and A. D. Lepine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominion, thereby excluding W. D. O'Donoghue from the benefits of such amnesty—and whereas the said W. D. O'Donoghue has since written the following letter, &c. In the opinion of this House the Government should at one institute a thorough enquiry into statements contained in said letter, in order that justice may be done in the premises."—Mr. Costigan, 797.
- After debate, the House divided, and the amendment was negatived—136 votes to 36, 816.
- Official Reports, 222, 1179.
- Official "Gazette," 293, 396.
- Officers of the House, 1035.
- Old Rails on Government Roads—
 Question, Hon. Mr. Mitchell; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 604.
- Res.—
 "That it is expedient to authorize the Government to make a temporary disposition of the iron rails as they are removed from the Government Railways by loaning them to companies constructing railways which may be regarded as feeders to the Government Lines, such rails to be returned weight for weight to the Government stores at the junction of such lines when taken up."—Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 1139.

On the motion for concurrence in the foregoing resolution, it was moved in amendment,—

“That the resolution be not now concurred in, but that it be referred back to the Committee of Whole for the purpose of amending the same so as to provide that the iron rails moved from the Government railways shall be sold to the highest bidder, after due notice shall have been given of such intention to sell the same.”—*Mr. Bowell*, 1153.

Amendment negatived, 1154.

OLIVER, Mr. :

Financial Depression, 112.
Coal-mining Interest, 233.
The Tariff, 483, 659.
Local Legislatures and the Franking Privilege, 506.
Appropriations to different Provinces, 765.
Sabbath Observance, 854.
Investment Companies, 910.
Boards of Trade Bill, 1035.

Ontario, Lake :

Harbor of Refuge—Question, Mr. Gordon; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 151.

Opening of Parliament, 1.

Ordinance Lands, 720.

ORTON, Mr. :

Financial Depression, 123.
Agricultural Interests, 181, 517, 1166.
The Tariff, 485.
Militia, 1100.

Ottawa Canal :

Question, Mr. White (Renfrew); Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 64.

Ottawa River Works, 756.

Ottawa Post Office, 1119.

Pacific Railway :

Connections with — Question, Mr. Masson; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 150.
Surveys—Question, Mr. Dewdney; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 213.
Telegraph Line, 362, 914.
Question, Mr. Thompson (Cariboo); Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 431.
Observations respecting by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 460.

Cost of carrying Passengers and Freight to British Columbia, 513.
Reports of 1874–75, 773.

Question, Mr. Kirkpatrick; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 840.

Motion—

“That the House go into Committee of Supply”—*Hon. Mr. Cartwright*, 872.

Motion in amendment—

“That the Speaker do now leave the Chair, but that it be—

“Resolved, That in 1871 the public faith and honor of Canada were pledged in the most solemn manner to British Columbia, to secure the commencement, simultaneously, within two years from the date of Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as might be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of Union.

“That owing to divers causes the construction of the said railway was not commenced in British Columbia or elsewhere at the time agreed upon.

“That in 1874 the Government of Canada applied to British Columbia for, and afterward secured and accepted, through the intervention and upon the recommendation of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, an agreement for the relaxation of the railway clauses of the terms of Union; and the public faith and honour of Canada now stand pledged to carry the said agreement respecting the said relaxation of the railway clause of the terms of Union, forthwith into operation.

“That notwithstanding the public faith and honour of Canada stand twice solemnly pledged to construct the said railway and commence the actual construction thereof in British Columbia and elsewhere, and notwithstanding nearly five years have passed since the date of Union, and nearly three years have elapsed from the date at which Canada agreed first that the actual construction should be commenced, and nearly eighteen months since she agreed the second time to commence the construction, yet the Government have not, up to the present moment, commenced the actual construction of the said railway in the said Province.

“That, therefore, this House is of the opinion that the Government should forthwith promptly commence and vigorously and continuously prosecute the work of the actual construction of the said railway within British Columbia in accordance with its solemn pledges to that Province.”—*Mr. DeCosmos*, 873.

After debate, the House divided, when the amendment was negatived—154 votes to 7, 904.

Exposition of the Government Policy by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 979.

Adjourned Debate resumed, 1051.

Contract, No. 15, 1122.

Motion—

“That item 83 (Pacific Railway Construction) be concurred in.”—*Hon. Mr. Mackenzie*, 1126.

Moved in amendment that there be added the following words :—

“But while granting this sum this House desires to record its view, that the arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall be such as the resources of the country will permit, without increasing the existing rates of taxation.”—*Mr. Ross*, (*Middlesex*), 1126.

The House divided, when the motion of Mr. Ross was carried—149 votes to 10, 1130.

Motion—

“That item 84 (Pacific Railway Survey) be concurred in.”—*Hon. Mr. Mackenzie*, 1137.

Motion in amendment, That the following words be added to the resolution :—

“That while concurring in this vote, this House desires to record its opinion that the country is pledged to the construction of the Pacific Railway in its agreement with British Columbia, and that it is in accordance with that agreement and with the public interest that the surveys be energetically proceeded with, in order that the construction of the road should be prosecuted as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit without adding to the burthens of taxation.”—*Mr. Plumb*, 1137.

The House divided, when the motion of Mr. Plumb was negatived—89 votes to 36, 1138.

Section stretching from Rat Portage to Cross Lake, 1174.

Resolution—

“That the Government be authorized to enter into contracts during the Recess with parties sending in the lowest available tenders for the works of construction of the following portions of the Canada Pacific Railway, viz :—From Fort William westward towards Lac de Mille Lacs and the crossing of Steel River from Rat Portage to Cross Lake.”—*Hon. Mr. Mackenzie*, 1175.

“Pacific,” Loss of the, 513.

Palmer's Point :

Question, Mr. Domville ; Answer, Hon. Mr. Smith, 293.

PALMER, Mr. :

Compensation to St. John City for Property appropriated, 293.

Steam Communication with the West Indies, 296.

Translation of the Debates, 353.

The Tariff, 497.

Corrupt Practices at Elections (more effectual Enquiry) Bill, 566.

Shipping Certificates, 606.

Shipping Interests, 619.

Manitoba Subsidy Bill, 710.

Insurance Bill, 727.

Deep Water Terminus for the Intercolonial Railway at St. John, 770, 771, 1009.

Insolvent Law, 1008.

Patent Law, the, 306, 515.

Question, Mr. Landerkin ; Answer, Hon. Mr. Blake, 150.

PATERSON, Mr. :

Financial Depression, 109.

Agricultural Interests, 185.

Six Nation Indians, 361.

The Tariff, 646.

The Indian Bill, 750, 869, 926, 1037.

Public Buildings, 755.

PELLETIER, Mr. :

Annual Volunteer Drill, 534.

Free Delivery of Letters, 603.

Charlevoix Election, 740.

Quebec Ice Bridge Bill, 1097.

Pensions to Veterans of 1812—15, 293, 768.

PERRY, Mr. :

Harbour of Cascumpique, 29.

Winter Communication with Prince Edward Island, 299.

Land Purchase Act of 1875, 533.

Petition of Rights Bill, 1 R., 85 ; 2 & 3 R., 463.

Petroleum, Duty on—

Motion—

“That the House go into Committee of Supply.”—*Hon. Mr. Cartwright*, 935.

Motion in amendment—

“That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that it is expedient to consider the duties imposed on imported Petroleum.”—*Mr. Colby*, 935.

- After Debate, the House divided,
and the amendment was negatived
—120 votes to 60, 942.
- PICARD, Mr. :
Public opening of the Intercolonial
Railway, 948.
- PLATT, Mr. :
Toronto Harbour, 762.
- Plimsoll Movement, The—
Motion—
That the House go into Committee
of the Whole to consider the follow-
ing Resolution :—
“ That in the opinion of this House the
right of Legislation to affect Canadian
ships and the rights and liabilities of
the owners thereof belong exclusively
to the Parliament of Canada, and that
any Legislation on those subjects by
the Imperial Parliament (except so far
as may equally affect Canadian ships
with the ships of all other countries in
ports of Great Britain, and such as may
affect Imperial interests) would be in-
consistent with such exclusive right of
the Canadian Parliament, and a viola-
tion of responsible Government as
conceded to Canada.”—*Mr. Palmer*,
864.
- After debate, motion withdrawn, 867.
- PLUMB, Mr. :
Agricultural Interests, 201.
Debate on the Budget, 395.
Dominion Notes Extension Bill, 558.
The Tariff, 657.
Relief of Settlers in Manitoba, 716.
Post Office Receipts and Expendi-
tures, 839.
The Plimsoll Movement, 864.
Pacific Railway, 893, 1078, 1126,
1137.
Rules of the House, 908.
Steel Rails Purchase, 970.
Sugar Refining Interest, 1026.
Wallace Accounts, 1028.
Dawson Route, 1049.
The Militia, 1100.
Winter Communication with Prince
Edward Island, 1150.
Lending old Rails from Government
Roads, 1152.
- POPE, Hon. Mr. :
Debate on the Budget, 399.
Relief of Distressed Settlers in Mani-
toba, 447, 449.
Dawson Route, 456.
Agricultural Interests, 519.
- Manitoba Subsidy Bill, 711.
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W. D. O'Donoghue, 814.
Insolvent Law, 1008.
Wallace Accounts, 1031.
Militia, 1101.
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ment, 1105.
Pacific Railway, 1136.
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- Portage Island, 913.
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Hon. Mr. Smith, 505.
- Postmaster of St. Henri, 363.
- Postmaster's Salaries, 788.
- Postal Irregularities, 532.
- Postal Service—Complaints respect-
ing, 913.
- Postal Extension, Montreal District—
Question, Mr. Desjardins; Answer,
Hon. Mr. Huntington, 213.
- Post Office Expenditure, 832.
- Post Office Printing, 836.
- Post Office Receipts and Disburse-
ments, 839.
- POULIOT, Mr. :
Pacific Railway, 900.
Insolvent Law, 1008.
Militia Drill, 1149.
Fishery Privileges, 1155.
St. Lawrence Fisheries, 1161.
- POZER, Mr. :
Reprinting the Statutes, 1012.
- Precedence-of Government Measures,
366.
- Precedence of Want of Confidence
Motions, 601.
- Presqu'Île Harbour—
Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Hon.
Mr. Mackenzie, 213.
- Printing Returns—
Question, Hon. Mr. Mitchell; Answer,
Hon. Mr. Smith, 150.

- Prince Edward Island—
 Railway Fence—Question, Mr. McIntyre; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 50.
 Winter Communication—Res.—299, 357, 1171.
 Telegraph Lines, 840, 1120.
 Subsidy and Expenditure, 949.
- Private Railways—Government Aid to, 916.
- Privilege—Questions of, 652.
- Privy Council Estimates, 430.
- Prorogation of Parliament, 1184.
- Protection of Life on Harbours, 223.
- Public Accounts, The—
 Laid on the Table, 52.
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- Public Buildings, 755, 1006.
 Bill respecting, 904.
- Quebec City—
 Harbour—Question, Mr. Fréchette; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 151.
 Graving Dock—Question, Mr. Fréchette; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 151; Res., 431.
 Medical Officers' Boat, 177.
 Boats to Lévis, 346.
 The Citadel, 360.
 Fortifications, 758.
 Embellishment of the City, 759.
 Ice Bridge Bill, 1 R., 904; 2 R., 1097 (dropped).
 Exchange of Property, 914.
 Harbour Commissioners, 926.
 Trinity House, Res., 1002.
 Postmaster—Question, Mr. Caron; Answer, Hon. Mr. Huntington, 1011.
- Quebec Province—
 Railways—Question, Mr. Cimon; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 292.
 Terminus of Provincial Railway—Question, Mr. Masson; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 345.
 Aid to Provincial Railway—Question, Mr. Cimon; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 346.
 District Magistrates—Question, Mr. Taschereau; Answer, Hon. Mr. Blake, 533.
 Piers and Harbours, 763.
 Mail Contract, 916.
- Railway Returns—
 Question, Mr. Irving; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 151; Res., 916.
- Railway Freights in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 912.
- Railway Tolls—
 Res., 1012.
- Railway Lands in the North-West, 1001.
- Railway Act Amendment Bill, 1 R., 625; 2 R. and 3 R., 748.
- Red River Beacon Light, 768.
- Registered Letters—
 Question, Mr. Little; Answer, Hon. Mr. Huntington, 64.
- Reprinting the Statutes—
 Question, Mr. Pozer; Answer, Hon. Mr. Blake, 1012.
- Retiring Allowances to Judges (Ont.) Bill—
 1 R., 819; 2 R. and 3 R., 926.
- Returns to Addresses, 1011, 1035.
- Revenue and Expenditure for 1876, up to 10th February—
 Return Laid on the Table, 239.
- Rideau Canal, 1003.
- ROBILLARD, Mr.:
 Wharfage Charges, 608.
 A. Branchard, 728.
- ROBINSON, Mr.:
 Pacific Railway, 1089.
 Criminal Law, 1097.
- ROBITAILLE, Hon. Mr.:
 Submarine Telegraphy, 535.
 The "Glendon," 817.
 Oyster Cultivation, 818.
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 Lending Old Rails from Government Roads, 1154.
- Rochester's Claim, 916, 1164.

ROCHESTER, Mr. :

Debate on the Address, 48.
 The Financial Depression, 116.
 Licensing Engineers, 358.
 Debate on the Budget, 390.
 Culling Timber, 831.
 Lending Old Rails, 1154.
 George Rochester's Claims, 1165.

ROSCOE, Mr. :

Alaska and British Columbia Boundary, 152, 1122.
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Ross, Mr. (Prince Edward) :

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Ross, Mr. (Middlesex) :

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ROULEAU, Mr. :

Pensions to Veterans residing in Foreign Countries, 293.
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 Militiamen of 1812, 364.
 Quebec Graving Dock, 432.
 Cranbourne Post Office, 533.
 Dorchester Mails, 533.
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 Quebec District Mail Contract, 916.
 Fishing Licenses in L'Islet, 916.

Royal Albert Bridge Bill, 558.**Rules of the House—**

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 Consideration of Committee's Report, 905.
 Third Reading of Resolutions, 910.

RYAN, Mr. :

Manitoba Subsidy Bill, 707.
 Treaties with Indians in Manitoba, 821.
 Indian Bill, 872.

RYMAL, Mr. :

Debate on the Address, 37.
 Agricultural Interests, 523.
 Pacific Railway, 884.

Sabbath Observance—**Resolution—**

- "1. That the interest of public morality and the physical well-being of all classes of the community alike render it desirable and necessary that there should be a strict and uniform observance of the Lord's Day on all public works which are under the control of the Dominion Government.
- "2. That in the conduct of the Government surveys and explorations, Government employes should be enjoined to abstain from the prosecution of labour on the Lord's Day.
- "3. That in the opinion of this House there should be an entire closing and cessation of labour on all canals, railways and other public works which are under the control of the Dominion Government, during the twenty-four hours comprehended in the Lord's Day—save and except only such services as may be of absolute and unavoidable necessity."—*Mr. Gordon, 842.*

Motion withdrawn, 857.

Saguenay—

Beacon Lights, 212—Question, Mr. Cimon; Answer, Hon. Mr. Smith, 223.
 Fog-whistle—Question, Mr. Cimon; Answer, Hon. Mr. Smith, 223.
 Navigation of the River—Question, Mr. Cimon; Answer, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, 214.

Salaries of County Court Judges, (Nova Scotia) Bill, 1 R., 240; 2 R. and 3 R., 559.

Salt Trade, The—

Res., 507.

Sanitary Statistics, 731.**SCATCHERD Mr. :**

Postmasters and Politics, 549.
 Precedence of Want of Confidence Motions, 601.
 Corrupt Practices at Elections (more effectual enquiry) Bill, 695, 696.
 Charlevoix Election, 742.
 Post Office Printing, 837.
 Insolvent Law, 1009.

SCRIVER Mr. :

The Indian Bill, 869.
 Duties on Petroleum, 938.

Seigniorial Claims, 728.

Shea, Mr., Claims of, 363, 1156.

Shipping—

Exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operations of the Imperial Shipping Bill—Res., 87; Certificates, 604.

Imperial Legislation in regard to— Res. ;—

“That an Address be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, praying that any legislation affecting British merchant shipping which may be adopted by the Imperial Parliament should not include in its operation Canadian tonnage, or if such legislation should be applied to Canadian tonnage, it should also include foreign tonnage, in order that no advantage should be had by the latter over the former by the effect of such proposed Imperial legislation.”—*Hon. Mr. Mitchell*, 611.

Motion in amendment—

“That all words after ‘that’ be struck out and the following substituted:— ‘The despatch forwarded by the Government of the Dominion to Lord Carnarvon, dated the 8th February, 1876, is approved, and that the House express a hope that the views therein contained will be adopted by the Imperial Parliament in any legislation affecting the British Merchant Shipping.’” —*Mr. McLeod*, 619.

Debate adjourned, 624.

Resolution and Amendment withdrawn, 925.

SEHULTZ, Mr. :

Imports and Exports of the North-West, 364.

Relief of Distressed Manitoba Settlers, 447, 473.

Dawson Route, 456, 1048.

Corrupt Practices at Elections (more effectual enquiry) Bill, 566.

The Indian Bill, 566, 750, 872, 928, 1038.

Manitoba Subsidy Bill, 709.

North-West Council, 729.

Fort Pelly Buildings, 761.

Red River Beacon Lights, 768.

Hudson and James Bay Imports and Exports, 772.

Manitoba Roads Bill, 795.

W. D. O'Donoghue, 810, 813.

Treaties with Indians, 819.

Steel Rails Purchase, 977.

Pacific Railway, 1083.

Militia Force in Manitoba, 1095.

SINCLAIR, Mr. :

Winter Communication with Prince Edward Island, 301.

The Tariff, 486.

Duties on Petroleum, 941.

Prince Edward Island Railway, 949.

Tree Planting in the North-West, 1002.

Pacific Railway, 1136.

“Sir James Douglas,” The, 915.

Six Nation Indians, 361.

Slate Industry, Res., 858.

SMITH, Hon. A. J., (Westmoreland) :

Exemption of Canadian Shipping from the operations of the Imperial Shipping Bill, 93.

Fishery Privileges, 159.

Glace Bay Harbour Master, 506.

Loss of the “Pacific,” 513.

Submarine Telegraphy, 537.

Winter Navigation of the St. Lawrence, 543.

Shipping Certificates, 604.

Shipping Interests and Imperial Legislation, 623.

New Brunswick Fisheries, 1155, 1176.

SMITH, Mr., (Peel) :

Agricultural Interests, 202.

Sabbath Observance, 855.

Native Wines, 915.

SMITH, Mr., (Selkirk) :

North-West Territories Separation Bill, 200.

Relief of Manitoba Settlers, 449.

Dawson Route, 456, 1172.

Manitoba Subsidy Bill, 709.

W. D. O'Donoghue, 806, 813.

Indian Bill, 871.

Steel Rails Purchase, 977.

Tree Planting in the North-West, 1003.

Pacific Railway, 1088.

Canadian Vessels in American Waters, 1118.

The Mennonites, 1174.

SNIDER, Mr. :

The Indian Bill, 753.

Sugar Refining Interest, 1026.

Sorel Custom House, 1121.

Sorel, Government Property at, 1122.

SPEAKER, Mr.—

Election Judges' Reports, 1.
Practice of Introducing Members, 1
Speech from the Throne, 1.
Translation of the Debates—Ruling
on a Point of Order, 289.
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The Member for Two Mountains—
Ruling on a Point of Order, 688,
695.

Salaries and Contingent Expenses,
703.

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The Petition against Judge Loranger—Ruling on a Point of Order,
867.

Rules of the House, 905.

Extra Clerks, 1148.

Presentation of the Supply Bill to
His Excellency the Governor General,
1183.

Speech from the Throne—

Opening of Parliament, 2.
Prorogation of Parliament, 1184.

Standing Committees, 3.

Steam Fire Engines, 737.

Steam Communication with the West
Indies—

Res.—

“That a humble Address be presented to
His Excellency the Governor General,
praying that there may be laid before
the House of Commons a statement
shewing what steps have been taken
by the Government touching the
opening up of regular steam com-
munication between Canada and the
British, Spanish and French West In-
dies, with a copy of the tariff of any of
these islands which may be in posses-
sion of the Government, with such
other information, if any there be, cal-
culated to increase the interest in,
and promote our valuable commerce
with these prosperous Islands.”—*Mr.*
Young, 293.

Steel Rails Purchase, 362.

Motion—

“That the House go into Committee of
Supply.”—*Hon. Mr. Cartwright*, 955.

Motion in amendment—

“That the Speaker do not now leave the
chair, but that it be resolved, that the
purchase by the Government of 50,000
tons of steel rail, without the previous
consent of Parliament, was an uncon-

stitutional exercise of the Executive
power, and that such purchase was
premature and unwise, and has caused
great pecuniary loss to the country.”—
Mr. Bowell, 956.

After debate, the House divided,
and the amendment was nega-
tived—124 votes to 54, 979.

STEPHENSON, Mr. :

Refunds on Imported Fire Engines,
213.

Chenal Ecarte, 505.

Steam Fire Engines, 737.

Harbour on Lake Erie, 1034.

Dredging Lake St. Clair, 1123.

STURTON, Mr. :

Agricultural Interests, 187.

Dawson Route, 455.

Public Buildings, 756.

St. Charles and St. Joseph de Lévis
Railway, 857.

St. Fidèle and St. Siméon Surveys, 51.

St. John City—Compensation to, 293.

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Motion in amendment—

"That all the words after 'that' in the original motion be struck out and the following inserted thereof:—'This House deeply regrets that the Government has not proposed to Parliament a policy of increased protection to our various and important manufactures, the large amount of capital now invested therein, and the present depressed condition of the country rendering such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity.'—*Mr. Workman*, 472.

After debate, the House divided, when the amendment was negatived—119 nays to 64 yeas, 504.

Motion—

"That the House go into Committee of Supply."—*Hon. Mr. Mackenzie*, 568.

Motion in amendment—

"That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that this House regrets His Excellency the Governor General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff, which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious speech from the throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural products of the country."—*Sir John A. Macdonald*, 573.

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