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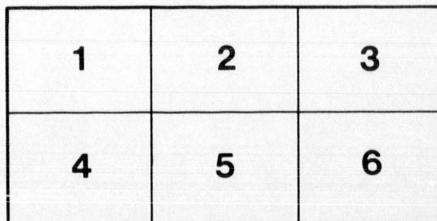
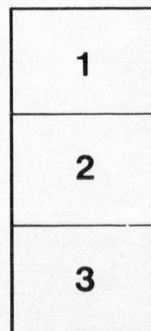
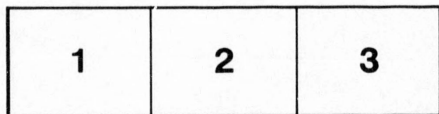
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PAMPHLET COLLECTION

House of Commons Debates.

THIRD SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

SPEECH OF MR. COCKBURN, M.P.

ON

THE TARIFF

THURSDAY, 23RD FEBRUARY, 1893.

Mr. COCKBURN. Mr. Speaker, the eloquent, and shall I call it the fervid address of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), is, I regret to say, only another proof, if proof were needed, of the degradation which an otherwise good and noble nature incurs by associating with men whose political creed is one that can only lead to the degradation and destruction of the higher patriotic instincts and aspirations. It may be, Sir, that his near proximity to the representative of North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) communicated him some of that hon. gentleman's bitterness of feeling to this his native country. It may be that, seated, as he is, with such an easy conductor between him and the member for North Norfolk, the stream of political poison has passed from the one to the other. Perhaps I am wrong in saying that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is an easy conductor, for I should think that in matters of this kind he would be such an absorbent that he would retain all the political poison that might pass from the member for North Norfolk, and not allow it to reach the hon. member for Queen's. Sir, for two blessed hours last night, the hon. member for North Norfolk not only exhausted time, but almost encroached on eternity, in his everlasting praise and defence of the American lumbering system. He depicted to us the glories of that great country to the south of us. He showed what a miserable, poor, craven, stricken lot we were, that we were unable to hold our own in the race of competition. I felt at the time that if I rose to reply I should be compelled to apologize to this House for taking hon. members away from the consideration of the interests and glory of the great republic to the scuth of us, and asking them to come for a few moments to give attention to the subject that pertained to our own national welfare. Sir, I am sick, dead sick, of the efforts made by the Opposition at all times to thrust down our throats the example held out by the United States. The hon.

member for Queen's tells us that he is here as a representative of the Maritime provinces, and in that narrow sectional spirit which he has imbibed from the party, though contrary to his nature, he gives us a discourse pertaining, he tells us, more particularly to the little province from which he hails. Now, Sir, I happen to know something of the island of Prince Edward: and though my hon. friend undertakes to pose as a representative of the Maritime provinces, the Maritime provinces deny his right to assume any such title. They have sent to this House a band of noble men, and with the single exception of the Island of Prince Edward, they unanimously support the Government. Well, I regret to see my hon. friend, a man with good and noble aspirations, so far forgot himself as to take the stand he has done, and to take sides with the hon. member for North Norfolk in the picture he has given of our national degradation. Why, Sir, it was only last night that the hon. member for North Norfolk was bewailing the condition of those poor farmers who have lately become the special property of Opposition; and what did he tell us? He told us that we had incurred a debt of some \$250,000,000, that \$60,000,000 had been paid towards the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that a large proportion of this was paid by the farmers. In counting up the enormous burdens which were laid upon the farmers, he calculated that no less a sum was paid by them than \$63,000,000 annually. Well, I have been brought up in this House by the Opposition to believe that the Canadian farmer is a poor, down-trodden man, and that so far from being able to contribute \$63,000,000 per year, he never in his wildest dreams could imagine himself ever being able to pay a tithe of that amount. I take these \$63,000,000, which are payable annually by the farmers, as my hon. friend states, and I divide them fairly among the 600,000 farmers of the Dominion, and I find that, according to

the calculation of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), every farmer pays in duty alone no less a sum than \$105 per year. The statement the hon. gentleman makes in this instance is on a par with the others he has made. He pointed out to us a farmer in New York state as having made on his farm no less a sum than \$4,000 a year. I turn to a book recently published in that state called "American Farmer," and what do I find? The hon. gentleman tells us that the Canadian farmer can only eke out a miserable existence, that he can not better himself even if he would, but that the American farmer, if he would only deny himself a few of the luxuries and live like an ordinary man, would soon regain his prosperous position. Well, this impartial authority, which I have mentioned, arrives at the conclusion, after gathering data, that not less than 25 per cent of the farmers in an important section on the American side are in the grip of the usurer, and adds that the evil is a growing one. The writer goes on to say:

The value of farm lands has seldom been lower during the last thirty years than now.

And mind you, Sir, these are not ordinary farmers, who thus suffer; they are not men against whom the imputation of lack of enterprise, thought or skill can be cast, for the authority I refer to thus describes them:

The average farm proprietor of the community is as fine a type of man as the average in any city or country in North America—frugal, industrious, intelligent, quick of wit, and ambitious beyond the average man.

And yet this authority tells us that the average income of the best of these men is only \$350 a year, and that:

We have for some time entertained the opinion that thousands of our land proprietors, on less fruitful lands, are in this country, forced to meet necessities of life for their families, and pay the demands made upon them by society out of less than \$250 per year.

Well, Sir, we have here the assurance that the farmer in the United States has but \$250 per year income, and yet the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) tells us that the Canadian farmer, although less well off than the American farmer, is able, by some hook or crook, to contribute no less a sum than \$105 annually, not for purchases, but simply as duties paid on the purchases he makes. Such statements are an outrage on the common sense of this country, and I think it is most disgraceful that, in our political contests, hon. gentlemen should not scruple to have recourse to extravagant statements of this kind in order to make our farmers discontented with their condition. We have been led in this House, by the constant reiteration of the assertion, to believe that a mortgage is something of which we ought to be ashamed. Now, I consider a mortgage simply as so much borrowed capital. A mortgage may often be regarded indeed as a measure of the

prosperity of the country. The farmer simply anticipates receipts from his lands, and borrows the money from the loan companies. That is a mortgage. A merchant anticipates the receipts from his goods and borrows the money from a bank. That is a discount. Now we are all proud and ready to acknowledge that our discounts have greatly increased. We look upon that as a proof of increasing business and increasing profits; but when a farmer wishes to borrow money, on the same security, by anticipating receipts from his investment in land, we are told that he is in a most deplorable condition. As an illustration of my contention, that the borrowing of capital by the farmer must not be regarded as any indication of his having fallen into an evil condition, I would direct your attention to a late census bulletin of the United States, and I would commend it to the attention of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who is fully cognizant not only of all the various states of the Union, but apparently of all the various statesmen:

A bulletin recently issued by the United States Census Bureau on certain features of the mortgage indebtedness in the five states of Alabama, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas and Tennessee contains striking evidence of the general truth that mortgages are a sign of ambition and prosperity rather than of the despair and failure of land owners. They show the buying of property of men without capital enough to pay for it entirely rather than the incurring of indebtedness by those already owning land. If this were not so it is certain that Alabama and Tennessee, in which states a once wealthy slave-holding class of land-owners was largely reduced to poverty by the civil war, rather than Illinois, Iowa and Kansas, would show the greater increase in mortgage indebtedness and the highest proportion of mortgages to population and to the value of all the property encumbered. The official records show, however, that in the two southern states the proportion of mortgages to population is only about one-third as great as in the three northern states which have enjoyed much more rapid growth and greater prosperity. In proportion to all the real estate and to the real estate mortgaged, the contrast is also remarkable. In ratio of the debt in force to the estimated true value of all real estate, in 1889, the year covered by the census, was 10.96 per cent in Alabama, 14.06 per cent in Illinois, 17.61 per cent in Iowa, 28.13 per cent in Kansas, and only 8.67 per cent in Tennessee. These figures are sufficient in themselves to show at a glance how absurd it is to treat real estate mortgages in a growing and enterprising country as evidence of general misfortune and industrial distress.

I think, while this general wail on the part of the farmers has been going on, it is well to direct our attention to the results. I speak only with reference to Ontario, representing as I partly do, that province, and as that has been the province which has been selected by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) and others as an example. I find that during the last year all the mortgages on real estate amounted to \$106,404,856. I may say that I am a director in two of our leading loan companies, and therefore have opportunities of making myself conversant with the transactions passing through those companies

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and I am prepared to state that the mort-
gages which are incurred are not, as a rule,
incurred by men in destitute circumstances,
but by men who want to better the condi-
tion of their holdings, or who wish to start
their sons in life or their daughters in marri-
age, and feel it necessary to assume some
temporary burden. How are these burdens
paid off? Are they the dead incubus on
the community which they are represented
to be? Why, the whole amount in default in
1880 to the loan companies out of the
\$106,404,856 capital, was only 8.60 per cent.
But last year, eleven years later, instead of
an increase, we find a great reduction, we find
that the amount in default was 2.04 per cent,
or \$2 per \$100. Now, I ask hon. gentlemen
in this House if they can have better evidence
of the general prosperity of the country than
the fact that eleven years ago there was
8.60 per cent on mortgage in default, where-
as now there is only a fraction over 2 per
cent in default. And, Mr. Speaker, the same
tendency is to be noted with reference to un-
paid and overdue notes protested. Why, Sir,
in 1880 the percentage was 4.24; last year
it was only 1.03. I think we may fairly ap-
peal to this as a proof of the prosperity of the
country. But, Sir, I am free, at the same
time, to confess that there has been a ma-
terial reduction in the selling value of the
farms of the province of Ontario. I am per-
fectly free to accept the statement of my
hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton)
that that reduction has been, as I think
he said, 25 per cent. I should have been
much astonished had there not been a re-
duction; I am much astonished that that re-
duction has not been greater. But, Sir, I
am not prepared to attribute that reduction
to any action of the Government or to any
policy they have pursued. I think that the
cause of this reduction lies deeper and, at
the same time, more plainly to be seen. We
must not forget, Sir, that during the last
ten years, in which time this reduction has
taken place, we have brought into com-
petition with the lands of Ontario millions
of acres of the best wheat-growing lands
in the world. It is impossible to believe that
the market can be flooded with any class of
goods without the price of that class of goods
depreciating. The same laws of political
economy that apply to the sale of boots, or
vegetables, or anything else must apply to the
purchase of land. When we, in Ontario, in
a spirit of self-sacrifice, let us say, contri-
buted our quota to develop the lands of
Manitoba and the North-west, we did
it conscious that there would neces-
sarily follow a depreciation in the
value of our own lands. But, Sir, it is a
depression that exists not only in Ontario,
but, to a certain extent, all over the world.
And while we have a temporary loss in the
depreciation of 25 per cent in the value of
the lands of Ontario, think what an enormous
gain we have made in the increased value
given to the millions of acres in the

North-west. Let us ask ourselves if in that
we have not received infinitely great
compensation for the sacrifice we
have made? I will not speak as does
the member for Queen's (Mr. Davies), and
limit myself to the island of Prince
Edward, or to the Maritime provinces.
I care not whether we come from Halifax
or Victoria, or Toronto or Winnipeg. We
are here representing no one section; we
have to deal with a great and mighty Dom-
inion. And, when I frankly confess the fact
that there has been a diminution in the value
of lands in the province of Ontario of 25
per cent, I am proud to say that, if there has
been a loss in one sense of the province,
there has been an infinitely greater gain in
the great North-west, and the amount we
have added to the value of the national
assets is a return of thousands per cent on
every dollar of value of which we have been
deprived. Why, Sir, the narrow spirit that
animates hon. gentlemen opposite is something
that is almost intolerable. The very opening
remarks, last night, of the hon. member for
North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) were an attack
upon the Canadian Pacific Railway, and how
little it had done. And the hon. member
for Queen's (Mr. Davies), when in Bram-
pton, in 1884, imbued with narrowness of
spirit, caught from his associate, told the
audience, which applauded him to the skies,
that the running of the Canadian Pacific
Railway was actually an impossibility, that
the grades which the engineers were laying
were grades over which no locomotive could
ever run.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) What is the hon.
gentleman quoting from?

Mr. COCKBURN. I am quoting from the
speech of the hon. member for Queen's,
P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), delivered at Brampton
in 1884.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.) But what are you
quoting from?

Mr. COCKBURN. We have, Sir, the same
narrow spirit in the hon. member for North
Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). He made this at-
tack on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Had
the narrow policy of hon. gentlemen oppo-
site been carried out, my hon. friend the
talented member for East Assiniboia (Mr.
Davin) would have been obliged to make his
journey here to take part in the council of
the nation in a rather odd way. I suppose
he would have come ten or twenty miles by
rail, then he would have transferred to an-
other of the shreds and patches of this route
and would have come twenty miles further
by an omnibus, then, perhaps, he would have
been whisked along another twenty miles in
a reindeer sledge, then a dog train would
have carried him 100 or 200 miles, and, after
that, he might have been told: You can
make the rest of your way on skates or by
toboggan or snow-shoes as best you can.
That is the spirit and policy of hon. gentlemen

opposite, and when my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) drew special attention to the Canadian Pacific Railway and the burdens which he said it laid upon the shoulders of our workmen, he did not know—or, perhaps, he did know but did not wish to say—that the expenditures of the Canadian Pacific Railway alone in the year 1892 for wages paid directly to their own employees in Canada and for wages paid by manufacturers of supplies used by the railway and manufactured in Canada were upwards of \$11,000,000. So, Sir, in this one item alone, we have nearly one-third of the whole amount we require for the interest on that great national debt over which my hon. friend shed crocodile tears. And in addition we have there one-third of the cost of the collection of the revenue for all purposes whatsoever.

I being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. COCKBURN. Mr. Speaker, before six o'clock I was drawing the attention of the House to the narrow and puny spirit which characterized the policy of the Opposition in this House. I was drawing attention to the fact that from the beginning to the end of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, they had been opposed to it in all its phases; and I was showing that, during the last year alone, the expenditure of the Canadian Pacific Railway for wages paid directly to their own employees in Canada, and for wages paid by manufacturers of supplies used by the railway and manufactured in Canada, was upwards of \$11,000,000; and I said that on that one item alone nearly one-third of the whole amount paid out during the year for interest on the public debt, for collection of the revenue, and for all other purposes whatsoever, had been paid by this road, the building of which had been declared by one of the leading Opposition members to be an impossibility. Sir, the same narrow spirit has been betrayed, and is being betrayed, by the Opposition throughout their whole policy. My hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), on the wall which he made over the misfortunes which had fallen on the devoted head of his poor country, seemed to cast longing eyes on the fine old square-rigged ships which once frequented the ports of his tidy little island. He drew our attention to the fact that there was formerly a busy hum of industry at every port, that thousands of ships came and went from these ports, and carried on a busy traffic with the whole civilized world. He seemed to regard such modern inventions as the Allan and Dominion line of steam-ships as inventions of the devil that ought to be avoided, things that were interfering with the quiet current of life that pervades that tight little island. He told us that he must

condemn the policy which has resulted in the withdrawal of those nice, old square-rigged ships. Why, Sir, if he is to pose here as the representative of the Maritime provinces—

Mr. CAMERON. Oh, no.

Mr. COCKBURN. He claimed that privilege, and I must say 't was a bold effort on his part, disclaimed, I believe, by every province. But he took the position here that he was representing those interests, and he uttered such a cry of woe as to lead us to believe he contracted the same disease from being seated alongside the emblem of woe, and having close to him the other equally decided emblem. Sir, I am afraid our friend from Prince Edward Island, owing to his being shut off during so many months of the year from communication with the mainland, has gone to sleep and will never awake until such time as the great tunnel has been built. Sir, he is the representative Rip Van Winkle of the Maritime provinces; and he seems to dream of the good old time when he thought a passage would be made away to the Pacific Coast in some jolly old omnibus. His thoughts are still of the past, and he can see no trade except the trade which is carried by his wooden ships from port to port. He seems to deny altogether, and not to be aware of the fact, that there is such a thing as inter-provincial trade. In speaking of the deplorable condition of things, while compelled to admit that there is an annual product from agriculture of some \$350,000,000, he might have drawn our attention to the fact that only \$49,000,000 of that great product was exported, and that, therefore, that interprovincial trade alone must rise to the figure of \$300,000,000. Sir, the tactics pursued by the Opposition are most unfair. They take hold of the blue-books, and they twist this figure and twist the other figure, and then wish to send such statements to the country as a fair representation of its condition. Now, one would think that the difficulties under which our shipping is labouring on the island of Prince Edward and in the Maritime provinces, was a malady confined entirely to that particular part of the world. But, Sir, I happened to have lying on that table, at the very time the hon. gentleman was making that statement, a paper published in Montreal, the "Daily Witness," and in this I read an account of a meeting held yesterday in New York, by the United States and Brazil Steamship Company, and one of the directors makes the following statement:

Just now it looks dark for the company.—

Just as it looks dark for Prince Edward Island.

—There are 8,000 steam-ships tied up at docks in different parts of the world. American lines cannot stand the competition.

Perhaps my friend, with his Rip Van Winkle ideas, may think that, as these are iron ships,

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not the fine old square-rigged ships of the Maritime provinces, that they merit the fate that has befallen them; but I want others, who may not be blessed with the same antediluvian tastes, to understand that in modern times we run our commerce in iron built ships, and that it is no ordinary case where 8,000 iron steam-ships are tied up idle at their docks. Why, Sir, this was a tribute to the National Policy. What are we to say of the policy of the whole civilized world, which has resulted in tying up 8,000 large iron steam-ships? My hon. friend seemed to think it was a nice day when each little square-built vessel went out with its little cargo and traded from port to port, and stopped a few hours and asked the time of day, and how all the children were, and how madame was; and what a nice thing it would be if we could only return to that primeval condition of happiness, a kind of primitive Eden. But he says that that day has gone and the ships are gone. Did it never occur to him, that while it may have been a source of enjoyment for him to go down and have his little crack or chat with the captains, as they came from the little neighbouring ports and anchored alongside some of the ports of Prince Edward Island—did it not occur to him that that trade was done now at one-tenth of the price by these large steamers and that the charges of conducting trade by these square-rigged ships must have been infinitely heavier to bear than those for conducting trade by the large iron ships, such as those of the Allan and Dominion lines? Suppose a movement were made to transport our grain in the whale-back vessels which would go through our canals and carry our 80,000 or 100,000 bushels of wheat in one vessel, no doubt my hon. friend would get up here and say it was contrary to the National Policy that anything but a square-rigged ship should go through the canals, and that a special toll should be imposed on any ship that was not a wooden ship and square-rigged. Now, Sir, he has shown this narrowness of spirit, which, I am glad to say, does not characterize all the members from the Maritime provinces, not only in regard to this matter, but also in the manner in which he made an attack on the hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill). That hon. member when he visited England, thought he might say a word for his own land. He did not go to Washington to hold midnight meetings to see how he could stab Canada, nor did he hob-nob with and know all the intricate secrets of the Washington Cabinet, as they appear to be known to my hon. friend for North Norfolk. My hon. friend was in England as a private citizen, and openly, honestly, in the light of day, he tried to see if he could not draw closer those bonds of loving friendship that he hopes, and I hope, will ever unite us to the dear old mother land. And this action is to be brought up in this House, forsooth. He is to be asked what was the reason of this mission. Mission

to whom? To his own fellow-citizens. When an hon. member of this House dares to visit the mother country, which gives us the protection of its army and navy and diplomatic service free of charge, whose people are ready to shed their blood for us, and who, at an expense of £800,000,000, have acquired their great Colonial Empire and handed it over to us, without demanding one farthing or one fraction for the immense sacrifices they have made—when my hon. friend goes to the old country, to the dear old land, and addresses public assemblies, asking how we can enlarge our trade, he is, forsooth, to be called to account. If he had gone privately and shown to our enemies how they could best destroy this colony, if he had told them how best they could place us in such a position that we would be compelled to go down on our knees and accept the foreign yoke, if he had pointed out to them our most vulnerable part and told them how to inflict a death blow upon us, then hon. gentlemen opposite would have been prepared to receive him with open arms, to vote him a true patriot, one of their own party, and a man after their own heart. Shame to any hon. member who can be so narrow-minded in his ideas as to call to account any hon. gentleman because he openly, honestly, and in the light of day, sought to strengthen the ties that bind this colony to the mother country. Not content with attacking every principle held dear by my hon. friend, he attempted to turn my hon. friend's position into ridicule, by stating that he had only 3 per cent of the Empire's trade to offer. My hon. friend has none of the provincial ideas that characterize the speeches of the hon. gentleman. He went there as a citizen, not of Toronto, not of Bruce, not of Canada even, but he went there as a citizen of the British Empire, and as such he spoke to the people of a grand Imperial policy for Canada and the whole colonial empire. But my hon. friend from Queen's P.E.I. (Mr. Davies) has told us that he does not speak to us as a Canadian, as a man with the same heart and sympathies as ourselves, bound to build up a great and mighty Empire, but he speaks to us peculiarly from a maritime point of view, just as if I were to address the House from a Toronto point of view, I had better address the House from the point of view of Toronto Centre, or speak as the representative of St. John's ward. It is too absurd. I might, of course, take that ground because I would then represent more citizens in that ward alone than the hon. gentleman represents in Queen's county; but I hope the day will never come that this country will be governed by such narrow ideas, that its representatives will be driven into such narrow views, or that when they decide the great question of the tariff or the great question of our future, they will consider whether a man is from the north, south, east or west of Canada. It is sufficient to know that he is a Canadian, that he has the same thoughts, the same desires and the same aims,

and while I am proud to hail from the grand banner province of Ontario, I am no less proud to welcome and see around me those from every other part of this Dominion. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) said last night that we had stolen our policy from them, or as he eloquently put it, we had stolen their clothes. Well, Mr. Speaker, when I look at the utter nakedness of the hon. gentlemen opposite, I think it must be true. A more tattered, ragged, tattered-demalion lot in politics I never saw. Their clothes have been stolen; but if the ideas of the tailor dated back to the time of the ideas of the hon. member for Prince Edward Island, we must cut a sorry figure; they will take us to be masquerading in the clothes of the early part of the fifteenth century. No; we have no desire to masquerade in the clothes of the hon. Opposition. We have our own ideas, and unluckily or luckily for the country they cannot be in consonance with theirs. They are a narrow-gauge road entirely; it is only small traffic they will ever be able to carry. Sir, as I was showing the House, instead of grumbling as hon. gentlemen have done at every stage in connection with the construction of this great highway, the Canadian Pacific Railway, built to open up our great national birthright in the North-west, they as the special protectors of the farmers, as the special protectors of the labouring classes, should have regarded it in an entirely different light, because that very road which they oppose has expended in Canadian labour and in wages and in manufactured goods made in Canada by Canadians, no less than \$11,000,000, while this road, according to statements of the hon. member for North Norfolk, is indebted to the country in the sum of \$60,000,000. Those \$11,000,000 represent five times over the interest we pay on the \$60,000,000, and I have no doubt—I am not making one of the prophecies made by Sir Charles Tupper in which the hon. gentlemen profess to have very little confidence, but I am making a statement—that in a few years, instead of paying out in wages and on work \$11,000,000, the Canadian Pacific Railway will be paying a sum equal to the whole amount we now spend during the year for interest on public debt, for the collection of our revenue, and for every other purpose. I know no grander investment for this country, and no one can realize how immense is the acquisition made to our national assets by the value that has been given to that immense territory. Sir, I am not speaking of Ontario, or of Quebec, or of the Maritime provinces, or of British Columbia, but I am saying: that admitting there is a reduction of 25 per cent on the value of the farm land in Ontario, or in Quebec also, if you like; yet we have gained in the increased value of the assets of this country, far more than we have lost. And when agriculture in Ontario adapts itself to the changed circum-

stances of the country, as it will, we shall within ten years have regained much of the value which we have lost, and lost but temporarily, I hope. Sir, so bigoted seems to be the feeling on the part of the Opposition, that the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who is no fool, but a man up in many a wile, asked us coolly yesterday: Why do you not pay the farmer \$1.25 per bushel for his wheat; as if, forsooth, the Government by its mere fiat could determine the price of wheat or anything else. Such a statement must either have been made with a desire of stirring up strife in this country, or it must have been the result of an ignorance more colossal than I can imagine. Does the hon. gentleman think, as they used to think in the Middle Ages, that the king by his decree can fix the price of commodities? Why, Sir, the price of wheat is fixed neither here in Canada, nor is it fixed in the United States, nor is it fixed in England, nor is it fixed, as we are apt to think, in Liverpool—the price of wheat is recorded, if you like, at Liverpool, and flashed by the telegraph across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans—but the price of wheat is determined far away in the northern plains of India, where we have to compete with the cheap labour that is to be had there, and our only hope of sustaining prices in our great North-west is that the people in India themselves will become consumers of the products they raise, and that then there will be a larger profit left for our Canadian farmers. What nonsense it is to complain of the price of wheat being lower now than it was years ago. Are there any goods for sale that are not lower in price? It would be a miraculous thing, if with all our improved machinery, and our means of multiplying labour, we were not able to provide for the working people and for ourselves, more comfort for the same money. It is a step in the advance of civilization, and the statement of my hon. friend (Mr. Charlton) shows, that there is another Rip Van Winkle who wants to go back to the primeval times. The hon. gentleman dealt with our farmers, and he indulged in this cry of woe, which, when I first entered this House, I must confess, simple-minded as I was, went to my heart, and I thought what a terrible lot it must be for our poor farmers. Yesterday I began to doubt my own senses as my friend poured forth his lamentations on behalf of the farmer, and had I not got from him the assurance that every farmer in Canada paid a tax of \$10 every year—more duty than I think I pay myself—had I not got from him that assurance, and divided this \$63,000,000 that the farmers pay among them, I do not know but that I might have been unable to address you here this evening. Of course, after the cry of the farmers, comes the talk about the exodus, and my friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies) modestly placed it at a little sum of 1,250,000 people. He has shown, I think conclusively, how more people have left

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as it will, we have regained which we have, I hope. Sir, the feeling on the part of the hon. member (Mr. Charlton), who is any a wife, asked do you not pay attention to the price of wheat or rice of wheat or must either be stirred up or must have been more colossal than the hon. gentleman speak in the Middle West can fix the price, Sir, the price in Canada, nor does it fix it as we are apt to see of wheat in Liverpool, and flashed the Pacific and Atlantic of wheat is dependent on the northern plains of compete with the land there, and our prices in our great cities in India themselves of the products will be a larger number of farmers. What the price of wheat is years ago. Are that are not lower miraculously thing, machinery, and our work, we were working people and part for the same advance of civilization of my hon. friend; there is another to go back to the hon. gentleman dealt indulged in this or first entered this simple-minded as I thought what should be for our I began to doubt and poured forth in the farmer, and the assurance that aid a tax of \$100,000,000 that the farmer not know but the address you hear the cry of the farmer toward Island (Mr. Charlton) at a little sum of money shown, I think people have left

Prince Edward Island than ever lived in it. Some of our friends can prove anything, but they ought to know that there is a certain brain power needed to discern the proper use of statistics, and not only that, but a certain disposition to regard them fairly, impartially, and scientifically, and if a man by use of statistics, is determined to prove in what a fearful condition this country is, why, he would be a born fool if the statistics did not supply all the information he needs. Lord Bacon, in one of his essays, says: that a man brings back from a foreign country what he takes there; meaning that what he gathers in his travels depends very much upon his previous education, and I think that these hon. gentlemen opposite afford us a very fair illustration of the apothegm of Lord Bacon. Now, Sir, I think it was established very clearly the other evening by my friend, the Minister of the Interior, who I regret to see is not in his seat just now, for whom I have the highest respect, whom I have known from his childhood upwards and for whom I predict a brilliant career—the hon. Minister of the Interior showed us that yearly, during the last ten years, about 25,000 people have left this country; 250,000 in round numbers during the last ten years. Well, I do not think that a very large number. We know in fact that this exodus, about which so much has been said, started nearly one hundred years ago, started, in fact, with the early settlement of the country, and it will go on until such time as a kind of equilibrium is established between the northern and southern parts of this country. I do not know whether all of us are so enamoured of the thermometer 20 or 30 degrees below zero, or even at zero, that in immigrating we should select a country where the cold reaches that point. Accordingly it is but natural that settlers coming from Europe should find their way towards the south, and it is also natural that such of our own people as are obliged to leave the country, should go thither. Looking at this exodus we find the fact: That one-half, or over 13,000 of the 25,000 who left this country for the United States go to New England. Why is that? They go for two reasons; the chief of which is that they can find employment in the factories there. Now, if my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) had kept to his original idea of over ten years ago, and built up the large cities in Canada that he spoke of as having been built up and affording such attractions in the United States; if he had kept steadily to his national policy at that time, at a time when he determined that there was nothing like protection to build up a city, the chances are that we would have been able to retain our present population. My hon. friend ought not to be hard on us, because you see we hold still to the opinions which he held some years ago, namely, that the interests of the nation at large would be promoted by judicious protection. Here is what the hon.

gentleman said in this very House of Commons:

I believe that the agricultural interests of the Dominion—

The agricultural interests, above all things.

—would be promoted by protection, and the manufacturer being brought to the door of the farmer—

Not away in Milwaukee or Chicago.

—would afford a market for a great many articles of produce that would not be saleable in a market 3,000 miles away.

And then, warming up to his subject, with that ardent feeling which he displays in debate, he says:

With a home market of this kind established by protection to manufacturers, the agriculturist—

He always has him in view—

—can benefit his soil by producing a rotation of crops.

He says further:

It has been charged that protection has prevented the extension of foreign commerce in that country.

He is talking as usual of the United States.

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.

Well, I have just drawn his attention to the fact that our internal commerce last year in natural products was over \$300,000,000. Then he says:

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 cotton in 1824 British manufacturers 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 manufactories, but led to the production of an article better in quality and lower in price than the Americans received from British manufactories 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 percentage necessary to produce them in the United States at a profit. But when a protective duty was imposed iron manufactories 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.

Then, speaking about articles of food, he says:

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.

These words are from the Budget debate, and are headed "Mr. Charlton, member for North Norfolk." Now, I ask the hon. gentleman to deal patiently with us. If the same light that dawned upon him has not yet, owing to the high heaven in which he

soars, reached the sublunary sphere and illumined our minds, he must know that it is simply because of the transcendent distance of the great heaven above us, from which it sometimes takes a thousand years for a ray of light to strike the earth—and I hope the light will not strike us any sooner than that; and I have the hope that my hon. friend may yet have such light shed upon him that we shall have an illumination suitable to the occasion. Now, Sir, I have said that one-half of this exodus of 25,000 yearly went to New England, and went there because there they could get that work which my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) wished us to secure in Canada for our own people by the policy he was advocating. They are attracted thither by the large cities which he yesterday pointed out to us as our natural market, not thinking of the time when he considered the propriety of our building up large cities of our own where our farmers would find a market for their produce. And, Sir, there is this consideration, which is a very remarkable one, that, owing to the configuration of Canada, the problem that we have of building up our North-west is a much more difficult problem than that which has been given to the United States to solve; for, right alongside the Maritime provinces are these large manufacturing cities, to which transport is easy and cheap, and which access to and from is equally easy and cheap; so that it is but natural that the flow of emigration from this country, especially from the province of Quebec and the Maritime provinces, should be directed towards the manufacturing centres of the New England states; and I have no doubt that the desire of the Conservative party, and a part of their National Policy, is to build up such centres as will enable us to retain our own industries and our own population. Now, Sir, looking to the condition of the whole Dominion, as reviewed by my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island, I think he will admit that we have fair reason to be thankful, whether we are to look at the immense increase in the deposits of the banks—and here I cannot but draw the attention of the House to the statement made the other evening by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). I did not think that, knowing as he did, the responsibility that must go with and the credence which would be given to words uttered by him, he would have been cruel enough to inflict such a wound upon Canada as to make the statement, however true it might be, that, however much we might boast of our deposits in the various banks, if a run were to set in on those banks, they would be unable to meet it. Sir, he knows as well as I do, and as every man in this House knows, that no bank in this world, not even the Bank of England nor the Bank of France, could stand against a run when that run becomes, as the hon. gentleman said, a universal one.

It is impossible. Banks are the creation of credit, the creation of confidence, and it was a wrong thing of him to say anything that might tend to break that confidence which exists between the public and our banking system. My hon. friend from Prince Edward Island told you that, no doubt, there were large savings accumulating in the banks and in the savings banks of the country, the Government savings banks and the post-office savings banks; but he said—and a glow of satisfaction pervaded his genial countenance when he said so—but they are withdrawing that money; last year they withdrew a million and a half, and they are going on withdrawing it. Why should it give any pleasure to our hon. friends to think that there should be any lack of confidence in the ultimate power of the Government or of this country to pay its debts? Why, Sir, he was correct in saying that there had been withdrawals, but why did he not mention the reason? He knows well the reason. There is no part of the Dominion where the savings per head are so large as they are in his own tidy little province. And they know both sides of a dollar as well and as clearly as any man in this world. And if they withdrew their deposits for a while, why did they do so? Simply because the Government, feeling its own strength and feeling confident in the resources of the country, chose to offer one-half per cent less for the use of money. They had been paying 4 per cent before on deposits, and our friends in Prince Edward Island crowded in, but when the Government decided to pay only 3½, our Prince Edward Island friends hunted all round to see if there was any place where they could obtain four. They had a perfect right to do this; and now that the Government savings bank interest stands at 3½, the money is being again crowded in, because the banks as a rule, are paying less than that. I thank the Lord that these laws of political economy are immutable, and that no Government or Opposition can change them, otherwise I think we would be in a very sad plight. We have seen, as the hon. gentleman says, our trade with the world increased. Last year I was glad to see an increase of \$15,000,000 in our trade with the mother land, but I regret to notice at the same time a diminution in our trade with our neighbours to the south of over \$2,000,000. Commerce admits of no prejudice. I care not where I trade. I am content to make a dollar from my cousin across the border or a sovereign from my brother in England or a franc from the Frenchman, or a lira from an Italian, or a mark from a German. They are all the same to me; all is fish that comes to my net; and, therefore, while I am glad to notice this great increase in our trade with the mother land—and the more glad because that market is not one of convenience like the market of the United States but one on which we can steadily rely for a persistent and steady demand for our goods

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which is of great importance in commercial matters—I regret that our trade has decreased with our neighbours to the south. Attention has been drawn also to the increase in railway travel and freight, which indicates a corresponding increase in the internal trade of the country, and I have already pointed out that our internal trade in farm products alone must be over \$300,000,000. We have seen at the same time an increase made in our canals. It is well for us to remember that the transport by canal and by water is less than one-fifth the transport by rail, and I trust the time is not far distant when, in the interest not only of our brethren down by the Atlantic, but in the interest of the North-west—in fact, in the interest of the whole Dominion—those canals will be so enlarged that we shall be able to so cheapen transport down to the Maritime provinces, that the tax which now they cheerfully bear will be so alleviated that they will scarcely feel the burden. I wish to draw attention to the great increase in life insurance. If there is one thing more than another which shows the thrifty habits of a nation, it is the amount of life insurance; and I find that during the last year the amount carried exceeds by \$5,000,000 our whole of \$250,000,000 debt, which so appals the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). As an indication of increasing confidence in our resources by the outside world, I would draw attention to the fact that the subscriptions to our last loan in England were three times greater than the amount required. The progress of the country is indicated also by the decrease in the number of our insolvencies; and we see additional guarantees of our prosperity and progress in the fact that during the last ten years we have been relieved of burdens which, had they continued to the present, would have approximated some four and twenty millions. We have seen our progress also in the fact that 80 cents per head, or \$4 per family, of taxes were remitted last year, and that no less than 113 articles have been added to the free list under the Conservative Government. But yet, Sir, in spite of all these evidences of the great progress which this country has made, a spirit of unrest and disquiet exists; and I am glad to hear that the Government have determined to meet this spirit frankly, honestly and fairly, with such a policy as will be best for the country as a whole. I know that the feeling, rightly or wrongly, is gradually spreading throughout this country, that we are leaving, perhaps unwisely, the safe mooring in which we lodged, when we started the National Policy in the year 1879, and that if the Government is not careful against yielding to the clamorous demands made by many a one for increased protection, the ship of state may gradually drift away from those safe moorings and perhaps get wrecked on the rocks and shallows of Canadian McKinleyism. But I am happy to think that the Government have deter-

mined to grapple fearlessly with this matter. I know that the charge has been made from the Opposition side of the House that this commission of inquiry is not such a one as a calm consideration of the whole question would have justified. It has been pointed out that a spirit of unrest and disquiet and dissatisfaction must thereby be engendered. It has been urged that if two Ministers are to stay here at Ottawa during the summer with two Controllers—embryo Ministers—to help them in this matter, a feeling of distrust will arise, and our industries will be partly, for a time, paralyzed. I think in opposition to that, however fair the argument may be, one may fairly place the confidence which the people have felt in the present Government that they will fulfil to the letter any promises they do make. I trust that the investigation which is about to be made will be conducted with the spirit and determination to carry out fully the promises made by the Finance Minister. I do not think that this policy, if entered upon in the spirit in which the coal oil and the binder twine questions are being dealt with, will be satisfactory to the country. Two very tender twigs have been delicately lopped off, shall I say, or rather pruned or trimmed on the parent tree; but the principle in the case of coal oil has been left standing, that the natural product should be protected by a tariff of over 500 per cent, while the same article, when refined by Canadian labour and brought into competition with American labour, is subject to a protection of only one-third that rate. I think, therefore, that when the commission takes up this question, they should take it up in no mere mincing spirit. Such, I believe, is not the spirit of the country now. I think it is evident that the Government will not be caught sleeping, as our friends were not many years ago, when they had to confess that they were so imbecile they knew not how to deal with the position. I have confidence that the Ministry will probe these questions to the bottom. But while they will apply the pruning-knife, I believe they will be careful how they handle it. Sir, this is a great question, requiring careful treatment. It is an important question how you ought to deal with a capital of \$353,000,000 invested in manufacturing; you must proceed carefully when you are dealing with the very life-blood, the wages, of 367,000 workmen, drawing an annual wage of \$100,000,000; you have to look twice before you move when you are to legislate so that you may affect \$475,000,000 of products, which yield a net profit, I suppose, of \$90,000,000 a year. When I look at these figures, I cannot but think of the rash over-confidence of my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island, who desires us to rush into the tariff revision at once. I can only attribute it to the narrowness of the spirit in which he has regarded everything, that he seems to think it as easy to deal with the \$353,000,000 of capital, the 367,000 employees, the \$100,000,000 of wages, and the \$475,000,-

000 of products as it would be for the tight little island in which he lives to settle the question of a new bridge, or of the improvement of a macadamized road. Sir, we can never forget that in dealing with the question of tariff we are dealing with the question of revenue. Three courses have been offered to us. We have free trade. But I think, under the present circumstances of our country, as Mr. Blake says, free trade is dead. We have had Commercial Union. And the good sense of the people damned it. It was then trotted out as Unrestricted Reciprocity. But it was driven back with ignominy from the polls by the common sense of the people. And then these apostles, driven from every corner, found refuge in Continental Union. For a time they blinded the people with a mere shibboleth, but when the by-elections came, and after they had lost the golden money key with which they had solved many a difficulty, when Mr. Mercier was no longer to the fore, when we lay there abandoned by gods and men, when no more sums of \$28,000 could be filched from the poor workmen of the Baie des Chaleurs to put up in elections, when no more sending for another hundred thousand—

An hon. MEMBER. Another ten thousand

Mr. COCKBURN. Ah, gentlemen, there was a time when we went another ten thousand, but they saw us and went ten times better. They called us. And it would require a generation of demoralization for the party of purity and principle to which I belong; to equal one tith of the ignominy, the brazen, unblushing ignominy, with which they used the money filched from the horny-handed sons of toil of the province of Quebec. Driven to abandon Continental Union, their ideas have changed, and we have hon. gentlemen speaking in a grandiose way of the great Anglo-Saxon Union. But now another policy is propounded. It is no longer commercial union, it is no longer unrestricted reciprocity, it is no longer continental union, it is no longer even Anglo-Saxon union, but it is Freer Trade. But how come they to ask for freer trade? They have stood up there, to put it in their own elegant language, with both feet for free trade, and how can they have freer trade than free trade? I do not know. I cannot understand this wonderful proposition of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). He asks me here to agree with this: "Be it resolved that the Customs tariff bears heavily and unjustly upon the great consuming classes of the Dominion." Sir, we understand the term "classes" to mean a body of men distinct from the workmen. Surely, it cannot be that our friends opposite are going to abandon the cry of the farmer and the workman and run after the classes. Surely, they have ransacked heaven and earth, and I might say they have gone even lower, in search of some policy to cover them. And yet they seem as naked as the day when

their political clothes were stolen from them. Not a step further can they march, and now forsooth, they seek to pretend that they are the special guardians of the consuming classes; they, the men who tried to stop this \$11,000,000 from going to the employees and others through the Canadian Pacific Railway, the men who have tried to block every step of progress that has been attempted within the last five-and-twenty years by the Liberal-Conservative party, the party that has given to the workmen all the privileges that they now enjoy. I am asked to say "that the tariff should be at once thoroughly reformed in the direction of free trade." I know not what sort of trade this can be. Can it mean that gentlemen opposite, finding themselves naked and utterly helpless and forlorn, weary and dispirited, have determined to throw themselves into our arms and say: We will take your policy; only make the trade a little freer and let us down easy? I do not know that we ought to treat them as the prodigal son was treated, for their position is not exactly the same—he had at least the satisfaction of having had a good old time before he repented. I would like to offer them a mess of pottage, but I know not what to do with them. They are of our own blood; they are our kinsmen, and in the hour of adversity, in the hour of agony, in the last great trouble of their little existence, they come to us and say: It is only freer trade we want; we abandon Commercial Union, away with Reciprocity; down with Continental Union; trample under the foot Anglo-Saxon Unionism; we see no chance of ever reaching our haven, except by the path you have trodden, and our only hope is in taking lessons from you. Now there is the question of Free Trade. We have afterwards to consider the question of tariff for revenue only to meet expenses. This seems to be partly what is aimed at by the resolution moved by the hon. member for South Oxford, "Such a sum as is required to meet the expenses of the Government efficiently and economically administered." I do not know what experience my friends have had in the management of government. Their ideas must be somewhat antediluvian. It is many a long day since they have had a chance of practising the art of government, and there are a few stragglers left, oldish men who once on a time, in the distant past, sat on this side of the House, they may still have ideas left which may be of service to the public, and they may think that this Government is not economically and efficiently managed. I do not wish to say anything about efficiency, that I take for granted; but I can assure them, as to economy, I have tried in vain to melt the heart of the Finance Minister, and a harder and a meaner man in money respects, I never met. Now, there is the third alternative, if I may use the word, still left to us, and that is, how to deal with the tariff for revenue and at the same

time enclosed. I do not know for tariff my principle the National revenue, an addition as will follow. It is a difficulty to the Government policy shall the Government quarrel, I think, it of the principle, I think, after there are fostered, hand, and ing; and are such out of the moneys of the man mean, I to some the hon. gar). Spe draws attention as they of the duty he says:

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He says f

Our Canada with cotton \$4,000,000 paid to the Canadians by me. Now, I cannot most unfair if he made not import though the 48 per cent exacted. facts of a statement descriptions with the

time encourage our native industries. Now, I do not go in for free trade, I do not go in for tariff for revenue only. I still adhere to my principles of a national policy, and under the National Policy I wish a tariff for revenue, and I wish it supplemented by such an additional tariff, if I may use the words, as will foster and protect our native industries. It is a difficult task which has been assigned to the Government to determine how this policy shall be apportioned. The quarrel with the Government just now, if there is any quarrel, is not in reference to the National Policy, it is with reference to the application of the principles of the National Policy. People think, after fourteen years' experience, that there are certain industries which have been fostered, and fostered, too, with a delicate hand, and which ought now to be self-supporting; and they think it unfair that if there are such industries, the public should have, out of their hard earnings, to supplement moneys which merely go into the pockets of the manufacturers. To illustrate what I mean, I should like to draw your attention to some remarks made the other evening by the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Edgar). Speaking of cotton goods, calicoes, he draws attention to the hardships of the tariff as they affect the workingman. Speaking of the duties on shirts, &c., being 48 per cent, he says:

The above duties are paid to the revenue as duties, and are received by the country: but the tariff is so arranged that on the coarser goods the specific duties per yard or per pound are so heavy that they are not paid at all as duties, and the poor man pays the higher tax on them to the protected manufacturer. That is, of course, what those high duties are for, and the result works beautifully. One or two examples of the effect of those specific duties in addition to the ad valorem duties upon the coarser kinds of cotton goods, the goods used by the poorer classes, will illustrate what I mean. I am not going to weary the House by a long list, such as I might give it, but I will only take three cases. Cotton shirtings, for instance, such as are worn by workmen, are taxed 2 cents per square yard, specific duty, in addition to 15 per cent ad valorem. Imported goods of this kind, 27 inches in width, cost from 2d. to 4d. sterling per yard, averaging 3d., which in our currency is 6 cents per yard. This would be a tax of 2.40 per yard, or 40 per cent on cotton sheeting.

He says further on:

Our Canadian mills can supply the heathen Chinese with cottons without protection, while they extort \$4,000,000 per annum from the long-suffering Canadians by means of this tariff.

Now, I consider a statement of this kind most unfair. The gentleman must have known, if he made any inquiry, that such goods are not imported into this country, and that, although the tariff states there is a duty of 48 per cent on those goods, that duty is not exacted. I will illustrate my argument from facts of my own observation. I have here a statement showing the cost of certain descriptions of cotton goods in Manchester, with the rate of duty:

Description of Goods.	Sterling Cost	Present Duty.	Pay Duty.
Check shirtings and coloured cottons	s. d.		p. c.
do	0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2c. per s. yd. & 15 p.c.	48
do	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2c. do 15 do	32
do	0 6	2c. do 15 do	28
do	0 7	2c. do 15 do	26
do	0 8	2c. do 15 do	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
do	0 9	2c. do 15 do	23 $\frac{1}{2}$
do	0 10	2c. do 15 do	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gray and bleached cotton		1c. per lb. & 15 p. c.	
do	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1c. do 15 do	36
do	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1c. do 15 do	28
do	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1c. do 15 do	27
do	0 6	1c. do 15 do	23 $\frac{1}{2}$
do	0 7	1c. do 15 do	22
do	0 8	1c. do 15 do	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Flannels, wool, 4 oz. to yd.		10c. per lb. & 20 p.c.	
do	0 6	10c. do 20 do	40
do	0 9	10c. do 20 do	34
do	1 0	10c. do 20 do	30
do	1 4	10c. do 20 do	28
do	1 7	10c. do 20 do	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
do	1 10	10c. do 20 do	25 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tweeds, cloth, 8 oz. to yd.		10c. do 20 do	
do	0 9	10c. do 20 do	42
do	1 0	10c. do 20 do	40
do	1 6	10c. do 20 do	36
do	2 6	10c. do 20 do	28
do	3 6	10c. do 20 do	26
do	5 0	10c. do 20 do	24
Tweeds, cloth, 12 oz. to yd.		10c. do 20 do	
do	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	10c. do 20 do	56
do	1 4	10c. do 20 do	43
do	1 10	10c. do 20 do	37
do	2 8	10c. do 20 do	34
do	3 6	10c. do 20 do	29
do	5 0	10c. do 20 do	26
Overcoatings, 28 oz. to yd.		10c. do 20 do	
do	1 2	10c. do 20 do	80
do	1 8	10c. do 20 do	64
do	2 2	10c. do 20 do	54
do	3 0	10c. do 20 do	44
do	4 0	10c. do 20 do	38
do	5 0	10c. do 20 do	34
do	7 6	10c. do 20 do	30
Gray blankets, per lb.		10c. do 20 do	
do	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10c. do 20 do	130
do	0 9	10c. do 20 do	87
White blankets, per lb.		10c. do do do	
do	1 0	10c. do do do	62
do	1 6	10c. do do do	47
do	2 0	10c. do do do	40
do	2 6	10c. do do do	36
do	3 0	10c. do do do	33

Printed and dyed cottons 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c., as used by the masses.

Silks, satins and silk velvets 30 p. c., as used by the classes.

I want to draw the attention to the fact that, owing to the fostering action of the National Policy, on certain grades of woollen, cotton and other manufactures, we are able now to produce these goods cheaper than we are able to import them; but at the same time I cannot but feel with hon. gentlemen opposite that they have a ground of complaint, and that is, that the tariff should remain fixed as it is. I may be told that the tariff is kept at 48 or 35 or 26 per cent with a view to protecting our country from being made a slaughter-market. That may be the case. But I think our manu-

factures, especially of this class of goods, are either able now to stand entirely alone or should do with such a moderate tariff in the shape of protection as would enable them to carry on their business. I would not, however, leave it to any Government to interfere directly with the course of trade on the ground that a "combine" might exist. Of course, so long as we have a tariff of 48 per cent on those cottons, we are holding out a direct incentive, an incentive more or less direct, to the manufacturers in this country to combine and raise the price of cottons, and it is perfectly possible under such a tariff that they would reap enormous profits. At the same time I would not wish to establish such a tariff, and leave it to the Government, or leave it to any Government, however great my confidence may be in this Government, to control, by special interference, the commercial interests of this country. Well, Sir, at the same time I may notice with respect to the specific duty that it does bear hardly on the poorer class. We have heard, and we all know, that the poorer classes of goods have fallen 50 per cent in value; they are down to one-half what they were before. The poor man is not getting the benefit of this to the full extent, inasmuch as the specific duty remains the same, while the article itself may have dropped one-half. The specific duty on a pair of stockings would remain the same to the poor man, although the article itself had fallen one-half in value. I think, therefore, in any rearrangement of the tariff it would be advisable, as far as practicable—I know in many cases it cannot be done, and there must be a specific duty—that due regard should be had to placing the duties on the basis of ad valorem duties. In conclusion, I have merely to say that I trust we will remain one country, prepared to assume our own burdens, and that we will be careful to enter into no embarrassing commercial treaties. I think the experience we have had during the past years ought to give us confidence in ourselves. We have seen the McKinley Bill place upon us an iron hand, and for the moment even those who had confidence in this country seemed to waver; but the Liberal-Conservative party stood firm, and we have shown by our action that we are able in an efficient manner to manage our own commercial affairs. You may make a treaty with the United States, you may make a treaty with England or with France. There are certain undeniable advantages, I admit; but, at the same time, you are taking a young country and forcing its commerce into a particular groove, and after ten or fifteen years, when its commerce has fallen into that particular channel, you may find the treaty suddenly rescinded, and the trade of this country thrown back, with all the disorganization of commerce which such a change naturally involves. I trust, therefore, we will be careful not too much to complicate our position with commercial treaties entered into

with any country whatever. Naturally enough, we are looking to the new policy of the Democrats in the United States. Our hon. friends opposite seem to laugh, and think it odd we should consider that question. I think that one plea might have been put forward for delaying the tariff, namely, while there were great dangers in delay, especially after the proclamation had gone forth that an inquiry would take place, it was to be expected that we must take account of the changes that might be made by the new Democratic party in the United States. No people can live alongside a nation of 65,000,000 souls, with a boundary line, undistinguishable at many points, extending for 3,000 miles, without our tariff being more or less influenced or controlled by them. I trust in the new tariff to which we are to be treated next session, a fair and reasonable protection will be given, such as is necessary to establish and protect industries that will take permanent root in the country and may be expected ultimately to stand alone. For my own part, I trust that the consumer will no longer be forced to pay a duty under a protective tariff to encourage the manufacture of those goods in this country which have been bonused or offered to be bonused during the last fourteen years, and of which no manufacture has yet been attempted, for this duty neither aids nor protects any one, and fails in its purpose. It oppresses the consumer and it adds unnecessarily to the burden which he has to bear. But this, however, is not the only objectionable result, for if it were, it might be borne; but the English manufacturer, who supplies this market, finding that when the duty is added to the value of the goods, the article he is sending becomes too expensive, produces an inferior article of a value calculated to meet the views of purchasers, and thus we are doing injury to ourselves, and our protective tariff is not contributing to benefit the interests of the country. I trust, therefore, that the protection afforded to such goods will be lopped off, as no attempt has been made or will be made to manufacture them in this country. I am glad to hear that railway bonuses will be diminished. Cheaper living is an essential condition to the progress of the country, and to the filling up of our great North-west, and however much I trust our young friend, the Minister of the Interior, in whom I have expressed such unbounded confidence, to fill up that vast territory under his control, the first and the greatest desideratum will be to make the country as cheap to live in as the corresponding country to the south of us. I trust, therefore, that all expenses not necessary will be cut down, and that some steps will be taken to reduce the railway bonus system. So far as my experience goes, it has not been fraught with unqualified advantage to the country, and I think we have arrived at that time when we may consider how we may considerably reduce such bonuses, and ask such enterprises to stand on their own commercial basis.

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