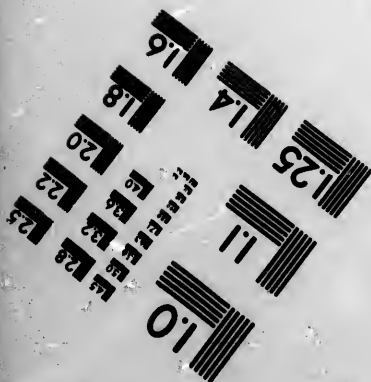
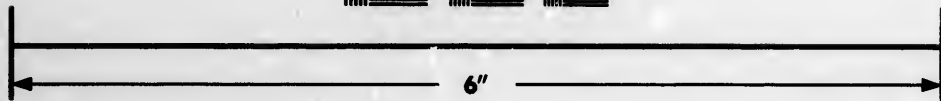
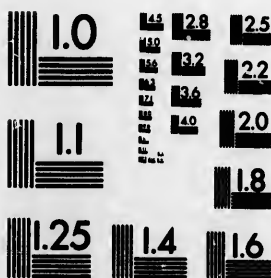


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

1.5 1.8 2.0 2.2 2.5  
1.5 1.8 2.0 2.2 2.5  
1.5 1.8 2.0 2.2 2.5

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

1.0  
1.0  
1.0

**© 1987**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/  
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/  
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/  
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/  
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/  
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/  
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/  
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/  
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/  
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/  
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/  
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- Coloured pages/  
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/  
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/  
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/  
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/  
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/  
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/  
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/  
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/  
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/  
Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
				✓							

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

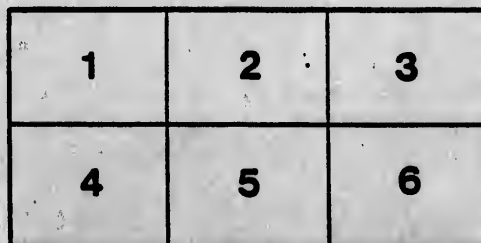
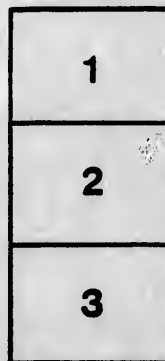
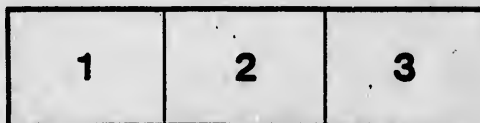
Archives of Ontario  
Toronto

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Archives of Ontario  
Toronto

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

# RECIPROCITY with the UNITED STATES

## SPEECH OF DR. FERGUSON, M. P.,

(WELLAND)

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 27TH, 1888.

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). Mr. Speaker, in resuming the discussion of the question before the House I promise one thing, and that is, that I will be brief. I will not attempt to follow the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) in his peripatetics, in search of scandals or of evidence to show that distress prevails in the country. I will merely take up a few of the points and leave the House to judge of the balance. I hope in the few words I have to say that I will be able to avoid anything that has heretofore been gone over in this House, and I think hon. members will agree with me that this is a very difficult task at this particular stage of the debate. I may just say here, as it may be referred to by hon. gentlemen who may follow me, that a meeting in favour of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, which means one and the same thing, was held in my county a few days ago. I have looked at the paper, and I find all the men at that meeting whose names were published, with the exception of one, were opponents of mine at the last election, and would continue forever to be opponents of mine. They are an unforgiving people and they remain Grit, and will eternally remain Grit, I suppose. I found, however, one of those Reformers, a strong, substantial and influential one, raised his voice against commercial union, and notwithstanding the fact that that meeting was almost exclusively composed of Reformers, they only carried the motion by a three-fourths majority. I will say, before going further, that in my section of the country, and throughout the Niagara district, we are large growers of fruit of all kinds; and only two years ago I was requested by the Reformers and Conservatives in the counties of Lincoln and Welland to endeavor, if possible, to have further protection placed upon the fruits grown in that district. I may say also that I was petitioned, in 1883, the first Session I sat in this House, to see if an increased duty could not be placed upon oats and coarse grains, in order to protect the people of those counties against the importation of coarse and cheap grains from the western States, brought down by vessels and thrown upon the markets on the Welland Canal. So I am not afraid at this time, or at any other time, to discuss this question.

It was said in my county that I had better wait to see how the cat jumped before I came to a conclusion on the question. On any matter affecting my country I have an opinion of my own. I do not believe in swinging on the coat tails of public opinion in a matter of this kind; every man ought to have an opinion and express that opinion fearlessly, and I am not afraid of this question. I might just say here that I am in favor of such a reciprocity treaty as will be fair to both contracting parties. I say we should have a voice in determining what that treaty should be, and it should be a treaty that would be fair and honest to every particular department of trade and agriculture in this country. I am entirely opposed to unrestricted reciprocity, as I believe it would not only injure the manufacturing industries of the country, but would injure the farming industry as well. I will endeavor to compare those two industries before I close, and I think hon. gentlemen will concur with me that the manufacturing industry is only second to the agricultural industry—and I am an agriculturist myself—in point of money and value. The hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) talked of the scrap-book of the hon. member for Lincoln, and said the Government ought to make an appropriation to buy the scrap-book and burn it. I undertake to say that every hon. gentleman opposite would vote for that appropriation. It is the most inconvenient thing for hon. gentlemen opposite, because they never have a solid opinion upon any subject but are always wavering, they are found on every twig of the bush when it suits their particular purpose, and, accordingly, they do not wish their acts put on record. But the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Rykert), who spoke last night, has a scrap-book containing the history of every hon. member opposite, as well as hon. members on this side of the House, and he is always ready and prepared to bring it forward. The hon. member for Wellington took occasion to speak of a certain timber limit, and he said that that timber limit was the cause of the election of the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Rykert) in 1887. I can tell the hon. member for Wellington that if during thirty years he continues to represent his present constituency and then stands half as well in the estimation of the people of his county as does the hon. member for Lincoln, he will have a good record. There is no man in this House who has fought a bolder and nobler party battle than the hon. member for Lincoln, and for that reason he has opprobriums thrown across the floor at him. The hon. member for Lincoln is admired by his constituents and by every one in the Niagara district, in my constituency and in the adjoining constituency, as a fearless opponent and one worthy of his position, and he will adorn the Upper House should he get there. I will now follow rapidly a few of the observations made by the hon. member for Wellington. The first point is with respect to increasing the burdens of the people. Hon. gentlemen opposite now complain that our importations are decreasing. If duties place a burden upon the people and our importations are decreasing, the burdens of the people must be decreasing as well. Now, Sir, he speaks of

"combines," and I will run over that subject hastily. Why, Mr. Speaker, the "promised land" of hon. gentlemen opposite is the mother of "combines," and it is well known that the combines regulate the whole trade of the country, and yet this is the country the hon. gentlemen invite us to go to. The hon. gentleman refers "to the poor innocent farmers of Canada." The only evidence I see of the "innocence" of the farmers of this country is the presence of the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), in this House. I have remarked, Mr. Speaker, during the course of this debate that not a solitary word can be said in derogation of the United States, but that gentlemen on the other side of the House jumped up to defend and explain away. This is very strange. They are presenting such a spectacle as is not to be found in any other legislative assembly in the civilised world. It is a strange spectacle to see nearly one-half the representatives of the people standing upon the floor of their own Parliament, ready and prepared to refute any little thing that may be said in favor of their own country, and standing up in defence of a neighboring country. Such a spectacle has never been seen before and never probably will be seen again. The hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) rises in this House and apologises for the land sales in the State of Dakota, and he says that there must be something wrong and that Dakota is a haven of rest and joy instead of what it has been shown to be. Let me just give an answer to one of his arguments. He says the farmers of this country pay the duty upon horses. I will deal with that question further on, but I would just ask this question in answer to his assertion: If the farmers of this country pay the duty upon all horses exported to the United States, how is it that the United States Government found it necessary to make half the horses imported, free of duty? Was it for the purpose of saving the people of this country from paying the duty? I think not. It was for the purpose of saving their own people from paying the duty, or they would not have taken the duty off. That I believe is an answer to this argument. Now, Sir, it is said that the United States have reduced their debt, and I will deal with this question further on; but I assert here that they have reduced their national debt at the expense of increasing their State debts, and I will show that. The hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has made a calculation upon the farmer selling a colt and a steer and matters of that kind. I want to know how many farmers find a market in the United States for colts and steers? Nine-tenths of all the products of our country are sold in our own markets, and I will show that there is no market in the United States for the products of the farmers of this country. The hon. gentleman contends that farming produce is reduced in value, but he must know that this is due to the reduced prices on articles of export in the Liverpool market, the only market there is for the produce of the farms in North America. This is not due to the National Policy, and I will be able to prove my statement. He further contends that the farmers in Canada are not in as good a position as

they were. This is true of the farmers of the United States, Great Britain, and all other agricultural countries. I will prove from the statistics of Mr. Blue's report, that the agricultural interests of this country have grown to a proportion that is not equalled even by the farmers of the United States. We will take Mr. Blue's report, in preference to the tale told by an hon. member in this House, of a particular farm which he drove somebody out to see and which did not suit the somebody because, perhaps, the percentage required on the sale was too small. I want to ask the hon. gentleman also whether the farmers in the United States are not in a worse condition than they were in a few years ago? He must know that throughout the known world complaints are now made in all agricultural industries that the farmer is not in the position that he was a few years ago, and that this is simply because of the over-production of farm products, which has reduced the values, and as the values are reduced so the value of the farming industry must reduce. The hon. gentleman tells us that 150 people have gone from his county to the city of Toronto, and that Toronto's population and wealth is enhanced by reason of the population coming from the surrounding country. He must remember that if we had had unrestricted reciprocity those 150 people would have gone to the United States, and that 300,000 people in this country who are engaged as artisans and mechanics would have gone there also. He complains that Toronto has grown at the expense of Listowel, but were it not for the National Policy, the cities of the United States would have grown at the expense of Listowel and of Toronto as well. The hon. gentleman, as well as the member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), spoke of the markets in Buffalo, Detroit and Rochester, but they must be aware that there is more produce grown in the neighborhood of those cities than those people can consume, and that they are even exporting almost every article that the farmer of this country has to sell. Why, Sir, they can get wheat cheaper at Cleveland and Buffalo from the city of Chicago than they can get it from any point 100 miles from the frontier in the Province of Ontario. It only costs  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents a bushel to place wheat from the elevators in Chicago into the city of Buffalo and you cannot send wheat from the city of Toronto to the city of Buffalo at that price. Neither can you send it from the city of London, nor from any point in Ontario to the city of Buffalo at so low a rate. They can send it far cheaper even to the city of New York through the Erie Canal. The hon. gentleman has also spoken about oats and butter, and I will tell you my experience of what the export of those articles means in a border county. When I left home oats were selling in the city of Buffalo at 42 cents and I had to pay 53 cents in my own town. As regards butter, in Niagara Falls we had to pay 23 cents during the winter season, and I know of others in the township of Bertie whose names I need not give who were selling their butter for 24 cents. When I went down there I told them that they could get 25 cents for their butter at Niagara Falls, and they were surprised to



hear that they could get more there for it than they could in Buffalo. There are a great many other articles of our commerce which are exactly in the same position. I can tell the hon. gentlemen opposite that there is a higher price for the produce of the farmer in Canada than there is to be found in the United States. There is more raised within easier access to the markets of the eastern States east of Indiana than would feed the whole people of the eastern States, and they have even a surplus to spare. So that from Indiana east they are large exporters of every thing that the farmer produces in this country, and we can find at home a more profitable market for our produce than we could in the United States. Now, Sir, the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen), said that the right hon. the leader of the Government had built up a monument that would stand in history to his dishonor and disgrace in the debt of the country. If the hon. gentleman had been candid enough he would have told us that \$109,000,000 of that debt, which he says has been heaped up by the right hon. gentleman, was taken by him from the shoulders of the Provinces, and at the time when it was paying an interest of 5 per cent. by the Provinces, and he has added it to the debt of the Dominion at an interest of 3½ per cent. thereby saving over a million dollars to the people of this country. I wish there were forty monuments of that kind, and it would be all the better for the country generally. I do not intend to deal with this public debt question just now. But, Sir, I say that provincial debts which we assumed relieved all the Provinces of bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest which they could only realise on at about par, and the Dominion has taken those debts and at the same time relieved the Provinces, while paying only 3½ per cent. To-day 3½ per cent. bonds are selling at 116 in the European market. Hon gentlemen talk about deterioration, about woe, despair, and desolation in this country; but the most sensitive test to be found in the world as to the prosperity and financial condition of the country is in the money markets of the world; and a complete answer to all the speeches made on the other side of the House is this: that the credit of Canada is continually rising in the money markets of the world—that in the opinion of people who have not an interest to get into office in this country, we are steadily advancing and increasing in prosperity. The hon. member for North Wellington ought to know this, if he knows anything, that the name of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government will live in the hearts of a grateful people when the memory of his detractors will be forever forgotten, and history will give him the credit of having made a country. Now, the hon. gentleman spoke about the Intercolonial Railway; and, although he was very minute in all his facts regarding everything that might damage his country and injure the Government of this country, he was not so particular in his facts about the management of the Intercolonial Railway when the hon. member for East York had control of the affairs of this country. He forgot to tell the House that, instead of its running to pay expenses at that time, there was a deficit of about three-quarters of a million on the running expenses every year.

Mr. MACKENZIE. No.

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). The hon. member for North Wellington said last night that the right hon. the leader of the Government kept himself in power, not by his statesmanship or by any virtues he possessed, but by buying all of us who are sitting on this side of the House. I should say, judging from the hon. gentleman's conduct in this House, that if I wanted to get a supporter for money, I would go across there. When he stands up in this House, and accuses others of that sort of thing, I say he would be one of the first men who would offer himself for sale, and his price would be small.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I rise to order. You were good enough, or the hon. gentleman who occupied your place last night was good enough, to interrupt the hon. member for North Wellington a great many times for far less offence against the decorum of the House than the hon. gentleman has committed. I call upon you to press the hon. gentleman to withdraw his words.

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). If I have used language that is unparliamentary, and I suppose I have, I will gladly withdraw it, but the provocation was very great. Now, I said I would endeavor to compare the product of the farm with the product of the factory in the United States, and I will take the year 1880, for it is the last year for which I could get returns. The total value of farm products for that year was \$3,764,743,327. The capital of the factories was \$2,790,223,506; the number of hands was 2,738,930; and the total amount of wages paid was \$947,919,674, or nearly a thousand millions a year paid to the factory hands of the United States. The value of the products of the factories of the United States was \$5,369,667,706, less raw material, say one-third, \$1,789,889,235, making the net products of the factories \$3,579,778,531, about equal in value to the products of the farm. Now, Sir, hon. gentlemen say that the factory is of very little consequence in this country. I say it is of great consequence, and I think I shall be able to show that it is. The net product of the factories of the United States is equal to \$65 per head of the total population of 55,000,000. The product of labor is the only source of wealth in any country, whether that labor is expended on the farm, in the factory, in the mine, or anywhere else. Now, let us compare the product of the factory in Canada with the product of the farm. The total value of the field crops in the Province of Ontario, in 1886, was \$110,764,623; for the whole Dominion, say three times as much, which is fair calculation, making \$332,293,869. Now, let us see what the factory has produced. In the same year the total value of the product of the factory was \$460,000,000, less raw material, say one-third, \$153,333,333; leaving the net product of the factory at \$316,666,667, or within \$16,000,000 of the total value of the field crops. Now, we find that the amount of wages paid to the hands employed in the factories of this country was no less than \$85,000,000. What does that amount of money represent? It represents a market for the products of the farm; but hon. gentlemen

opposite desire to transfer that \$85,000,000 across the line, along with all the capital invested in factories, and they ask the farmers of this country to sell their products across the line instead of to people in this country. Now, the total farm population of Canada is estimated at 3,200,000. Thus we find that the wages paid by the factories amount to about \$26 per head of the farming population; that is to say, the wages paid annually to the factory employes secure a market to every farmer in this country of from \$160 to \$200 a year, which is about the total value of field crops he is able to spare off his farm. Now, the \$85,000,000 which is paid to the factory hands is about one-fourth of the total value of the field crops of the Dominion of Canada. Now, Sir, hon. gentlemen opposite say that we have a market in the United States, and I propose to deal with that subject in a few words. In 1886 the United States exported:

Animals.....	\$ 12,518,660
Breadstuffs.....	125,846,558
Beef products.....	18,599,017
Pork products.....	58,072,932
Dairy products.....	10,876,466
Imitation butter.....	93,363
The oil.....	2,954,954
Clover, timothy and other seeds.....	1,949,990
Fruits.....	2,967,801
Hay, hides, skins, honey, hops, eggs, oil, cakes and meal, broilers, vegetables and wool.....	12,741,259
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$246,621,000</b>

Now, this is the market that hon. gentlemen tell us will be of great value to the farmers of this country; yet the great majority of these articles are raised within easier and cheaper access to the eastern markets than the products of the farms of Ontario. Transportation from Chicago is as cheap or cheaper than from any point within 100 miles of the American frontier in Canada. Canada's exports of sheep to other countries during 1887 was as follows:—

To Great Britain.....	\$543,483
Germany.....	20,975
Belgium.....	368
British West Indies.....	1,285
British Guiana.....	380
Newfoundland.....	19,017
St. Pierre.....	7,227

**Total..... \$617,835**

The United States took \$974,282, or very little more than we exported to other countries. Now, Sir, take horned cattle. Our exports for the year 1887 were as follows:

To Great Britain.....	\$5,354,375
Germany.....	123,040
Belgium.....	71,000
Newfoundland.....	133,408
St. Pierre.....	26,519

**Total..... \$5,588,442**

To the United States, \$887,756; or we sent to the United States only 15½ per cent. of our total export, and we are asked to drop a market to which we sent 5½ million dollars worth to accept a market to which we only sent \$887,756 worth. Now, hon. gentlemen opposite have tried to make us believe that every horse we sent to the United States was charged with a duty of 20 per cent. Well, I find that the United States imported, in 1886, \$6,944,000 worth of animals, and out of that \$6,944,000, we find that \$3,330,595 worth was free of duty, or one-half of the importation of animals into the United States is now free of duty. Hon. gentlemen opposite, therefore, when they make their calculations, should take this into account. And, Sir, the other half we sent through in bond and otherwise to the European markets. Now, the United States is not a market for the Canadian farmer, but it is the home of the middleman, who buy in the Canadian market, for transportation to Liverpool. We want these middlemen to reside in the cities of Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Halifax and St. John, and not in the cities of the United States. Let them be stationed in our cities and buy the products of our farms, and in place of sending our products to the United States for the Liverpool market, we will ship them direct from Canada, and have here all the profit and advantage which now goes to the middlemen in New York. I desire for a few moments to show this House how the debt of the United States stands, because in this paradise, in this promised land we ought to see how things stand before we take the leap we are invited to make. My opinion is that should we take this leap, we would find that we had jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. If we are highly taxed here, we would still be more highly taxed there, and under unrestricted reciprocity, we would have to resort to direct taxation in order to pay the interest on our public debt and to meet our other expenditure. Let us see how the debt of the "promised land" stands at present:

In 1880.

Net State debt.....	\$234,456,261
Net Municipal debt.....	698,270,199
Net County debt.....	123,877,686
<hr/>	
Total, 1880.....	\$1,056,584,146
Total, 1870.....	868,676,758
<hr/>	
Increase in 10 years.....	\$187,907,388

Or an increase of 22 per cent in 10 years. Now, hon. gentlemen opposite talk about the increase in our debt, but it is well known that our Provinces are very little in debt, and that we have but little municipal debt, while the municipal debt of the United States, the county debt and the State debt, in 1880 was \$21.07 per head in every State and Territory of the Union, every cent of interest on which has to be paid by direct taxation. Let us take the debt of the different States. The public debt of the different States is shown by the following statement:

.....



Mr. CHARLTON. Will the hon. gentleman please inform us where those statistics are taken from?

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). From the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, Washington.

Mr. CHARLTON. The debt of New Jersey, as given last year, was \$1,496,000.

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). Let the hon. gentleman look at page 305 of the book he has in his hand.

Mr. CHARLTON. The discrepancy is so great that I thought proper to draw the hon. gentleman's attention to it, and it would be more satisfactory if the hon. gentleman would give us the statistics for 1887.

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). I am giving the latest statistics as published in 1887.

Mr. HESSON. The hon. member for Welland is quite correct. I hold in my hand another report of the same kind.

Mr. FERGUSON (Welland). The United States raised for State purposes in 1886, by direct taxation, no less than \$62,773,366 including the Territories. This amounts to \$1.12 per head of the population of 55,000,000, and I think that is a fair calculation for the population of that year. We pay about 80 cents per head of the population to the Provinces for provincial purposes. Then, if we take that \$1.12 a head for their taxes for State purposes, and add to it the 80 cents which we pay for provincial purposes, it will make a difference of \$1.92 per head for every man, woman and child of our people, in our favor. Take our population at 5,000,000; that would amount to \$9,600,000 in favor of our people, which would allow this country to pay off her national debt at that rate, in case we would submit to the taxation which is placed upon the people of the United States. Together with that, it will be remembered that the tariff of the United States is somewhere between 20 and 30 per cent. higher than the tariff in Canada, so, if the tariff in this country is, as hon. gentlemen opposite say, the measure of the taxation of the people of this country, they must add 20 or 30 per cent. which the tariff of the United States is higher than ours to the taxation of the United States, as well as the amount of \$1.92 per head, and what do we find in that case? The State of New York—and the hon. gentlemen will find it in that red book, and it is the highest authority on this continent—raised in 1886, for State purposes, \$9,512,813. Placing the population of that State at 5,000,000, that would be equal to \$1.92 a head of the population; to this must be added the 25 per cent. that their tariff is higher than ours, making their taxation, on this basis, \$2.40 more per head than ours. Now, compare that with the Province of Ontario. The State of New York is taxed by money taken out of the pockets of the people directly by the tax collector \$1.90 per head. Add to that 90 cents which we receive, and that would make a difference in favor of the people of Ontario of \$2.70 per head for every man, woman and child. The com-

parison with the State of Maine is about the same, with the exception that it is more favorable to Canada. The taxation there was about \$2 per head of the population taken from their pockets and collected by the tax collector, so that would make a difference in favor of our people of \$2.80 per head. He can find, in that red book which the hon. gentleman has, what the taxes were for State purposes in 1886, the amount raised on real and personal property, and the hon. gentleman will find that it is as follows:—

	Amount of Taxes.	
New York.....	\$9,512,813	4 mills on the dollar.
Maine.....	1,391,270	4 do
New Hampshire.....	400,000	19-10 do
Vermont.....	371,697	1 do
Massachusetts.....	2,005,987	8-8-10 do
Connecticut.....	1,463,323	12-10 do
Colorado.....	534,228	4 do
California.....	3,361,644	5 do
Arkansas.....	266,000	4 do
Alabama.....	1,041,898	6 do
Illinois.....	3,000,000	42-10 do
Iowa.....	1,143,386	2 do
Nebraska.....	1,117,934	7-6-10 do
Nevada.....	516,861	9 do
Kansas.....	1,082,477	41-10 do
Minnesota.....	658,998	12-10 do

This shows an average taxation of 4 mills on the dollar in these States. Then, take the taxation of the American cities which the hon. gentleman will also find in that red book, and we find this as the amount of taxation on each \$100 of taxation:—

1883 Chicago.....	\$3 37
1883 Jersey City.....	2 90
1883 Louisville, Kentucky.....	2 35
1882 Lewiston, Maine.....	2 25
1883 Milwaukee.....	2 50
1883 Minneapolis.....	1 92
1883 New York.....	2 25
1882 Peoria, Illinois.....	5 25
1883 Philadelphia.....	2 92
1882 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.....	2 15
1883 Portland, Maine.....	2 53
1882 Poughkeepsie, N.Y.....	2 86
1883 Rochester, N.Y.....	3 00
1882 Schenectady, N.Y.....	3 00
1882 Savannah, Georgia.....	3 00
1882 Springfield, Illinois.....	4 16
1883 Troy, N.Y.....	2 75
1882 Topeka, Kansas.....	2 60
1883 Toledo, Ohio.....	2 40
1882 Scranton, Pennsylvania.....	2 40

All this is for municipal purposes. You may add 4 mills on the dollar, which is the average for State purposes, and you will find that the taxation in the United States is from 3 to 4 per cent. of the total value

of the real and personal property. If we would submit to that heavy taxation, we could easily pay off our national debt in a short time. I want now to give you the United States market, and the hon. gentleman will find the figures in the same book, comparing the twelve years of the existence of the Reciprocity Treaty, and the twelve years succeeding the Reciprocity Treaty. I will take the statistics as given in the city of New York, giving the lowest and highest prices in the years named :-

Year.	Beef, Mess.	Butter.	Cheese.	Flour.	Hams.	Wheat.
	Bbl.	Lb.	Lb.	Bbl.	Lb.	Bush.
	\$ cts.	Cts.	Cts.	\$ cts.	Cts.	\$ cts.
1852....	8 25 to 17 00	15 to 29	6 to 9	4 25 to 6 00	8 to 10	1 05 to 1 15
1853....	7 00 " 11 25	13 " 24	8 " 10	4 37 " 7 50	8 " 10	1 22 " 1 80
1854....	8 00 " 13 00	15 " 24	6 " 12	7 25 " 10 75	7 " 11	1 75 " 2 50
1855....	8 25 " 14 00	17 " 28	6 " 12	7 50 " 10 13	8 " 11	1 98 " 2 80
1856....	8 00 " 12 00	13 " 23	6 " 11	5 20 " 8 31	9 " 11	1 30 " 2 17
1857....	9 50 " 15 00	16 " 23	5 " 14	4 25 " 6 70	6 " 10	1 25 " 1 95
1858....	9 00 " 12 00	13 " 23	6 " 10	3 75 " 5 25	9 " 18	1 20 " 1 50
1859....	5 00 " 9 75	14 " 27	2 " 11	4 00 " 6 50	9 " 12	1 30 " 1 65
1860....	4 50 " 5 20	10 " 21	9 " 12	4 25 " 5 50	10 " 13	1 35 " 1 70
1861....	5 00 " 6 25	8 " 22	2 " 10	3 90 " 5 65	7 " 11	1 20 " 1 60
1862....	5 00 " 10 75	10 " 20	4 " 13	4 20 " 5 95	5 " 9	1 30 " 1 55
1863....	5 00 " 9 00	14 " 30	8 " 16	5 00 " 8 00	5 " 8	1 30 " 1 55
1864....	5 00 " 16 00	21 " 48	12 " 27	7 15 " 11 75	11 " 17	1 72 " 2 75
1865....	9 00 " 14 00	20 " 38	10 " 16	5 00 " 8 80	11 " 23	1 25 " 1 88
1866....	11 00 " 21 00	25 " 50	5 " 23	5 25 " 11 70	11 " 22	2 20 " 3 45
1867....	12 00 " 23 00	15 " 43	7 " 20	6 25 " 11 30	10 " 16	2 30 " 3 40
1868....	11 00 " 24 75	28 " 60	7 " 19	5 50 " 9 75	11 " 18	2 05 " 3 25
1869....	5 00 " 16 50	16 " 55	11 " 23	4 95 " 6 40	17 " 24	1 45 " 2 13
1870....	8 50 " 11 00	15 " 33	8 " 13	4 00 " 6 00	7 " 13	84 " 1 27
1871....	9 50 " 11 25	13 " 14	8 " 16	4 75 " 3 00	10 " 14	1 06 " 1 85
1872....	9 00 " 13 50	6 " 20	3 " 14	3 75 " 5 50	7 " 12	83 " 1 31
1882....	11 50 " 16 00	16 " 33	9 " 13	4 65 " 8 75	11 " 16	1 03 " 1 43
1885....	10 00 " 16 50	11 " 20	6 " 10	2 90 " 3 70	9 " 12	88 " 1 05

Average prices, 1854 to 1866—12 years.

Beef Mess.	Butter.	Cheese.	Hams.	Wheat.	Oats.	Mackerel.
Bbl.	Lb.	Lb.	Lb.	Bush.	Bush.	Bbl.
\$ cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	\$ cts.	Cts.	\$ cts.
6 94 to 12 16	15 to 31	6 to 14	8 1/2 to 13 1/2	1 44 to 3 08	45 to 69	18 12 to 20 41
9 55	23	10 1/2	11	1 70	66	18 17.76

Average prices, 1867 to 1878—12 years.

8 02 to 15 37	13 1/2 to 10 1/2	7 1/2 to 17 1/2	8 1/2 to 13 1/2	1 41 to 2 02	45 to 67	13 06 to 23 61
11 69	28	12 1/2	11 1/2	1 71	56	18 33

The hon. gentleman can get the statistics in that book; let him go over all the figures and he will find my calculation is correct; you can take





I was going to deal with the value of farm property, but I will not do so now. I think you will agree with me, Sir, that I have given you figures enough; they are all correct, and they will, to some extent, at least, satisfy the House that when comparisons are made, figures do not rebound to the advantage of the scheme of the hon. gentlemen opposite. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to know if, during the election of 1887, the Liberal party had succeeded in reaching the Treasury benches, would this proposition ever have been brought before this House? No, Sir, it would not. It is brought here now because they are disappointed and have been rejected by the people of this country. They are taking their sweet revenge upon the people of the country, because they would not place their confidence in them during the late election. Now, as long as they go on in this way, decrying their country, doing all manner of things to injure their country, the people never will have confidence in them. I would like to ask, Mr. Speaker, what the object of this discussion is, at this particular time. It is not for the purpose of forming a party policy, because there is no election in view. Then what is the object? The object is to strengthen the hands of the opponents of this country at Washington. They tell the people at Washington: "Stay your hand, wait, and you can get better terms." Sir, it would be a curious thing if during the negotiation of that treaty for the settlement of difficulties between the United States and this country, the people of this country should, in their legislative halls and on public occasions, say to the United States: "Do not sign the treaty, wait, and we will give you better terms." There can be no other motive, no other object. If there is a motive, if there is an object beyond that, I would like to hear it, and I will gladly withdraw the inference, because I do not like to think it, but I am forced to think it. Now, Sir, there is another point which I will just mention. A very strange thing was said; that we could have our tariff, and they could have their tariff that we have control of our tariff, and they would have control of their tariff under free trade between the United States and Canada. What would induce the people of the United States to join hands with us? Only one of two things—they either want our market, or they want our territory. If they want our market, what use would it be to them unless it was protected in the same degree that theirs is protected? No, Sir, they never would submit to join hands in equal trade, or free trade, unless we made the protection of our market as high as they are protected themselves. If the United States, for instance, want a 40 per cent. tariff to protect their market against outsiders, what use would this market be to them if we only had a tariff of 20 per cent.? Of no value or use at all. Sir, we could not have two tariffs. They may just as well acknowledge the corn at once, and say commercial union. Then I say that if there is commercial union, we must have political union. You cannot have commercial union with one nation and political union

with another. Why, Sir, what would be the result of commercial union? A barrier set upon the shores of this great Dominion against the whole outside world, whether it be Asiatic or European. We set up a barrier, and we say to the outside world: "You shall not trade with us, we are a people within ourselves, we can trade within ourselves, and we do not want you at all." What would be the result? Ships would be withdrawn from our shores, the trade of St. Lawrence would be diverted. In a short time Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, St. John and Toronto would disappear as commercial centres; all the ships crossing the Atlantic would come to New York city; the leading commercial houses would be there, and we would have none of that trade whatever. Why, Sir, we would be abandoned by the rest of the world. If we had a treaty to-morrow for unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union, that treaty would last just so long as it suited the American people, and no longer. The moment it ceased to suit them, they would then abandon that treaty, and might would be right with them, and we would be abandoned by the rest of the world. Besides that we would be a small people and they would swallow us up. Their invitation, if there is any, is the invitation of the spider to the fly; they will take us in and consume us, and then they are done with us. What does Mr. Hitt say?

"But we can at any time withdraw from commercial union if it works unfairly."

That is just what they are after, Mr. Speaker, they want to get us into a commercial union with them, and then, Sir, these combines that exist in the United States, both agricultural and manufacturing, would pour down their surplus upon us here for the purpose of extinguishing every ember of life in every industry in this country. Just as soon as they succeeded in extinguishing these, then the whole of the capital of this country would be transferred to the United States, and when they had all our artisans also on the other side of the lines, they would say: "We want your treaty no longer," and might would be made right in this case, as I have already said. Then in what position would we be placed? It would cost us to try the experiment—and it would be only an experiment—what? It would cost us about three hundred thousand artisans. What do three hundred thousand artisans mean to this country? Each one of those artisans and his family are worth to Canada at least \$1,000, and you can multiply three hundred thousand by one thousand dollars and find the cost. We would lose that to start with. We would also lose two hundred or two hundred and fifty millions of capital now invested in manufactures. And what would we lose besides? We would lose the respect of every right thinking man, not only in this country and in Great Britain, but every of honest, patriotic and right thinking man in the United States, who would look upon us with scorn and contempt. That is the situation in which our gentlemen opposite desire to place Canada. I repeat that this question

has not been brought up for the purpose of forming a party policy, because it is useless now; it has been brought up for some other object, and I wish some hon. gentleman opposite would relieve me from the suspicion that it has been introduced at this time (when we are endeavoring to settle existing international disputes, for the purpose of damaging the best interests of the people of this country.

But we can at any time withdraw from continental union if it works unfavorably. That is just what they are after. Mr. Speaker, they want to get an international union with the United States, and those countries that exist in the United States, both agricultural and manufacturing, would pour down their surplus upon us here for the purpose of extinguishing every member of life in every industry in this country. That is soon as they succeeded in extinguishing these, then the whole of the capital of this country would be transferred to the United States, and when they had all our artisans also on the other side of the line, they would say, "We want your treaty no longer," and might be made right in this case, as I have already said. Then in what position would we be placed? It would cost us to try the experiment—and it would be only an experiment—what? It would cost us about three hundred thousand artisans. What do these hundred thousand artisans mean to this country? Each one of these artisans and his family are worth to Canada at least \$1,000, and you can multiply three hundred thousand by one thousand dollars and find the cost. We would lose that to next with. We would also lose two hundred or two hundred and fifty millions of capital now invested in manufactures. And what would we lose besides? We would lose the respect of every right thinking man not only in this country and in Great Britain, but every of honest people and right thinking man in the United States, who would look upon us with scorn and contempt. That is the situation in which hon. gentlemen opposite desire to place Canada. I repeat that this position

But we can at any time withdraw from continental union if it works unfavorably.

That is just what they are after. Mr. Speaker, they want to get an international union with the United States, and those countries that exist in the United States, both agricultural and manufacturing, would pour down their surplus upon us here for the purpose of extinguishing every member of life in every industry in this country. That is soon as they succeeded in extinguishing these, then the whole of the capital of this country would be transferred to the United States, and when they had all our artisans also on the other side of the line, they would say, "We want your treaty no longer," and might be made right in this case, as I have already said. Then in what position would we be placed? It would cost us to try the experiment—and it would be only an experiment—what? It would cost us about three hundred thousand artisans. What do these hundred thousand artisans mean to this country? Each one of these artisans and his family are worth to Canada at least \$1,000, and you can multiply three hundred thousand by one thousand dollars and find the cost. We would lose that to next with. We would also lose two hundred or two hundred and fifty millions of capital now invested in manufactures. And what would we lose besides? We would lose the respect of every right thinking man not only in this country and in Great Britain, but every of honest people and right thinking man in the United States, who would look upon us with scorn and contempt. That is the situation in which hon. gentlemen opposite desire to place Canada. I repeat that this position

