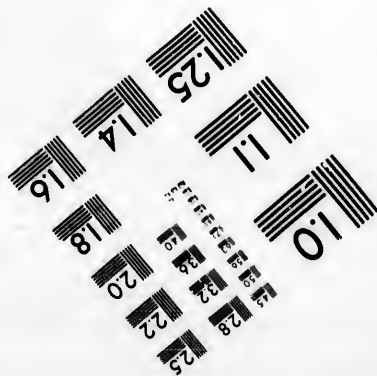
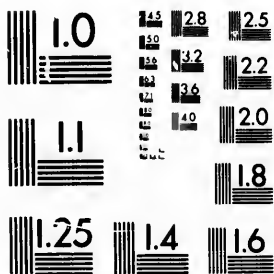


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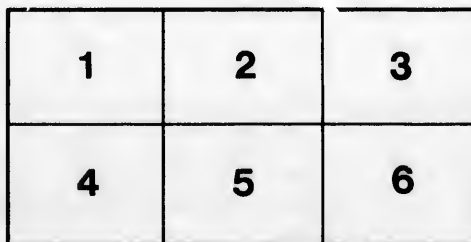
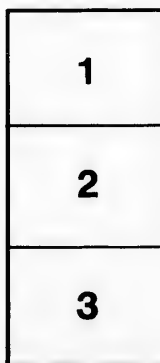
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CANADIAN PUBLIC LANDS.

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

—BY—

MR. J. B. PLUMB, M.P.,

—ON—

MONDAY, 5th APRIL, 1880.

(From the Official Report of the Debates.)

MR. PLUMB: Mr. Speaker, I expected, when my hon. friend the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) rose, that we would have a temperate, clear and dispassionate discussion of the great question involved in the terms of his resolutions. My hon. friend has an aptitude for collating statistics and presenting them in a clear and effective manner. But my hon. friend has one peculiarity, which I think, has been exhibited in all the important speeches he has made in this House. It will not be Parliamentary for me to say, the hon. gentleman has not the sincerity of his convictions, but it is quite certain, that when he begins with an argument upon one side of a question, he usually manages before he concludes, to introduce arguments upon the opposite side from that upon which he started that entirely do away with the force of his original proposition. My hon. friend began by questioning the land policy of the Government. I acknowledge that there may be great room for differences of opinion upon grave questions, such as that of the policy to be adopted for peopling a wild country like our North-West, and the building of a Trans-Continental railway. Differences of that kind we must expect will be earnestly advocated and supported by arguments strenuously urged in this House. We must

expect that such arguments from gentlemen on the other side of the House, will be tinged with party spirit. I do not object to that—and I hope we shall hear in the course of this discussion, for our information and examination, from gentlemen on both sides, every reasonable view which can be taken of the subject. But I did not expect to hear from the hon. gentleman on the one hand, that the Government had granted for the building of the Pacific Railway an inordinate quantity of land—a grant so large that it was simply reckless, extravagant, and improvident. I did not expect, on the other hand, to hear him assert that that quantity of land would be inadequate for the building of the road. Nor did I expect to hear from him that there had been grants of one-fourth the quantity, not so good as ours, to important railways in the United States, on the proceeds of which their lines had been constructed. These statements do not tally. I will not follow the hon. gentleman in his argument, but I must say that I cannot conceive that in the great North-West there is not land enough for all kinds of bargains and arrangements which it may seem politic to the country to make. There is ample provision made for the settler. There is ample provision made for him in the first place by giving him 160 acres as a homestead, and in the second place

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a preemption of another 160 acres which he can take if he likes. It is very unfair for the hon. gentleman to attempt to persuade this House that the land laws of the United States are more favorable to the settler than ours. I happen to have before me the regulations of the United States Government, in respect to preemption and homesteads, which regulations show that, until recent modifications took place, a settler could get for a homestead only eighty acres of land, and could acquire but eighty acres more by preemption. The prices of the latter were fixed, according to location, either at \$1.25 or \$2.50 per acre, and yet the hon. gentleman boasts of this system, which in reality is not nearly so liberal as our own. In 1879, under pressure of representatives in Congress, who were hostile to the holders of the large land-grants for railway purposes, or who wished to strengthen themselves in constituencies, where such grants are restrictive and monopolising, there was a modification of the land statutes, and an Act was passed by which the homestead-grant was extended to 160 acres and the preemption privileges to 160 acres also; but, the minimum and maximum prices, \$1.25 and \$2.50, remain the same. This is all I have to say, in reply to the hon. gentleman, in that regard. When the hon. gentleman says that our regulations are calculated to obstruct the settlement of the North-West. I entirely disagree with him. Does he suppose that this Government are in a league to defeat their own objects—that they are going deliberately to work—understanding the regulations of the United States—to commit political suicide and destroy the opportunity presented to them, of carrying out the great engagements laid upon them,—engagements I may say, in passing, laid upon them by the hon. gentleman opposite and his leaders, for the original policy was changed by the late Government. The hon. gentleman goes on to say, that in order to open up our great North-West, it must be left free to the typical pioneer; and the hon. gentleman, with a fine poetic fancy, pictures that *avant-courier* of settlements, after having finished his work in what was once called the Far-West, having no more wilderness to conquer in the dark and bloody ground where he flourished fifty years ago in his buckskin hunting

shirt, and squirrel-skin cap, with his powder-horn at his side and his rifle on his shoulder, standing ready to take these accessories of civilization into our Great Lone Land. But the hon. gentleman assures us that the fastidious person he described will not vouchsafe to give us the inestimable benefit of his co-operation, unless we legislate here for his especial and exclusive benefit. Now, the hon. gentleman should know that his pioneer has ceased to exist; that he is a creature of an age that has gone by; that he is as utterly extinct as the Mastodon of Big-Bone Lick, who disappeared a few ages earlier. His mission was to defend himself with his rifle from the hostile red-man, to keep his scalp intact, and with his axe to fell the vast dreary forests which frowned along the shores of the Ohio and the Mississippi. If a stray individual of his race still survives, Sir, he would find on the Red river or the Saskatchewan, none of the difficulties with which he had to grapple in his old home. There are no grim foes to meet except occasional *blizzards*, no forests on which the labour of half a life-time must be spent before they can be conquered. The virgin soil is ready for the plough, a single summer will yield a prolific harvest on the first breaking up; nature has prepared an easy path for him with the application of the vast improvements that labour-saving implements supply. The country we are offering has already passed the bounds which the pioneer reached when his work was done. The hon. gentleman has sketched a poetic picture, romantic enough, but one which will not stand the strong, clear light of common sense. The hon. gentleman has also said, that there is a great objection to opening the land in the Far-West to the speculator. I say that if any one wishes to buy this land within the restrictions placed upon it by the Government, he should be allowed and encouraged to do so. I say that I want to see the capitalist go there, take an active interest in the settlement of that country, and become an emigrant agent, endeavouring to get settlers there; and if, as has been hinted, he finds himself uncomfortably taxed, he will be the more anxious to get settlers upon his lands to share his burthens, and there will be no harm done; there is ample room and

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verge enough for the emigrant and the capitalist: I have been looking over the report of the English tenant farmers who visited Manitoba last year, which shows that large tracts have been taken up by men of property going from Ontario, men who have sold their improved lands here and who have had means to acquire land enough for themselves and their sons in the North-West. What possible objection can there be to giving such men the privilege of acquiring ten times the quantity named as a homestead if they desire it? It would hardly be expected that we could adopt any policy that would meet with approval of hon. gentlemen on the other side, and I anticipated nothing less than the attack made by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) but I have been very much disappointed in its force. All the possible mischief which it was intended to inflict has been done away with, most effectually, by the hon. Premier in his able and eloquent reply. I do not hesitate to say, Mr. Speaker, that every utterance of hon. gentlemen opposite since the opening of this Session, has been made with a view to damage the interests of this country; and it has been painful to the community at large as well as to all dispassionate men in this House, to notice the attempts of the minority to thwart and obstruct that progress toward a restoration of confidence and a return of prosperity, which would come naturally but for the conduct which I am compelled to characterise, as anything but patriotic in the Opposition. Since they sat on the Opposition Benches they have attacked and worried every interest of the country and that, gentleman among them who was able to make the strongest statement in illustration of the country's ruin was the one they most loudly cheered. It was not, however, altogether with the intention of answering the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) or the hon. member for Gloucester (Mr. Anglin), that I rose to address the House to-night. I do not see any argument of the latter that demands reply. The hon. gentleman's statements are merely hypothetical and cannot be made the basis of any mathematical proposition or logical refutation; it is therefore not worth while to talk about them. In the State of Iowa, where I became interested in

lands in 1857, when the population was under 300,000, and which contains now a population nearly five times that number—a state comparatively free from debt and burthensome taxation—one of the most important of the Western States, its extensive system of railways which have largely contributed to its rapid growth and its great prosperity, were built almost entirely by land grants and in advance of settlement. This has been the case with nearly all the States of the West having railways running through them in different directions. There is a new line to terminate in Texas, which is now under construction, across the Rocky Mountains and the mountains upon the Californian coast, starting from a point far south of San Francisco. Capitalists of well-known ability have undertaken to construct this line without other advantage or subsidy than a grant of land estimated at eighteen millions of acres. I have here the average price of railway lands sold by the principal railway companies in the United States, up to 1876. I think it fair to take it up to that time, higher prices have since been obtained, but the condition of settlement then came more nearly to that of the North-West now. The Topeka and Santa Fe, \$5 an acre; the St. Paul and Minnesota, \$6.20; the Northern Pacific, \$4.74; Lake Superior and Mississippi \$7.50; the Pere Marquette, \$8; the Central Pacific, \$5.29; the Union Pacific, \$4.32, on a grant of 13,000,000 acres; the Kansas Pacific on a grant of 6,000,000 acres, \$2.72, the last report of that road being in 1873; the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, \$7.91; the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, \$12.25. It therefore does not seem very rash and reckless to make the calculations given by my right hon. friend, the First Minister, of the value of our lands and the probability of sales. It was not for the purpose, however, of addressing the House on this question, as I have just stated, or upon Mr. Charlton's resolutions alone, that I rose to-night; and perhaps I may be pardoned, if I take a different range, in order to bring forward some statistics on matters of importance to this House and the country. My principal object in now addressing the House, was to call attention to the English labour and food question,

and to couple them with the probable settlement of the great North-West. My object was to show that my right hon. friend Sir John A. Macdonald, had no chimerical idea, when he looked upon our great fertile belt in that country, as being the future home of a great community, loyal to the British Crown, and forming perhaps the most important portion of the British Colonial Empire. I have endeavoured to bring important statistics bearing upon the food and labour question together, in such a way, as to present them concisely to the House. I wish to state first, from the data that I shall be able to give, that the culture of wheat, is constantly declining in the United Kingdom, the acreagesown having fallen from 3,831,054 acres in 1871, to 3,381,791 acres in 1878; and to 3,085,428 acres, it is estimated, in 1879. This enormous diminution is caused by large areas of new lands under wheat culture in other parts of the world, coming in successful competition with Britain wheat-growing. The acreage thus taken from wheat culture does not produce any other crop giving the same amount of flesh-forming constituents as that of wheat, 480lb. of which is equal to 550lb. of meat, and 4,800lb. of potatoes. Of course, as long as coal or iron will buy, or will produce what will buy wheat, just so long can the population of Britain be fed. But she is in a peculiar position. She requires not only to import food largely, but she must import great quantities of raw material for her manufactures—more, perhaps, than any other manufacturing country. She imports hemp, jute, silk, cotton, leather, wool, and wood for building purposes, and those imports have to be paid for by exports of manufactures. At a period not very remote, a surplus of food supplies was raised in the kingdom, and large quantities of cereals were exported; but it is now absolutely necessary for England to face the food question as well as the question whether her imports can be increased in proportion to the wants of that class of the population which depend entirely upon manufacturing as distinguished from agricultural pursuits. I shall be able to show figures to sustain what I have said. In 1871 the population of the British Isles was 31,484,661. It is now estimated at 35,000,000. The acreage of wheat

in 1871, was 3,831,054; yield 53,620,000 cwts., or 100,024,000 bushels. Wheat imported in 1871, 43,310,000 cwts. or 80,850,000 bushels; consumption, 97,000,000 cwts., or 180,874,000 bushels. Acreage of wheat in 1878, 3,381,701; yield 55,350,000 cwts. or 103,420,000 bushels; wheat imported in 1878, 58,760,000 cwts. or 109,690,000 bushels; consumption 114,110,000 cwts. or 213,110,000 bushels. Acreage of wheat in 1879, 3,056,428 acres half a crop estimated; wheat imported in the first ten months of 1879 57,000,000 cwts. or 106,400,000 bushels. Mr. Caird states the yearly present consumption of wheat to be 110,000,000 cwts. or 205,340,000 bushels, of which 55,000,000 or 102,670,000 bushels is imported. Other cereals imported probably supply the place of wheat used for others purposes than human food. Of meat the home product in 1878 was 25,000,000 cwts.; of butter and cheese 3,000,000 cwts.; of milk, 6,000,000, cwts., making an aggregate of home raised animal food of 34,000,000 cwts. Imported meat in 1878 6,000,000, cwts.; imported butter and c. 4,580,000 cwts.. Total consumption of animal food, 44,580,000 cwts. Potatoes, home grown in 1878, 100,000,000 cwts.; potatoes imported, 850,000 cwts. All these foods vary in life sustaining power in proportion to their richness in flesh-forming constituents. It is calculated that the nutriment contained in 480lb. of wheat is the average quantity required for each individual of the population; and that 480lb of wheat is equal to 550lb. of meat and 4,800lb. of potatoes. Reduced to a common flesh forming standard and expressed as wheat the consumption of food in 1878 was as follows:

	Home grown. cwts.	Imported. cwts.
Wheat.....	55,350,000	58,760,000
Meat equal to....	21,820,000	5,740,000
Dairy food.....	8,000,000	3,720,000
Potatoes.....	10,000,000	870,000
	95,170,000	69,090,000

The calculation shows that in 1878 the consumption of wheat was 48½ per cent. home grown, 51½ per cent. imported. Of meat reduced to wheat standard, 79½ per cent home grown, 20⁸³/₁₀₀ per cent. imported. Of dairy food 68²⁵/₁₀₀ per cent home; 31¹⁵/₁₀₀ per

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cent. imported and of potatoes, 92 per cent. home, and 8 per cent. imported. In all, 58 per cent. of the total food consumed was produced at home, and 42 per cent. was imported in 1878. The total consumption in 1878 was 164,000,000 cwts.; in 1871, 143,000,000 cwts.; and in 1862, 135,000,000 cwts. Divided among the population at those periods they make, in wheat equivalents, the consumption *per capita* in 1861, 522lb.; in 1871 512lb.; in 1878 538lb. allowing 5 per cent. for export the remainder comes very near the calculation of 480lb. of wheat, or its equivalent, for each period. Besides these main articles of food there are minor ones of little comparative importance, namely; eggs, vegetables other than potatoes, fruits, home raised and foreign, and beverages. The value of the total consumption of food in 1878 was estimated at £167,000,000 sterling, made up as the following :

Animal food.....	£39,980,000
Cereals.....	60,110,000
Sugar, fruit, &c.....	29,150,000
Alcoholic beverages.....	7,840,000
Other beverages.....	12,080,000
Miscellaneous.....	17,840,000

Total £167,000,000

Allowances are made in the estimate of alcoholic and other beverages for the grain used in their manufacture; its enhanced value in the shape of the beverage is merely given. According to the careful estimate of the great English statistician, Mr. Caird, Britain now derives half its bread and one-fourth of its dairy produce from abroad. Mr. Samuel Bourne, from whose valuable tables I have largely quoted and shall largely quote, estimates that of the 35,000,000 of population which the next census will show in the United Kingdom, at least 17,000,000 must be fed by imported food. A great and deplorable waste of food is its conversion into alcoholic drink. During the twenty years ending in 1876, nearly 30,000,000 hundred weights—55,000,000 bushels—were converted into beer and spirits; enough food was thus absolutely destroyed to support a twelfth part of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, say 3,000,000 of persons. The question arises whether any changes in the conditions under which the agricultural operations of Great Britain are carried on can increase the food-supply of the Islands.

It does not follow that a change in land tenure and a larger investment of capital in agriculture would insure the sustaining of a larger number of people by increased home production. Much would depend on the kind of produce of which the quantity raised would be increased. The potato feeds the greatest number per acre, but it is deficient in giving muscle and capacity for work—in strengthening power. There is but little likelihood that the *legumes*, although admirably adapted for sustaining life, and giving healthy vigour and tone to the system, will come largely into use, or that anything will take the place of wheat, or depose it from its supremacy as the staff of life in the British Isles; whether because of the weight which each acre will produce as compared with other descriptions of food, or of its fitness for man's consumption. Now, it is certain that wheat is just the kind of crop which is most likely of all to be displaced in Britain, by the introduction into the market of that country, of wheat of foreign growth. We have seen, as I have previously stated, the effect of a cheaper foreign supply in reducing the wheat acreage from 3,821,054 in 1871, to 3,056,428 in 1879, which, allowing an average crop of fifteen bushels an acre, would be equal to a decrease in the crop of eleven millions of bushels. Throwing land out of wheat culture into that of any other description of food, however profitable it may be for the cultivator, lessens the number per acre which the land will feed. In changing it from arable to grazing purposes, eight acres of pasturo will only yield as much food as one of wheat. Fruit and vegetables will not contribute anything like the same degree of sustenance, that would be afforded by the wheat, of which they may take the place. Increased population and thriving trade also absorb more land for erection of buildings and means of transit, and for open spaces for recreation. These demands, it is not desirable to limit. Reclamations of waste land may only serve to supply the deficiency thus caused. High farming and improved machinery will not be able to hold ground against the opening up of new areas of wheat culture in other countries, and will be probably applied to those foods which need the largest acreage. On the whole, it is held

that it cannot be expected that the life-sustaining power of the soil of Britain will be increased, unless continued adversity drives its people to the use of simpler food. There is every reason for believing that every year will diminish the power to support increasing numbers upon the food raised in the British Isles. They must also resort largely to the produce of other countries to supply raw material for manufactures, for it has been often said that, except in iron and coal, no manufacturing country is more deficient in such material. Cotton, silk and jute are wholly of foreign growth, and flax, leather and wool are largely imported. An average of twelve years shows the value of these articles imported yearly as follows:—

	Home consumption.	Home production.
£	£	£
Cotton..	42,230,000	9,720,000
Flax....	5,160,000	3,302,000
Jute....	2,470,000	2,190,000
Silk....	15,180,000	12,400,000
Wool....	15,550,000	5,060,000
Total...	£80,500,000	£32,390,000

For erection of buildings and manufacture of furniture we use foreign woods. From these data it will be found that it will be necessary for British statesmen, gravely and speedily to consider the condition of their country, where the manufacturing population is largely increasing, and where the increase of the agricultural population is almost at a stand still. The manufacturing class must be fed by the export of the manufactures they produce. And we have seen that not only these, but that one-half of the population altogether, now depends on imported food, to pay for which manufacturers must find an export market. At the Census of 1871, out of the 31,484,000 persons who were enumerated, 2,989,154 are classified as agricultural; 6,425,137 as industrial; these numbers include workers' wives and children. Probably the next Census will show an industrial population of 8,000,000, and that of the following decade might give 10,000,000 or 12,000,000. This calculation, and the probabilities of an augmentation in the ratio of increase of population, are justified by a late report of Dr. Farr, the Registrar General, who states that in the most healthy districts of England, during the

ten years ending 1870, the mortality was seventeen in the thousand, and the whole number throughout the country was twenty-two deaths in the thousand. He argues that the death rate will decrease, and that consequently there will be a much more rapid increase in population in the future, owing to better hygienic and sanitary regulations. To feed the population thus increasing, at the end of the next decade, will require the export trade to be doubled or tripled, and every branch of manufacturing industry extended 50 per cent. The exports of the Kingdom arrived at their maximum in 1872, but the imports did not do so until 1877. Since 1878 both have been decreasing. It is claimed that what is called the balance of trade is entirely fictitious. The gross sums returned as the amounts of exports and imports it is said, and truly said, do not truly represent their values, and that the amount paid for imports is less than their valuation by the profit on freight, commissions, etc., and that in the same way, more is received for exports than their entered cost on departure. The following tables show the official values of imports and exports for twelve years, with a revision, taking into account the added or diminished values just alluded to:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Balance	Revised Imports.	Exports.	Balance.
1867..	230	181	59	205	188	17
1868..	247	180	67	220	187	33
1869..	248	190	58	221	196	25
1870..	259	199	60	231	207	24
1871...	271	223	58	240	250	10
1872..	296	256	40	263	266	3
1873..	315	255	60	281	267	14
1874..	312	240	72	278	251	27
1875..	316	223	93	281	233	48
1876..	319	201	118	284	209	75
1877... 341	199	142	304	208	96	
1873..	316	193	123	281	202	79
1879..	288	188	100	256	197	59
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The foregoing figures represent millions sterling, and show an apparent balance of £1,050,000,000 of imports over exports since 1867, which the revised figures in the last columns reduce to £504,000,000, of which it will be observed that £390,000,000 has accrued since

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1873. It was contended by the extreme school of political economists which our opponents blindly follow, that the imports, however much in excess, must be really paid for by the exports, and, therefore, that the balance only shows the profit that accrues from the exchange. Some of our ultra-Free traders have gone so far as to say; that the more a country buys the richer she grows. The events of the last few years, however, and the extreme depression of trade, must surely convince any but the most obstinate theorists of the fallacy of this contention. It is now generally admitted, the member for Bothwell and his *confreres*, to the contrary notwithstanding, that England has been liquidating her balances by the sale of the bonds and securities acquired during prosperous years, and in fact that the English people are paying out their hoarded savings. The recent rise in the Bank rate is due to the apprehension that the United States which, owing to the protective system, buy little or nothing from England, will demand gold for the food they are called upon to supply, having regained possession of the bonds and securities which they formerly sold to England. In 1867 the aggregate exports of England exceeded her importations of food by £80,000,000; last year the excess was but £26,000,000, a sum quite insufficient to pay for the raw material of foreign production worked up into the manufactures exported. In short, the whole product of British labour and capital employed in industries for exportation fail to realise enough to pay for the food she imports for home consumption. Let the figures be examined, and their import scrutinised in whatever way you will, and the conclusion is still irresistible that, at the present moment England is unable to provide food for her own people either from the produce of her own soil, or by the exchange of her manufactures and produce. It will be argued that these times are not a fair criterion, that there will be again a flood of prosperity, that the savings of the past will tide her over the ebb, and that the depression is universal. In other countries trading and manufacturing companies are the minority, in England the majority. England, essentially a productive and commercial nation, has been the manufactory of the world,

but is every day becoming less exclusively so, since other nations have discovered that they possess the same sources of mineral wealth. It is perfectly evident also from the figures under consideration, that the profits of previous years have been expended for the purchase of raw material, and of the food necessary to feed the English population. Then comes the question as to whether the revival of trade will restore England's position. It may be said that England is really a nation of producers, a nation of workers, a nation of manufacturers. From her vast stores of coal and iron, and owing the rapid development of other countries, who purchased largely from her, she had great stimulus given to her industries, but it is not believed that that prosperity can permanently return, and it is not possible that she can double or treble her export trade in order to provide food for her increased population. Other countries have discovered that they have the resources which made England rich and strong, and have adopted protective measures for the encouragement of their own manufactures and the exclusion of hers. Some scheme of disposing of the rapidly increasing surplus population must, if it has not already done so, impose itself upon English statesmen, and the necessity of the hour in the next decade will be to consider how that population shall be provided for. Thoughtful men are studying these facts and conclusions, and are asking whether it is desirable that the kingdom shall be converted into a vast and overcrowded workshop, with all the evils which now are attendant upon densely populated centres, enormously increased. Shall the British people be pent up within narrow limits which shall be hot-beds of discontent, where ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-disciplined, ill-taught masses shall be ripe for the harvest of the demagogue—a constantly increasing mob, who can scarcely be blamed if they cannot be kept within the restraints of law and order during the periodical revulsions of trade that must occur—that can scarcely be blamed if they listen to the persuasions of the Communist or the Nihilist in a country where the contrast between wealth and misery is ever before them. In such seething masses the instincts of self-preservation will survive all other impulses except perhaps the appeal

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of starving wives and children. Is it true philanthropy, or true policy, or true statesmanship to wait till such a state of things has grown to proportions so appalling that they refuse to be dealt with. What then shall be the manifest duty of the governing classes? Let us see. Sir, I have produced these elaborate and somewhat tedious groups of figures for the purpose of showing the House the position England will occupy when she finds it is absolutely necessary to meet the great food question; when she will be compelled to ascertain whether she can enlarge her own agricultural fields of labour; whether she can manufacture so cheaply as to be able to force her manufactures upon other countries, and thereby obtain the food necessary for her people. Some think it has been well established, as I have stated, that she cannot enlarge her food products. Shall she, then, meet the case by an enlightened system of deporting her population—sending out an advance guard of the best and strongest, who can be induced to emigrate, to prepare the way for a farther emigration of her labourers and artisans, who shall thus be rescued from squalor, misery, and poverty, and carried to a land where they can find happy homes, and the prospect of a new life. Suppose it were possible, by some great convulsion of nature, suggests Sir Julius Vogel, that a continent should be upheaved on the west coast of Ireland, containing all the elements for the best development of society; that the climate would require labour, as the first necessity and the greatest boon, that can be given man; a climate that would not enervate but strengthen the system, and best develop the physical as well as the moral condition of the inhabitants; suppose it were a virgin soil, offered broadcast, and almost free of cost, to the whole people of the United Kingdom, how long would it be before the new land would be covered by an industrious population, bringing with them all the appliances and improvements of agriculture, manufactures, art and science. Wealth would flow into it and would build cities, and cultivate farms, and construct railways, and supply means of education, and furnish luxuries of all kinds, and everything that denotes progress in the better state of civilization—all these, the re-

sult of labour and capital, would spring up like Aladdin's palace, like a dream, or an exhalation of the morning, but not like them to fade suddenly away. Yet, such a continent is practically what is offered to England to-day by the great North-West, which has been, as it were, discovered but yesterday—a country which now offers the solution of the difficulty in which England is soon to be placed. That great country which was unknown five years ago, except to the Hudson's Bay employés, or the Indian trapper, or the pioneer who ventured at the hazard of his life across the illimitable prairies, is now, as one may say, a continent risen up beside the Green Isle which needs it to redeem its starving millions. That country is practically as near to England to-day, by the great improvements in navigation, by the telegraph cable which flashes news beneath the Atlantic, as Lands End was to Liverpool thirty years ago; as near, almost, as London was to Edinburgh forty years ago. It is offered to England. She will, within a few years, need to choose whether she will allow her festering masses to live on in squalid poverty in her great manufacturing centres, or to say to them, I will give you homes in our own territory, under our own meteor flag, where you can be safe beneath its protecting ægis. Let me read, Sir, the eloquent words of Mr. Bourne, to whom I am largely indebted for the statements I have now made, which were listened to with approval and applause, at a late meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, presided over by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, in the absence of the chairman, the Duke of Manchester, and attended by a very large number of distinguished persons:

“One other motive which should induce the Mother Country to foster the further colonisation of her dependencies remains to be noticed—it is the sense of responsibility arising from the relationship in which she stands towards them. It is not only that her own soil fails to provide sufficient for the wants of her growing population; that there seems little likelihood of greater or improved cultivation increasing her produce to the necessary extent; that our manufacturing and trading operations which have hitherto procured supplies from abroad, now fail to keep pace with the growth of those whom they have to support, and our producing power appears to be overtaking the demands of our customers. These are urgent reasons why we should send forth

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a large number of our people. It is not only that the conditions of existence which have grown up amongst us, the modes of life fostered alternately by inflated prosperity and seasons of depression, require the breaking up of many connections, the changing of many habits, the infusion of new life into the several classes of society; these offer many inducements to place our people in altered circumstances, and to surround them with new influences. Neither is it solely because by the diffusion of our people, the fresh start they may make, and the development of multiplied life, there is much wealth to be gained. These are encouragements to the occupation of new lands and the enlargement of our intercourse with the natives occupying many of our possessions. It is that, above all these, there should be the conviction that we have solemn duties to perform and sacred trusts to execute.

"If we trace the various means by which England has become lord of the vast territories which already own our Sovereign's sway, and those which it seems we cannot avoid acquiring—at one time by right of discovery, and another by that of conquest; at others for the purpose of restoring order or preserving peace; at one period in pursuance of selfish policy dictated by the greed of gain; at another from motives of the purest philanthropy and the most earnest desire to benefit those whom we have brought under control—we cannot fail to see that it is neither by accident nor for useless ends that we have thus been led to appropriate so vast a portion of the earth's surface. Whatever our past policy may have been, we cannot ignore our present obligations, nor refuse to admit our responsibilities in the future. Whether for good or evil the burden rests upon us, and we cannot cast it off. The destinies of many nations are in our keeping, and the peopling of many countries at our disposal. If we have been enabled to settle our own freedom on a firm foundation, we have to secure the same liberty and give the same relief to those who are as yet unable to claim, or unfit to exercise the full privileges of British subjects. If we have drawn to our shore the wealth created in our Colonies, or obtained by trade from other nations, we have to employ our capital in fostering commerce and manufactures for their benefit. If we have arrived at so great a knowledge of, and obtained so great a mastery over the powers by which the earth's products may be utilised, we have to impart these gifts to those who are yet in ignorance, and therefore in poverty. If we have joined the ends of the earth together for our own convenience we have to unite the whole of our possessions together, and to ourselves, by yet closer links, and more endearing ties. If we are in the enjoyment of all the comforts and benefits which a high state of civilization confers, we have to train our dependents to secure the same advantages. If the principles and the practices of morality are to prevail, we must introduce them where they are unknown, and fill our lands with those who will aid in their propagation. If we ourselves are blessed with the light of religious truth, we must strive to cast the reflection of that light over the dark places of the earth, and seek to raise up a seed to serve

Him by whom it has been bestowed. These are solemn duties we dare not decline; glorious privileges we would not lose.

I have spoken of the necessity imposed upon the Mother Country, that she should extend and perfect the colonisation of her numerous possessions, but is it not equally a necessity to those possessions that they should be fully colonised? She has more than an abundance; they, with few exceptions, a paucity of population. She is unable to raise her own food; they can raise more than they can consume. She has a plethora of wealth which seeks employment in foreign lands; they have need of more than she can give to develop their untold resources. She has the knowledge, the refinement, the treasures of art and science, accumulated in the course of the years that have past; they have to obtain these invaluable possessions in a few years that are to come. The necessity is mutual; let both be gainers by its being extended and supplied. These are considerations which can no longer be neglected or evaded. They force themselves upon us in our homes and our offices, in solitude and society, in the palace and the hovel; they will tax our intellects and should lie near our hearts. When these sentiments prevail, and presumptions though it may be in me to say so—not till then, will there be any solid return of national prosperity. Whosoever they are held by the leaders of public opinion, and responded to alike by the voice of those at home and those in our colonies, the work will be received as the most important that can occupy public attention, and all together will join in its performance—then the most important and influential member will not be the Minister, who sits in the Home Office not the one who presides over war—nor even he who rules the Exchequer, but the honoured individual into whose hands Her most Gracious Majesty commits the affairs of the Colonial Office."

That, Sir, is the line of argument pursued and accepted by representative men in England, and I claim that it bears directly upon the question of the settlement of the great North-West. That is largely a solution of the question that must press itself upon the attention of parties in England, no matter which may be in power. Notwithstanding there has been a change in the Government, to the regret of many, the same obligation to deal with this question rests upon the new Administration whatever statesmen may be at the helm. The day is far distant when that narrow and selfish policy will again prevail which ruled prior to 1865 and 1866. The colonies and appanages of Great Britain are now considered among the true sources of her greatness. Every dispassionate man in the House and country believes that no greater and truer source of power lies in

the grasp of England to-day, than the settlement of the great North-West upon the principles to which I have referred. It was no dream of the present Dominion Government that the Pacific Railway could be constructed out of the proceeds of our own lands; no dream when the hon. the Premier read those statistics, which were received with incredulity, almost with scorn, by the hon. gentlemen in Opposition. The calculations of the Government are justified by the statistics and facts I have given. I believe that, under the providence of God, the great North-West is destined to play a most important part in the history of civilization, and in the destinies of the British Empire. Nothing, I repeat, could more conduce to the greatness of England than to send us her yeomen—an advance guard of the best, strongest, and most intelligent of her population. When the strong come here, they will provide homes for the weak—for those who cannot come as pioneers, and that the strong will come, anyone who reads the report of the delegation of the English tenant-farmers' may be perfectly certain. Those reports, made without partiality or prejudice, made by men who are not the hired tilters for land companies or railway men, who came here to see the country for themselves, who went where they liked and drew their own conclusions, cannot be read or heard in Britain without producing great effect upon the people whom they addressed. My hon. friend (Mr. Charlton) has suggested that it would be imprudent and improper to permit large capitalists to go into the North-West and there acquire extensive tracts of lands—even though they will settle upon and, perhaps, cultivate those lands. There can be no better policy than to encourage such settlers. They will give employment in the meantime to men who may not be able to purchase or settle, who will take up land afterwards and establish comfortable homes for themselves. Many of the English tenant farmers purchased lands when in the North-West, and have unanimously recommended it as a most favourable country for enterprising men, not afraid of work; and to men of capital they say, there is no place where a better investment can be made. Those indisposed to face the hard-

ships of a new country, may find in Ontario or the Eastern Townships that they can buy the fee simple of excellent farms for a sum per acre not exceeding two or three years' rental in the United Kingdom. There has been a studied attempt, Sir, on the part of the Opposition, which cannot be too emphatically and severely characterised, to decry the value and availability of the vast territory in question, which was acquired for Canada through the far-seeing statesmanship of my right hon. friend (Sir John A. Macdonald). Permit me, in support of my argument and of the conclusions which, I trust, are warranted by it, to read extracts from a letter written and published by Mr. J. W. Taylor, the Consul of the United States at Winnipeg, who is considered an indisputable authority:

“A comparative statement of temperatures at St. Paul, Winnipeg and Battleford, for the first months of the current year, including April, having been published by me and noticed in the *Pioneer Press*, I assume that your readers will be interested in a similar statement for the year ending July, 1879, to which I have added the monthly observations at Toronto.

“These positions are as follows:

	N. Lat.	W. Long.
Toronto	43.39	79.23
St. Paul	44.52	93.05
Winnipeg	49.50	96.20
Battleford	52.30	109.00

“It will be convenient to refer to latitudes as Toronto, 44 degrees; St. Paul, 45 degrees; Winnipeg, 50 degrees; Battleford, 53 degrees. The place last named is situated on the Saskatchewan river, and is the capital of the North-West Territory of Canada, as the vast district west of Manitoba (longitude 99 degrees) to the Rocky Mountains is now known geographically and politically.

TABLE OF MEAN TEMPERATURES.

	Toronto.	St. Paul.	Win- nipeg.	Bat- tleford.
August....	66.38	72.00	67.34	67.79
September..	58.18	60.06	52.18	47.10
October....	45.84	46.03	35.84	34.52
November..	36.06	38.03	30.66	28.66
December..	25.78	19.03	11.97	7.43
January....	22.80	16.03	6.10	0.45
February..	22.74	15.02	-12.32	-10.25
March.....	28.93	33.01	14.14	16.81
April.....	40.72	50.04	39.10	46.70
May.....	51.74	58.07	53.13	53.35
June.....	61.85	67.09	63.20	60.35
July.....	67.49	73.05	68.19	63.95
Yearly means	44.04	45.61	36.67	36.46

“A statement of mean temperature during the agricultural season from April to August inclusive, exhibits the following proportions:—Toronto, 57 degrees, 65 minutes; St. Paul, 65 degrees, 5 minutes; Winnipeg, 58 degrees, 19

minutes; Battleford, 58 degrees, 53 minutes. Thus it will be seen that the climate, in its relation to agriculture, is warmer in Manitoba and over territory seven hundred miles north-west, than in the most central districts of Ontario; while St. Paul, in latitude 45 degrees, is 7 degrees, 40 minutes warmer than the vicinity of Toronto, in latitude 44 degrees.

"I hope soon to be in possession of similar statistics at Fort McMurray on the Athabasca river, and Fort Vermillion on Peace river, respectively 1,000 and 1,200 miles due north-west of Winnipeg, and I have full confidence that the climate at these points will not be materially different from Battleford. The altitude of the Athabasca and Peace river district is less, and the trend of the Pacific winds through the Rocky Mountains is more marked than at Battleford. It was on the banks of the Peace river, well up in latitude 60 degrees, that Sir Alexander Mackenzie records, on the 10th of May, the grass so well grown that buffalo, attended by their young, were cropping the uplands.

"But I find my best illustration that the climate is not materially different west of Lake Athabasca, in latitude 60 degrees, than we experience west of Lake Superior in latitude 46 degrees, in some personal observations of the north-western extension of wheat cultivation. In 1871, Mr. Archibald, the well-known proprietor of the Dundas mills, in southern Minnesota, visited Manitoba. He remarked that the spring wheat in his vicinity was deteriorating—softening, and he sought a change of seed, to restore its flinty texture. He timed his visit to Winnipeg with the harvest and found the quality of grain he desired, but the yield astonished him. 'Look,' said he, with a head of wheat in his hand, 'We have had an excellent harvest in Minnesota, but I never saw more than two well-formed grains in each group or cluster, forming a row, but here the rule is three grains in each cluster. That is the difference between twenty and thirty bushels per acre.' More recently, Prof. Macoun, the botanist of the Canadian Pacific Railwaysurvey, has shown me two heads of wheat, one from Prince Albert, a settlement near the forks of the Saskatchewan, latitude 53 degrees, longitude 106 degrees; and another from Fort Vermillion, on Peace River, latitude 59 degrees, longitude 116 degrees, and from each cluster of the two I separated five well formed grains, with a corresponding length of the head. Here was the perfection of the wheat plant, attained according to the well-known physical law, near the most northern limit of its successful growth.

"The line of equal mean temperatures, especially for the season of vegetation between March and October, instead of following lines of latitude, bends from the Mississippi valley far to the north, carrying the zone of wheat from Minnesota away to the 60th parallel in the valley of the Peace River, and reproducing the summer heats of New Jersey and southern Pennsylvania in Minnesota and Dakota, and those of northern Pennsylvania and Ohio in the valley of the Saskatchewan. * * * Within the isothermal lines that inclose the zone west and north-west of Minnesota, which is being or is soon to be opened

to cultivation, lies a vast area of fertile lands from which might easily be cut out a dozen new States of the size of New York.

"I assigned Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and even southern Minnesota to the zone specially adapted to corn, as the more southern states constitute a cotton zone; and observing the imperative natural restrictions in the Mississippi valley upon the successful production of wheat, I hazarded the statement that three-fourths of the wheat producing belt of North America would be north of the international boundary. This arithmetical division has since been questioned by the *Pioneer Press*.

"I will venture to illustrate the climatic influences which control the problem under consideration, by some citations from 'Minnesota: Its place among the States. By J. A. Wheelock, Commissioner of Statistics,' which, though published in 1860, is all the more an authority for the confirmation of twenty years. The general law of limitation to the profitable cultivation of wheat is thus luminously stated: 'The wheat producing district of the United States is confined to about ten degrees of latitude and six degrees of longitude, terminating on the west at the 98th parallel. But the zone of its profitable culture occupies a comparative narrow belt along the cool borders of the district defined for inland positions by the mean temperature of fifty-five degrees on the north and seventy-one degrees on the south, for the two months of July and August. This definition excludes all the country lying south of latitude forty degrees, except western Virginia, and north of that it excludes the southern districts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, while it includes the northern part of these states, Canada, New York, Western Virginia, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Red River and Saskatchewan valleys. In general terms, it may be stated that the belt of maximum wheat production lies immediately north of the districts where the maximum of Indian corn is attained.' * * *

"Will the great interior of the continent contribute to our exportations of wheat and its flour? I refer to the territorial organisations of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Nevada. Let us take the most favoured of all, Montana. Grand as are its resources, I am constrained to believe that only one-thirteenth of its surface is within reach of the unavoidable condition of irrigation, and that the mountains, with their mineral wealth, and the uplands as grazing grounds for cattle and sheep, will be the chief theatres of industrial activity. After careful enquiry in 1868, as United States Commissioner of mining statistics, I committed myself to the following statement: 'The area of the territory (Montana) is 146,689 35-100 square miles, equal to 93,881,184 acres—nearly the same as California, three times the area of New York, two and a-half that of New England, and yet no greater proportion is claimed by local authorities as susceptible of cultivation than one acre in thirty, or a total of 3,346,400 acres. Of course a far greater surface will afford sustenance to domestic animals. The limit to agriculture, as in Colorado and New Mexico, is

the possibility of irrigation.' * * * *
It is the crowning feature of the 'fertile belt' which broadens with reduced altitudes and constant air currents from the Pacific coast, that the immense trapezoid, whose apex is bounded on the Mackenzie, has a sufficient quantity of summer rains for all the purposes of agriculture as organized in the Atlantic and Mississippi States.

"I have no pride of opinion as to the accuracy of an impromptu estimate of proportions north or south of the boundary. I would cheerfully waive it, confessing to an arithmetical inaccuracy, if assured of a general acceptance of the opinion with which the article of the *Pioneer Press* concludes, namely, that 'in the Hudson Bay Territory, outside of the old Provinces, 200,000,000 acres are adapted to wheat raising.' That admission is more than enough to justify a railroad policy, which will push, within ten years, the locomotive from Winnipeg fully 1,200 miles beyond its present bourne on Red River."

Now, Sir, let us hear what was said by Mr. James Biggar, a delegate of the tenant farmers from the Stewartry of Kircudbright, Scotland, upon his return from Canada, at a meeting in the Town Hall, Castle Douglas, on the 22nd December last :

"As a field for wheat raising I would much prefer Manitoba to Dakota. The first cost of land is less; the soil is deeper and will stand more cropping; the sample of wheat is better, and the produce five to ten bushels per acre more, all of which is profit; and as soon as the new railway is opened the cost of delivering it at the seaboard will be the same or less. The average crop of the United States is surprisingly low, the returns for a good many states being as low as twelve to fourteen bushels per acre; this evidently does not pay the grower, and many are therefore giving up wheat, and going in more for other branches of farming. Much of the wheat producing land in the east being thus, for a time at least, exhausted, supplies will have to come from the virgin soils of the west; and as these are rapidly undergoing the same process, the farmers of the United States will, before very many years, be very much on a level with the farmers of this country. The virgin soils of Canada are, however, much more extensive, and will probably be able to send us wheat when the United States have ceased to be an exporting country. We saw land which had been in wheat from thirty-five to fifty years, and took samples of the wheat soil and subsoil. We also saw some first-rate turnips. We did not see any signs of manure being applied, though we saw manure heaps, the accumulation of twenty years. As there is no decrease of crops the natives do not think it necessary to use manure yet. On the whole, I was favourably impressed with Manitoba, and the other delegates whom I met expressed the same opinion. No one who sees the immense extent of fertile soil and the excellence of its products can doubt for a moment that there is a great future before that country."

Mr. Biggar states that wheat in Manitoba was selling at 70c. a bushel, leaving good profit to the grower, and, at that price, would cost, delivered in England, about 4s. 6d. a bushel, a price which would not pay the English farmer for raising wheat at home.

"As a field for money-making and enterprise we consider the North-West decidedly the best part of the Dominion; and those who are willing to face the difficulties and disadvantages of pioneer life—difficulties and disadvantages which will be rapidly overcome, and which are nothing to those which the early settlers in Ontario had to contend with—have every prospect of success and independence. It would be a great mistake to suppose that I recommend Manitoba to all who think of emigrating. The propriety of going there depends very much on the means and habits of the emigrant; but young people with health, energy, and some means, accustomed to work, would certainly improve their position and do well. There are many families, too, who may be working as hard here, without making things any better, as they would have to do there, for whom the change would be a good one."

Referring to improved farms in Ontario, which he thinks a certain class of intending emigrants would do well to purchase, he says :

"We visited Niagara, and were much impressed with the grandeur and magnificence of the falls. The surrounding country is very fine and largely devoted to the growing of fruit. The neighbourhood of Grimsby and St. Catherine's are also famous for apples, some farmers growing 2,000 to 4,000 barrels, worth 6s per barrel. The whole of the western peninsula of Ontario is fine, and we would have liked to visit the counties of Kent, Huron, Wellington, Grey and Bruce, all of which are fine lands, but the ground being covered with an early fall of snow, we had to give up that idea. A fine stretch of land lies all the way from Kent to Lake Huron; the County of Huron being recently settled, land is cheaper than in other districts, and very good land can be bought at £6 to £10 per acre. East of Toronto, along Lake Ontario, there is some good land, especially in the neighbourhood of Markham, Whitby, and Port Hope, prices reaching £16 to £20 per acre. The land round the bay of Quinte, is considered the finest barley soil in Canada, and large quantities of barley are grown and exported to the United States. Some farmers here grow barley on half their farm, and keep very little stock. The crop ranges from 30 to 50 bushels per acre, worth 55 to 70 cents. * * *

"We have already noticed Manitoba, and may now confine our remarks to the older Provinces. Of these Ontario and the Eastern Townships of Quebec impressed us very favourably. A great deal of Western Ontario would compare very favourably with some parts of England. The land is good and fairly managed, there is a nice proportion of timber, and

the farmers' houses are in many cases exceedingly neat and comfortable. They have, in fact, an air of refinement and prosperity beyond what we expected in a comparatively new country. We believe it would be hard to find in any country of similar size so many men who have done as well as Ontario farmers. Many who went out thirty to forty years ago with nothing, now own farms and stock worth £2,000 to £6,000."

Another delegate, Mr. George Gowan, of Wigtownshire, says of the farm of Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, a Scotch emigrant, who settled first in Guelph, Ontario, and thence removed to Manitoba, where he is the proprietor of about 18,000 acres :

"I was certainly surprised at the wonderful fertility of the soil, which is a rich black loam, averaging about eighteen inches of surface soil, on friable clay subsoil, five and six feet in depth, beneath which is a thin layer of sand, lying on a stiff clay. The land is quite dry, and is well watered by a fine stream which flows through it. * * *

I went over a large field of 180 acres on which had been grown this year a heavy crop of wheat and barley, this season's crop was the ninth in succession without any manure; indeed it appeared to me that it would not require any for many years to come, and that its fertility could be renewed at any time by bringing up an inch or so of new soil. It was quite a sight, and would gladden the heart of any farmer, to have seen the various stackyards on the farm, taking into account the comparatively limited quantity of land at present broken up. Mr. Mackenzie, when turning over the virgin soil in the early summer, merely pares the surface, he then backsets the furrow after harvest, ploughing about a depth of three inches, turning over a very broad furrow, varying from twelve to sixteen inches in width, and so far he has not yet exceeded a depth of four inches on any of his land. He considers the fertility of his land is practically inexhaustible, as in his opinion the friable clay underneath the surface soil, after a little exposure to the action of the atmosphere, will be as fertile as that above it. With respect to the yield of his crop, he favoured me with his average for the seasons of 1877 and 1878, and his estimate for the present year; these were as follows :—Wheat crop, 1877, averaged 41 bushels; 1878, 36 bushels; this year he expects it to be close on 40 bushels per acre. The variety grown is called Fife wheat, which has a hard, flinty plump kernel, reddish in colour. The average weight is from 60 to 62 lbs., but has grown it as high as 64 lbs. per bushel. His estimate of the oat crop for this year is from 75 to 80 bushels per acre, weighing from 34 to 36 lbs.; last year he had a yield of 88 bushels from two bushels of seed sown on an acre; has grown potato oats of 42 lbs. and upwards, but considers he is better paid by the extra yield from the black tartarian. His barley this year he expects will be from 40 to 45 bushels, of from 50 to 52 lbs.; the variety sown is 6-rowed. He drills his seed in as follows:— $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 bushels wheat, 2 bushels of oats, and 2 of barley

per acre. The wheat is sown from 15th April to 12th May, oats up to the 20th May, and barley from 24th May to 8th and 10th June. Reaping generally takes place in August. The Manitoba wheat is much prized by millers in the United States for its superior quality, and brings the highest price in the market. * * *

During our drive along the Red River to the Springs we passed through the well-known Kildonan settlement, one of the oldest in the province, and which was settled on as far back as 1812 by a colony of Scotchmen taken out by the late Earl of Selkirk. The soil in this district, bordering on the Red River, is a loamy clay of great depth and very fertile. The crop this season had of course been gathered long before the period of my visit, but the strong and thick stubbles showed that it had been a good one; and I was told that it would average at least 28 or 30 bushels of wheat per acre. * * *

I was very highly impressed with the fertility of the soil, some of it being without exception the richest I have ever seen, and I have little doubt it will continue for many years to produce excellent crops of grain without any manure, and with very little expense in cultivation; and I would say to any one blessed with health and strength, who is possessed of moderate means, and who is of sober and industrious habits, that in Manitoba or the North-West, he would have no difficulty in realising a competency in a very short time, and in many cases, in a few years, a fortune. For example, 160 acres of land is now being offered by the Canadian Government free on the condition of settlement, and 160 acres more at a price that would not amount to one year's rental of very moderate land in this country. Of taxation, meantime, there is almost none. * * *

I will only further remark, that in my opinion, a very great future awaits Manitoba, and the Canadian North-West. Its boundless prairies will soon be brought under cultivation, and when opened up by railways, and also by water communication through the Hudson Bay direct to this country, it will become the granary of the world."

Mr. Gordon, of Annandale, says:

"I now come to the important questions—Is Canada the place to emigrate to? and, if so, which of her Provinces is the most desirable? The first question I will answer in the affirmative, (1) because of its boundless extent of cheap and at the same time fertile lands; (2) because of its proximity to our own country, and therefore to the best market in the world! (3) because of the similarity of its people to ourselves; and (4) because of its loyal allegiance to the British flag. The second I will leave you to decide for yourselves, after pointing out shortly the advantages and disadvantages of each Province as I was able to discover them. The capital required varies, of course, according to the system adopted and the district chosen, and may be roughly estimated at from £3 to £30 an acre. This includes the first cost of the land. After that, of course, there is no rent to pay. Land, however, can be bought to be paid in a certain number of years,

with interest on the unpaid portion. * * * Then, gentlemen, if any of you can make up your minds to leave the shores of your native land to find a home on Canadian soil—if you can make up your minds to face the inconveniences and hardships I have endeavoured to portray—and if you come to the conclusion from these remarks of mine, and from information you have gathered or can gather from other sources, that you can better your position by going there, I may tell you that you will go to reside among a people in whose veins runs the blood of your own ancestors—a people strong in the hope that a great destiny awaits their country—a people peaceable and law-abiding—a people of like aspirations with yourselves in social and intellectual life, who will extend to you the right hand of fellowship with a vigour and an earnestness which will cause you almost to blush.”

Mr. Elliot, of Stow, says :

“The Dominion of Canada, from the energetic nature of its people and boundless resources of every kind, has a great future before it. With regard to farmers emigrating to the Province of Ontario, or the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, I have not the slightest hesitation in recommending them to do so; as I am satisfied from what I saw, that men with moderate capital could do better than at home; and that for several reasons. In the first place, you can buy and stock a farm for little more than it takes to stock one at home; then there is no rent to pay, and taxes are very light; they do not exceed from 4d. to 10d. per acre, according to the value of the property.”

Mr. George Hutchinson, of Penrith, says :

“The great wealth of the Dominion of Canada undoubtedly is in her soil. Although only a new country as compared with others, she is already well-known as a great meat and corn producing country. There is not, I believe, a more contented man in the world than the owner of this soil; he may not have command of as much capital as some English farmers, nor does he keep his land in such a high state of cultivation, yet the land he works is his own, his taxes are light, and as a rule he is a happy and independent man. * * * To the labourer or farm servant who may think of going to Canada with little spare cash after his passage is paid I will say, you will find plenty of employment in Ontario or the Eastern Provinces at about the same wages as at home, if employed by the year, and in Manitoba at a little more, with the prospect before you of free education for your children and the probability of becoming by industry and perseverance your own proprietor even of a farm. As will be seen by the Land Regulations the Government make you the offer of 160 acres of land free, only I think a man without some capital would be better at first to hire himself to others.

“To the farmer with from £200 to £500 in his pocket, who may think of going to Canada, I would say, you will find plenty of partially cleared farms for sale at all prices, and I would advise you to look well about you ere you buy,

as you will be none the worse of even a year in the country working to others, and if willing to rough it a little for a time, by all means go to the North-West at once, and I am pretty sure you would soon find yourself not only your own laird, but independent.

“To the farmer with capital, I would only say, if he be well at home and have no cause to change, he should remain; only if anxious to try to better his condition more quickly and independently than he is likely to do at home for some time to come in farming, he will find either in Manitoba or Lower Canada, plenty of scope for his energies, and a good deal more interest for his money. He will find himself surrounded by his own countrymen, go where he will, all anxious for the prosperity of their adopted country, and all loyal sons of their Mother Country.”

The testimony of all the delegates was to the same effect as that which I have produced. It is in regard to statistics and statements like those that I have brought forward that the visit of the Commissioners and tenant farmers to our country becomes of incalculable importance, and I cannot but wonder at the persistence with which gentlemen possessed of any spark of patriotism still cling to a partisan and narrow view of our position, and endeavour to decry the advantages which we offer in aid of the solution of the grave and pressing question which is forcing itself upon the attention of British statesmen, and eventually override all party topics. I trust, however, that nothing that I have said will be construed to intimate in the least degree that there is any sign of decadence in the prestige and power of Britain.

“Her soil is still of worth,
She hath not lost the habit
Of bringing heroes forth.”

I cannot doubt, Sir, that under God, the United Kingdom is destined to continue in ever-increasing degree the great centre and treasure-house from which will be disseminated the beneficent principles of religion, of liberty, of law and of philanthropy, which have made the English name honoured and revered wherever those great chief elements of the highest development of the human race are recognised and understood; and that no unimportant part in seconding the extension of those principles is to be played by the illimitable region which it is our mission to present to the Mother Country as a home for her overerowed millions. The magnitude of the subject, and the momentous consequences that logically may be

deduced from the facts that I have presented, cannot fail to arrest the serious attention of the country, and of the representatives of the people who are sent by them to this House as a Committee to look to the interest of the Dominion. I am aware that I have presented it very crudely and imperfectly, but if it has obtained a hearing, I shall not have spoken in vain; and in view of all that I have shown, I cannot believe that we shall not be able to utilise our resources in such a way as to carry our railway policy to successful completion without adding to burthens of taxation which, I may say, in passing, are light compared to those of any other country which offers inducements for emigration. It seems cowardice to imagine that, with all those resources, and with the credit of the Dominion improved and improving, through the declaration that the Government intend to vigorously prosecute this work, we should not be able to complete it and fulfil our engagements. If it is not desirable to execute our engagements on other grounds than our inability to complete it, convince us of the fact—there would be some force in that argument. But, to say, that the Dominion cannot do what three men did in California, who built a line across the Sierra Nevada, a far more formidable route than that through the Cascades and Rocky Mountains in British territory—would imply that we do not deserve the advantages promised by such an enterprise, and we certainly do not, if we have not the courage to grapple with it manfully. I assert, Mr. Speaker, that the half-hearted policy which has characterised hon gentlemen on the opposite side from the very first, is indicative of what they intend now to press in this House. I believe that within a few days we shall have that policy defined. I trust the remarks that I have made in respect to the position which England must necessarily occupy to this great West, may have some influence on hon. gentlemen on this side in sustaining our friends in their arduous undertaking. This undertaking is made more arduous by the unpatriotic conduct of the Opposition, as manifested by the hon. gentlemen who have spoken on the laud policy of the Government to-day. It has been made difficult by the constant endeavours of my hon. friends on the

other side to belittle and deride the resources of the country. It has been made difficult by the persistent efforts of the Opposition to prevent the due development of the prosperity of this country; to obstruct the policy of the country by their threats that, if they unfortunately succeed to power they will reverse that policy. Capital is sensitive, and business men who are just now rising from the commercial depression are met at this moment by representations that the country is in a state of ruin, that the policy we have adopted is a disastrous one, and that the hon. gentlemen on the other side are pledged to reverse it. They may take that position and we will take ours. I believe they will be perfectly powerless to prevent the prosperity which is coming upon the country. Nobody pretended it was to come in a day. It is childish to talk about a great public policy being adopted at night and showing its results the next morning. I am surprised that those gentlemen are so fatuous as to commit themselves to that position, for I assure them we will hold them to it to the very letter. I desire to say also, that there is nothing speculative or exaggerated in the statements that have been made as to the power of the great North-West to enable us to construct the Pacific Railway. The land in that country, if it is properly utilised, and if we can have anything like fair play from the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side, will enable us to bring to a successful completion the work which they have left upon our hands. The hon. gentlemen changed the whole character of our obligations. They were not bound by them, they need not have gone on with this work, but they chose to assume it as a Government work. It is not long ago since I had an opportunity of showing to this House the manner in which my hon. friend the late Minister of Public Works, now leading the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie) had done his part of the work in respect to the contracts between Kaminstiqua and Red River. We have his burthensome legacy on our hands, and I believe we shall be able to sustain it. I was glad to hear to-night the encouraging words uttered by the right hon. the Premier (Sir John A. Macdonald.) The whole House on our side—the great majority

—responded to him as one man, and will sustain him as one man. My hon. friends have reckoned without their host, if they suppose that they can bring forward any resolution which will deter our hon. friends on the Treasury Benches, from carrying out the scheme which they have taken upon themselves; my hon. friends are mistaken if they supposed they will find any weakening on this side of the House in respect to that policy. They will find the Conservative party a unit on that question, and the day is far distant I trust, when any disturbance can be made in its ranks, either in this House or the country, by the resolutions now brought forward, or any other resolution which is promised to

us, no matter how it may be intended to catch the ear or effect the judgment of gentlemen who are working with us. We know where we stand, and I believe we shall be able to show the hon. gentleman how egregiously they have been mistaken in the disposition of the country and of this House, to sustain my right hon. friend and his colleagues in the liberal and enlightened policy they have adopted for the development of the North-West, and the construction of the Pacific Railway in the best and truest interests of this Dominion, and of the fair land beyond the sea, to which she owes and yields the truest and most unchanging fealty.

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