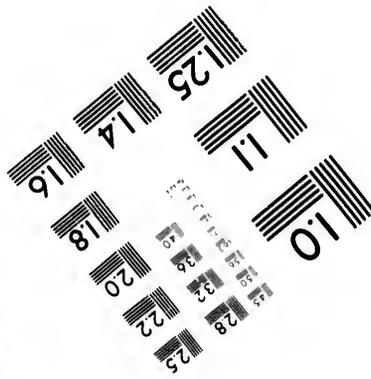
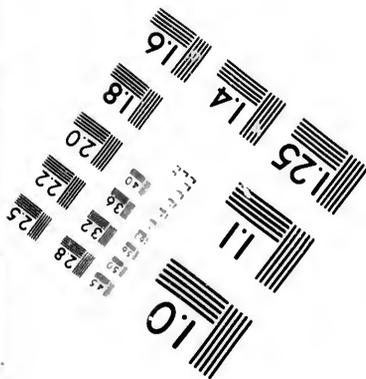
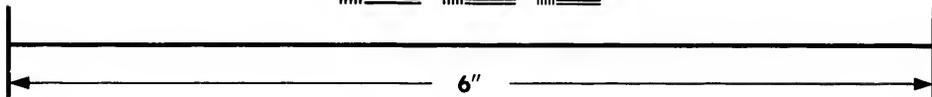
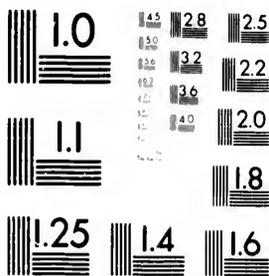


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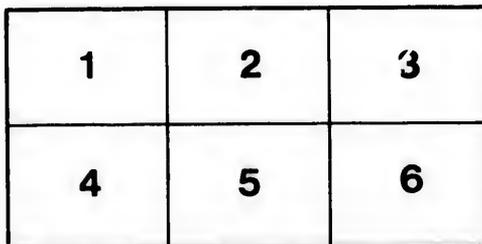
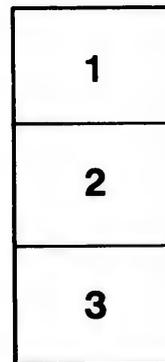
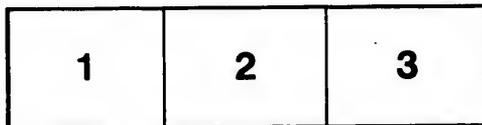
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FACTS
FOR THE
ELECTORS,
CONSISTING OF
EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES

RECENTLY DELIVERED UPON QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT.

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MAY, 1886.

Men should Deserve rather than Retain Public Confidence.

THE following were Mr. BLAKE'S concluding remarks in connection with his Speech on the execution of Louis Riel:

"I know the atmosphere of prejudice and passion which surrounds this case; I know how difficult it will be for years to come to penetrate that dense atmosphere; I know how many people of my own race and of my own creed entertain sentiments and feelings hostile to the conclusion to which I have been driven; I know that many whom I esteem and in whose judgment I have confidence, after examination of this case, have been unable to reach my own conclusion. I blame no one. Each has the right and duty to examine and judge for himself. But cries have been raised on both sides which are potent, most potent in preventing the public from coming to a just conclusion; yet we must not, by any such cries, be deterred from doing our duty. I have been threatened more than once by hon. gentlemen opposite during this debate with political annihilation in consequence of the attitude of the Liberal party which they projected on this question; and I so far agree with them as to admit that the vote I am about to give

is an inexpedient vote, and that, if politics were a game, I should be making a false move. I should be glad to be able to reach a conclusion different from that which is said by hon. gentlemen opposite to be likely to weaken my influence and imperil my position. But it can be said of none of us, least of all of the humble individual who now addresses you, that his continued possession of a share of public confidence, of the lead of a party, or of a seat in Parliament, is essential or even highly important to the public interest; while for all of us what is needful is not that we should retain, but that we should deserve the public confidence; not that we should keep, but that while we do keep we should honestly use, our seats in Parliament. To act otherwise would be to grasp at the shadow and to lose the substance; *prop-ter vitam vivendi perdere causas*. We may be wrong—we must be true—we should be ready to close, but resolved to keep unstained our public careers. I am unable honestly to differ from the view that it is deeply to be regretted that this execution should have been allowed to take place, and therefore in favor of that view I must record my vote."

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EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF

HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M. P.,

ON THE

Canadian Pacific Railway Resolutions,

29th APRIL, 1886.

Mr. BLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that these proposals should have been laid before the House, but I cannot say I am surprised, for I never believed that the loan which the Government invited us to contribute to the Canadian Pacific Railway would be paid in full. I feared that their promises, which they made in 1884, would be broken. I suspected that preparations were being made for the breaking of them in 1885; and my fears of 1884 and my suspicions of 1885 are realized to-night in 1886. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company's

Shareholders Have Paid

into that company \$29,500,000 for their stock. At the recent prices of that stock, prices which prevailed within a short period, though they may not be the prices of the moment, it was WORTH IN THE MARKET ABOUT \$43,500,000. That is an advance of \$13,000,000 upon the average price which the company themselves realised for the stock. Thus, for each \$100 which the shareholders paid into the company they can get on the market \$144 at recent prices, and in addition they have received very large dividends upon their investment, from the time that investment was made up to the present time.

Only two years ago we loaned the company an enormous sum of money, about \$80,000,000, the greater proportion of which was practically loaned them in

order to secure their own dividends. That was the purpose of more than half the loan. They were to repay us this money, with interest at 5 per cent. And now

We are asked to give up our claim to the repayment of ten millions

of this money, to add ten millions to our net debt, to add over \$400,000 a year to our interest charge in order to relieve these shareholders from the payment of that \$400,000 a year, with which they are overburdened. It is proposed in effect to add \$400,000 to the profits of the shareholders of that company, and the taxpayers of Canada are asked to accomplish this result. The company in the announcement they made on the recent issue of the balance of the \$35,000,000 of their debenture debt, declared that they earned a net profit over the fixed charges of \$100,000 last year. * * *

Now, I should have been glad, if I could at all possibly consistently with the truth, to find myself able to acknowledge to-night that in the forecasts which the Government has made from time to time, when they were inviting this House to enter on the Canadian Pacific Railway policy, in the forecasts they made as to the results of that policy, had been accurate and that my own more gloomy views had turned out to be incorrect. * * *

In considering that subject, I wish to point out FIRST of all that the Minis-

ters pledged themselves most absolutely to the finality of the obligations under the Canadian Pacific Railway contract, and arrangements which they proposed to us; SECONDLY, that they promised us as the result of the active Canadian Pacific Railway policy which they proposed in the spring of 1880, and enlarged in the winter of 1880-81, enormous advantages from the rapid construction of the road through the great development by immigration to the North-West, and the introduction in great numbers from the Old World of new taxpayers into our North-West dominions; NEXT that they declared that the Canadian Pacific Railway policy which they proposed to us would result in the very rapid sale of the Crown lands; so that every cent of our expenditure in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, with the interest, would be paid to us out of the sales of those lands, and no burden would be imposed on the country at all; NEXT, that they declared that the railway company would itself build branches all over the North-West with a view to utilizing its land grant, and that as a result of the subsidy in land and money, which we gave in the year 1881, we would secure not merely the construction of the main line, but also the construction, free of cost to us, whether in land or in money, of the branches and feeders which were admitted then, as they are admitted now, to be absolutely essential to the development of the North-West; NEXT, that they declared that the railway company was going to do the immigration work which otherwise we would have to do, and so that a large saving of expense would be obtained by the Government; and FURTHER, that the monopoly which they proposed would not affect—could not affect—Manitoba, and would not injuriously affect the other Territories; and LASTLY, that they would secure—and they professed they had secured—arrangements for fair play and free competition between the different eastern portions of the Dominion, notably the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec, by the conditions which they imposed

the Canadian Pacific Railway as to the rates of freight to the neutral point, Calander, as between the roads, constructed or projected in the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec. Now, Sir,

On all these points the forecasts and pledges of hon. gentlemen have, been falsified

by events. FIRST of all, as to the FINALITY OF THE BARGAIN. You recollect that the subventions which we were asked to give in the year 1881, were then denominated by the Ministry as large, ample liberal, and the hon. gentleman who now leads the House specially declared that they were so of set purpose, in order to avoid what might otherwise happen—the company coming to us again Session after Session for further aids. They said they want *at once to make this final*, to get the business ended by giving large and liberal subventions at first so that there may be no further demands upon Parliament. What they said I wanted, was, that the subventions should be so pared down that the Government would come to say, we did not give them enough, and we must give them more. In 1884, having made in 1881 these final arrangements, the element of finality having been so specially dwelt upon by the then Minister of Railways (Sir Charles Tupper) by the First Minister, by the Minister of Public Works, as the great joy of the occasion, as the thing upon which we should congratulate ourselves in 1881, in 1884, they came to us and asked us to lend \$30,000,000 to make the final agreement finally final.

We were told then that it was a profitable 5 per cent. investment. If I recollect aright, the present Minister of the Interior pointed out that there was really a gain to be made, that it was a prudent investment; we were borrowing money at 4 per cent. and were going to lend it to the railway company at 5 per cent.; * * And so we were to lend the money necessary—a good investment, sure to be returned with 5 per cent.—to put the road in a first-class position; and the arrangement was to be finally final.

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We were also asked during the same Session, and partly in a previous Session, to engage for about \$12,000,000 more in connection with the completion of the work, in accordance with the enlarged ideas—in connection with the settlement with British Columbia in the west, and in connection with the arrangements for finding an Atlantic port, and, also, for the relief of the Province of Quebec from its contribution towards the extension into that Province. We were told that all these arrangements were ample for these purposes, and the *finally final arrangement was finally final for just one year.* For, in the year 1885;

We were asked to add some millions more

to these eastern engagements, because they were found inadequate. We were also asked to lower the rate of interest on the loan from 5 per cent. to 4 per cent. The somewhat hard-headed and close-handed views of hon. gentlemen when they were persuading us to lend the \$30,000,000, had changed in the course of twelve short months, and it was thought rather a mean thing to ask the railway company for 5 per cent. They forgot that it was they who were mean, for it was they who had made the bargain. * *

We were also asked at that time, in 1885, to enlarge the borrowing powers of the company to a considerable extent.

We were told that further demands were made upon the company's resources, with the view of making the complete equipment, and the admirable road, more complete and more admirable still; and a sum of \$15,000,000 more was wanted. We re-adjusted the security system of the company, with the view of enabling it to get from the public \$15,000,000 more money, which it did get, in order that its equipment might be made ample, and its construction perfect.

We were also then asked to impair our securities on which the interest had been lowered to 4 per cent.—to impair them as to the bulk and as to the \$10,000,000, roundly speaking,

which it is now proposed to adjust by these resolutions. So THAT OUR POSITION WAS THAT THE ARRANGEMENT WHICH WAS FINAL IN THE YEAR 1881, AND WHICH WAS MADE FINALLY FINAL IN THE YEAR 1884, WAS PROPOSED TO BE ALTERED AGAIN IN ORDER THAT IT MIGHT BE MADE FINALLY FINALLY FINAL IN THE YEAR 1885 IN THOSE VARIOUS MATTERS. But there was *one thing*, Sir, that we were not asked to do; we were not asked to *buy back our own land grant in order to supply the company with further resources.* Parliament was not asked to do that; the company asked the Government to do it, but the Government. * They declared they would still insist on the debt being continued and being paid. * * *

The Finance Minister comes to us to-night saying,

"I have made such a bad arrangement, contrary to your advice last Session, that now, to get out of this hobble, we must buy back some of the lands absolutely and give up the debt *pro tanto.*" This is a more rapid step in the direction of the result which was predicted last Session than a good many people expected. We were not asked to do this then, but we are asked to do it now. *We were told then that this arrangement of 1885 would provide ample funds for every purpose—that the company would be free to accomplish the great and enlarged objects which had been set before the country by the Government and the company as to be accomplished by means of the new arrangement. Now, in the year 1886 we are told that that again is a mistake, and that further large sums are required by the company, and that it is necessary to give them further relief in order that those sums may be obtained and those results attained.* We are asked by the Government now to do what the Government refused to submit to us for our approval or consideration last year. * *Now the terms are that this \$10,000,000 is to be added to our net debt, that this \$400,000 a year is to be added to our interest charge, and that the capital ac-*

count of the company is to be swollen by an indefinite number of millions more, to be borrowed, in order to make the bargain FINALLY, FINALLY, FINALLY FINAL, UNTIL THE NEXT YEAR OR THE YEAR AFTER.

So much for the pledge of finality; so much for the assurances given to us in the year 1881 that the matter was satisfactorily gone and done with by the arrangement for \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land. * * the First Minister, in the earlier part of 1880, promised, as a result of the land and Canadian Pacific Railway policy which was then brought down, a great immigration. * In the whole North-West, including Manitoba, in 1870, for which two points there are no official figures—allowing 5,000 for these two, and adding them to the official figures, the population of the country would stand at 58,500 in 1879, apart from the natural increase.

The First Minister promised us an immigration of 245,000 between 1879 and 1885, to which add the estimate for natural increase from the earlier period up to 1885, say 15,000 and you get a total population, exclusive of Indians, in 1885, of 313,500, composed of these three elements: the FIRST is the official figures up to the year in which the Minister made his statement, adding only 5,000 for the two items I have mentioned; the SECOND element is the Minister's figure of population for the six years following; the THIRD element is the natural increase. Now, he declared that to these figures there would be added by immigration, from 1885 to 1890, 825,000 to which, if you add for natural increase on the whole, 44,000, you would get as a result a population in 1890 of 680,000. Sir Charles Tupper declared that no intelligent man could doubt the accuracy of this statement; hon. gentlemen opposite swallowed it, and they acted upon that view.

* * * I referred myself to two States to which hon. gentlemen had referred, and upon which they had relied as showing marks of the greatest progress and prosperity; the States of

Kansas and Nebraska. I showed what their progress to 1879 had been, and that remarkable as that progress unquestionably was, it did not furnish a ground for the estimates of hon. gentlemen as applied to our condition.

More Government Prophecies.

Well, a few months passed over from the period of these estimates of the Government, and then they brought down an altered Canadian Pacific Railway policy under which the work was to be done, partly by the company, partly by the Government, and in a still much shorter time, taken as whole, than was proposed in the early part of 1880. They declared that the altered policy, with the stimulus to be produced by the more rapid execution of the work, and by the great efforts and expenditure of the company, which they were to make in the immigration field, would have the effect of largely accelerating the settlement of the North-West beyond their former expectations; that it would tend further to brighten the prospects, so bright already, which they had set before us a few months previous. Then, in 1883 or 1884, it was arranged that the work should be still further accelerated, that is, it should be finished in five years from that time; and the Minister once again declared, and the Minister of Finance again reiterated, that this acceleration of the work would still further benefit Canada!

* THEY WERE BOOMING THE NORTH-WEST TO THE UTMOST OF THEIR POWER. They regret the boom now; they sometimes say it did a great deal of harm; they speak of that regrettable inflation, the unfortunate results which have happened, and so forth; but they did all they could to produce it, and they are mainly responsible for its production and for the disastrous results which have flowed from it. They gave official figures of these alleged results of theirs. The official returns of the actual immigration to the North-West, carrying on the official figures from the year 1879, which I gave awhile ago, would give, for the immigration to that country, up to the

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year 1885, 237,000 souls, to which, if you add 13,000 for natural increase, you will get a total of 250,000 as those who ought to be in the territory in the year 1885, always excluding the Indians. Now, I am not speaking—it is as well it should be understood—of the estimates of the hon. Minister now the Minister of Railways. We know what his estimates were. Why, I recollect one time when he told us—I forget the figures exactly, but something equivalent to about twice the whole immigration which has taken place from foreign parts, apart from the Irish immigration, as that which he expected in one season.

Mr. POPE. I only spoke of one season, and we got them.

Mr. BLAKE. No; I asked him on several occasions what the expected immigration was to be; and he gave that. But I am not speaking of the estimates.

I AM SPEAKING OF THE OFFICIAL DECLARATIONS as to the immigrants that actually came in, and it is by these declarations I am proposing now to judge the situation; and by these, taking up to the year 1879, the figures to which I have referred, you find that we ought to have had 250,000 souls in the North-West in the year 1885. These official returns gave us for the year 1881, in round numbers, 22,000; for 1882, 50,800; for year 1883, 42,800; and for 1884, 24,400—or a total of 148,000 immigrant settlers into that country in four consecutive years, more than every white soul that there is to-day.

I do not believe that there are many more than 125,000 whites in Manitoba and the North-West Territories at this time, only about two out of five of the results of the First Minister's statement of what ought to be there, only about one out of two of the Minister's statements of those who actually did settle there. * * We were abused for suggesting that these estimates and these official returns did not represent, in the first case the probability, in the second case the actual fact. *We were told that we were decrying the country; we were told that we were underestimating the prospects and the results, in order to produce evil effects; but to-day*

you find the situation altogether changed: to-day you find the principal organ of the Government discussing this very question in very different language. In the Mail newspaper of the 5th of this month is an article upon the North-West, from which I quote an extract or two:

"We have repeated boom estimates and quoted boomster's figures"—

Who made the boom estimates, and whose were the boomster's figures?

What the Tories Say Now.

"We have repeated boom estimates and quoted boomsters' figures about everything until we have created in our minds the vision of a region which does not exist anywhere on earth; and now that it has been shattered by the prosaic revelations of the census, we are weak enough to feel sorry at being undeceived."

* * *

The Country was asked to embark

on a scheme of rapid construction and enormous expenditure, with the promise of immediate and tangible results of the most valuable character, *events have already shown how false were the predictions and how untrustworthy the guides who led the country into this enterprise after this fashion.* Now, then let me take the next point: it is the promise that our lands would be settled fast, and that out of them every cent of our Canadian Pacific Railway obligations and interest would be met. * In 1880 the First Minister used these words:

*"For the purpose of relieving the people of Canada from the burden of taxation, which the work would otherwise entail, we have offered every second lot at an upset price so that the road may be eventually built without costing the people one single farthing which will not be recouped. * * * without adding to the burdens of the people or without causing any necessity for an increase of taxation. * *"*

Again he says:

"As the road progresses, the annual sale of lands will be more than sufficient to meet all possible cost of the railway."

Again:

"The proceeds of the sale of the lands will meet our engagements as the work progresses, including claims for interest."

The hon. member for Cardwell, (Mr. White), in an amendment to the motion of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in the same Session, moved, and the House resolved, at his instance:

"That the policy of the Government for the disposal of the public land in Manitoba and the North-West, is well calculated to promote the rapid settlement of that region, and to raise the moneys required for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway without further burdening the people, and that it deserves the support and approval of this House."

Well, Sir, in the same Session the First Minister declared that we would sell, from 1880 to 1885 inclusive, 28,000 pre-emptions, and for the year 1885, 6,250; that we would make other sales, from 1880 to 1885, 14,000 in number, and in the year 1885, 3,125 in number. The results have been: Pre-emptions from 1880 to 1885, 15,275, of which I am afraid a great many will be cancelled or abandoned, instead of 28,000; and for the year 1885, 663 instead of 6,250. There were sales from 1880 to 1885, 9,634, instead of 14,000; and for the year 1885, 785 instead of 3,125. He estimated in the years 1885 to 1889, 40,625 pre-emptions and 20,313 sales. What are the estimates to-day, I wonder? *We have settled just 138 homesteaders up to the 31st December, on 400 miles of the forty-eight mile belt of the Canadian Pacific Railway.*

In the same year, 1880, the First Minister estimated the cash proceeds of the lands actually to be received from that year to 1890 inclusive, at \$88,600,000. The amount which was to be then due but not payable, but still a mortgage on the lands, and as good as cash, bearing interest, was to be \$32,700,000, or an aggregate of received and due of \$71,300,000. He estimated the cost of survey and the administration of those lands at \$2,400,000, and he brought down a handsome balance of net results of \$68,900,000 before the year 1890.

* * * I declared then that these calculations were wholly visionary, and I begged the House not to enter into large engagements upon such calculations. A few months later came the bargain with the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Government then promised that the sales of land would recoup all our expenditures, and they persuaded the House and the country to agree to the bargain upon that specific pledge. Well, Sir, we then declared that that pledge would be broken; we declared that the country would not be recouped out of those lands for the money which it was expending, and was called upon to expend. You have, to-day, the statement of the Finance Minister, from which you can judge whether our forecasts or those of gentlemen opposite were the more correct.

* The delusions upon which hon. gentlemen opposite invited the House and the country to agree to their policy were kept up by them for years.

* On 10th February, 1882,

The First Minister made this statement:

"We have not forgotten the promise made by the Government that they would make the land in that country recoup to the Dominion the \$25,000,000 that we have promised the Syndicate, and what the Dominion has already spent, or is spending, on the Canadian Pacific Railway. There is no reason in the world, as I have urged again and again, why the people of the older Provinces should put their hands in their pockets and settle that country and improve it, and build railways at their expense. That country, which is going to reap the advantage of those railways should provide the cost of the improvements, and the North-West, I am happy to say, is so rich, and will be so sought for, that what was a reasonable proposition at the beginning is now a certainty, namely, that it will be able to sell sufficient land, that while preserving the homesteading right, it would be able to repay to those who have contributed to the taxes necessary in connection with building the road the money with interest added."

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There I have the statement of the hon. gentleman that it was upon the promise

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that we were to be recouped in cash out of the lands that Parliament, and afterwards the people, accepted the bargain and endorsed the policy—on that promise and on that promise only.

Who is bold enough to declare now that that promise has not been broken?

That policy which the people they confess endorsed on the understanding that eventually the country would pay the whole of the expense? Again: On April 27th, 1882, the First Minister said:

"It is safe, it is certain beyond the possibility of doubt to say that every farthing and every cent and every dollar that has been or will be expended in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, not one shilling of this burden will fall on our shoulders, or the generation that will succeed us. We will be free from the whole amount of that debt."

Again:

"\$750,000 was paid in in one day from the recent sales -this is a very substantial commencement of the fund which is to pay off the \$25,000,000. It will be put to the credit of the fund and invested at interest for the purpose of paying off the whole of this \$25,000,000."

Again:

"By this year then there will be 10,000,000 acres granted to colonization companies under plan No. 1, which means the eventual payment of \$10,000,000 into the Treasury."

And again:

"That will be \$10,000,000, and with the sales that will take place of railway lands in other portions, we will have, either in money, or in what is as good as money, solid mortgages on every one of these colonization tracts an amount equal to \$12,500,000; so that in one year we may fairly say we have got half of the whole, \$25,000,000."

Where is it now? Then on 12th April, 1882, Sir Charles Tupper said:

The lands have increased in value as to warrant us in the statement, and to warrant the conviction in the mind of every intelligent man, that at an early date we will not only have the \$25,000,000 recouped to the Treasury, but we will go on; and if we

have not wiped out our other responsibilities we will soon be in a condition to wipe out the engagements thrown upon us by the late Government, as well as those incurred by our own in reference to the work."

I think I have shown the House what the situation was in 1882. Let me now come to 1883. In that year Sir Charles Tupper declared that our secured receipts from transactions already effected in the three previous years, 1880, '81 and '82, would be by 1885 a trifle over \$10,000,000, apart from all new transactions such as railway grants and further sales; they were actual receipts to come in by the year 1885 from the transactions already accomplished in 1880-81-82. The hon. gentleman declared to the House and the people that those enormous sums would be realized, and would go to a reduction of the principal, and that the interest would be paid also. WHICH HAS TURNED OUT CORRECT? What are the actual receipts from all sources, not for the transactions of 1880-81-82, but all receipts from 1880 to 1885? The receipts were \$4,052,000, and the expenditure for surveys and land officers and that class of expenditure, was \$3,820,000, leaving a balance of \$732,000.

From this you have, in my view, still to deduct certain charges. For example, I estimate that at least one-half of the cost of the Department of the Interior under the old system, before the hon. gentleman enlarged it, is fairly to be chargeable to the land branch of that Department. Of course the Indian branch is a separate branch, and I am speaking of the Interior by itself. Now, half the cost of the Interior under the old scale for the last six years would give you \$133,000, and then I take the whole excessive cost of the Interior, beyond the cost in the old time, the cost of the hon. gentleman's policy, as attributable to the lands, and that is \$225,000 more in the six years, making an aggregate of \$338,000, leaving, as a net result, \$374,000, without saying a word about the Indians, about immigration about mounted police, about local government, or any of those charges. So you may practically say that

There has been nothing net out of the lands of the North-West

for these years during which hon. gentlemen declared so large a sum would be realised as to recoup us *pro tanto* for the expenditure on the Canadian Pacific Railway. And this is not an increasing ratio; it included the boom, the speculative period, the period in which they sold in a day to speculators large quantities of land, in which they realised from colonization companies a considerable sum, the colonization bubble, the speculative bubble, the town site bubble. *Of late years there has been a positive loss, and you can judge that from a statement of the annual receipts.* In 1880 the gross receipts were \$155,000; in 1881, \$164,000; in 1882, \$1,727,000; in 1883, \$928,000; in 1884, \$788,000; and in 1885, \$288,000; so that our over expenditure last year was over \$223,000, apart from the cost of the land part of the Interior Department, which would show, if you added it, a total deficit of about \$300,000 for that year.

* * *

In 1883 the late Minister of Finance estimated our cash receipts from land in the North-West for 1884, in round numbers, at \$2,250,000; in 1885, \$2,000,000; in 1886, \$2,000,000; total \$6,250,000, for those three years. We have actually received in gross for 1884, \$788,000; for 1885, \$288,000, or for those two years, \$1,076,000.

* * * In 1883 the Minister of Railways estimated as the

Cash results of Colonization Companies for four years,

\$2,562,000. The actual results were for the first of these years, \$248,500; for 1884, \$223,700; for 1885, \$1,200, making a total of \$503,400 for three out of those four years. I do not believe that the year 1886 will materially increase the receipts, and the result *therefore will be about one-fifth of the hon. gentleman's estimate.* In the same year, 1883,

THE GOVERNMENT ESTIMATED THAT WE WOULD NET MANY MILLIONS OUT OF THE BRANCH RAILWAY LANDS. * * * A few months after THE BUBBLE BURST ALTOGETHER, and since then they have made land grants free to the branch railways, resulting in free grants of, as far as I can judge, seven or eight millions of acres given, or to be given immediately, for the construction of branch railways which were to have been built by the Canadian Pacific Railway practically out of its land grant.

You can judge what the RESULTS OF THAT OPERATION ARE UPON THE VALUES OF LAND IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES. In 1883 the Department of the Interior reported, in addition to the actual payments which had been made, that there would accrue due for the next three years in pre-emptions and time sales, \$4,398,070. Now, that was for the years 1884, 1885 and 1886. I wonder how much we shall get? I wonder what the Minister of Interior will say now as to the accuracy of that estimate? In that year, TO CAP THE CLIMAX, the Department of the Interior presented, and the then Minister of Railways (Sir Charles Tupper) read a statement to the House, on the 4th day of May, 1883, and this is the statement:

"SIR,—Having given the subject my best and fullest consideration, I estimate that the receipt of this Department from the sale of agricultural and coal lands, timber dues, rents of grazing lands, and sales of mineral lands, other than coal, with the royalties from the minerals, between the 1st of January, 1883, and the 31st of December, 1891, both days inclusive, will amount to not less than \$58,000,000."

That was as late as the 4th of May, 1883. What will be said on this 30th of April, 1886, as to the result by the 31st of December, 1891? We have been asking ever since for the production of the details, the rivulets of this golden stream, this stream of Pactolus which the railway was going to throw into the Treasury. * The House has ordered them, but the Department has not furnished them, it is ashamed to furnish them; it

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dare not furnish them; and we are kept in the dark as to that. * * *

THEN IT WAS SAID THAT WE WERE GOING TO SAVE A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY BY THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY UNDERTAKING A PORTION OF THE BURDEN WHICH WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE FALLEN UPON US WITH REFERENCE TO IMMIGRATION EXPENDITURE. * *Instead of a reduction, there has been an enormous increase in the expenditure for immigration; the economy promised as a result of the arrangement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has not been produced. The official statistics deceive us no longer. We do not appear to have done much more than, if we have done as much, to maintain our natural increase with all this immense expenditure. We have brought in many persons unsuited to the country, and many more to compete with mechanics who were already hard pressed.*

As to the Monopoly,

you know that the pledges as to Manitoba have been absolutely violated by the exercise of the power of disallowance, that great discontent has been engendered there and elsewhere, and that relief has been sought at great expense by that Province by THE PROPOSED CONSTRUCTION OF HUDSON BAY RAILWAY. The success of the undertaking is said to be doubtful; but its success, though desired as a relief from monopoly, would damage eastern connections, and turn another way the course of trade, so that many of the predictions on which gentlemen have made as to the results that would flow to Canada from the construction of the Pacific Railway would not follow. Then, you find another evidence of the anxiety to obtain relief from monopoly in the revival of the RED RIVER BOATS. They have been revived during the last year in order to provide another outlet to the north. Then, you find the FEELING OF GRIEVANCE OF BEING LOCKED IN all along the line. Then, there is the *other grievance*, which I have pointed out before, *as to fair proportionate mileage rates to places in Ontario, as compared with those*

to places in Quebec. We do not find that that has been accomplished. A resolution was passed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in fulfilment of the pledges given to Parliament. That resolution seemed to be based on what were fair grounds, that each locality would get under it a just charge, but we do not find that any security had been taken or any arrangement made from which these results are to flow. If I am rightly informed, it has been hinted that the *policy of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as to its through traffic with the North-West is to make one rate for all points for Ontario and Montreal, so that whether it is further or nearer Callander, the same price is to be paid.* I say the charge ought to have regard for the neutral point to which freight is carried. * *

GENERAL REVIEW.

* * The policy of boom, the policy of expenditure, the policy of unprecedented rapid construction, has not produced those tangible results that were promised to us. It has been accompanied by a great increase of cost to this country without the return it was pledged to us would take place from the sales of lands, without the prospect of that return, and without those other advantages it was said would flow from it.

We have paid for the Canadian Pacific Railway, including surveys and the Canada Central subsidy, about \$60,000,000; the company has realized from our lands, sites and bonuses about \$11,000,000; we are about to give them for land merely, over \$10,000,000; thus their receipts from public resources foot up to about \$81,000,000, apart from 14,750,000 acres of land which are to remain with the company, and \$12,000,000 or \$14,000,000 engaged in extension schemes.

Besides these, the company has borrowed from the public, on debentures, \$35,000,000, making a total in cash and works of \$116,000,000 which the company has received without touching a

dollar of capital stock. Then there is the issue of capital stock to the amount of \$65,000,000, for which the company received \$29,500,000, making a total received of \$145,500,000, which has been expended in some way, and the company is now asking to borrow something approximating to \$29,000,000 more, because the borrowing power is to be \$2 an acre on its remaining land grant, although out of that are to be paid those land grant bonds which are outstanding.

HOW MUCH MORE IS TO BE EXPENDED WE KNOW NOT. * *

Where has all this Money gone ?

An enormous sum has gone to dividend ; large sums have gone in needless, reckless, hasty and premature construction.

To dividends has gone, paid and secured, about \$21,000,000.

* * Under these circumstances, we find the Government coming down to-day, *with all their promises* as to the results of their land grant policy, all their promises as to the result of their immigration policy and their railway construction policy, *falsified by events, with an empty exchequer, having abandoned the prospect of recouping the people for the expenditure on the Canadian Pacific Railway out of the North-West land—we find them coming down with this proposition.*

The hon. gentleman says it is different from former propositions and need not involve a great deal of discussion. True, we were told every cent of the loan would be repaid, and now we are asked to compromise by accepting 66½ cents cash and our own land for the balance: but still the hon. gentleman says the proposition is an advantageous one. * * It is advantageous ;

But the advantage is to the shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway,

because you substitute for the charge upon them and their enterprise of \$400,000 a year interest and the ultimate pay-

ment of \$10,000,000, the re-transfer to the country of the claim of the Canadian Pacific Railway to some 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 acres of land. *The hon. gentleman cannot sell his land just now, and he cannot give it away, he has been able to put no more than 138 homesteaders on 400 miles of the forty-eight mile belt of the Canadian Pacific Railway up to the 31st December last, and as he cannot sell the millions of acres and cannot give the land away, he must engage in some land operation, so he buys land back at \$1.50 an acre, and says: "This is so clearly in the interests of the country, that we need not debate it."*

No; the shareholders want a larger share of profits; they want the \$400,000 a year which otherwise they would have to pay, and the capital of which would have to be paid some day or other by them. * *

I said I suspected this was contemplated. The method which hon. gentlemen have pursued gave ground for suspicion. When they wanted to persuade us to lend the Canadian Pacific Railway Company \$20,000,000, they offered us, they said, undoubted security for the interest at 5 per cent. They got the money on those terms and then asked us to reduced the rate to 4 per cent.

* * *

I do not intend to enter upon some of the details upon which the hon. gentleman said he would give explanations in the committee. It seems to me that THE PROPOSAL, in the condition of the lands of the North-West, in the condition which is proclaimed of this company, that the people of Canada should retake six or seven millions of acres of this land of theirs at this price, and incur this increase in our net debt and this increase in our annual charge, IS ONE THAT OUGHT NOT TO COMMEND ITSELF TO THE HOUSE OR TO THE PEOPLE.

There is one other topic not immediately connected with the other topics contained in these resolutions, though flowing, I judge, in the Minister's opinion,

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from them, to which I wish to address myself for a moment or two before I sit down. I refer to the

Removal of the shareholders' disqualification for seats in Parliament.

Does the hon. gentleman think the shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company are not powerful enough in this House as it is? Does he think it absolutely necessary to give them the additional power which would be involved in the members of this House being shareholders in this company? This has also been pressed for some time past upon the Government by the company. *This company is going for some years to come to have questions between it and the country for settlement, questions connected with its tariff, very important questions connected with its capital account, questions connected with the monopoly policy, questions connected with the extension policy, questions connected with the grants of various kinds, and all these questions have to be settled, I hope, upon just and equitable terms between the*

country and the railway company; but *they are not questions a just or equitable adjustment of which will be facilitated or furthered by making this a Parliament of Canadian Pacific Railway shareholders.* I do not believe that this is at all a time to relax the stringency of the laws regulating the independence of Parliament. If any change were proper to be made in those safeguards, it would be one to increase them very largely. Our institutions in this regard are very much upon their trial; **AND FOR MY PART I SHALL NOT RECORD A VOTE TO DIMINISH IN ANY DEGREE THE PRESENT SECURITIES FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT BY AGREEING THAT THE SHAREHOLDERS IN THIS GREAT CORPORATION, WHO WILL FOR MANY YEARS HAVE SO MUCH TO DO OF AN IMPORTANT AND VITAL CHARACTER WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF CANADA, SHALL SIT IN PARLIAMENT AND VOTE UPON MATTERS IN WHICH THEY ARE SO MUCH CONCERNED.**

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EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF
Sir Richard Cartwright

ON THE
BUDGET,

MARCH 30th, 1886.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, who was received with cheers, said: Sir, had any gentleman told me nineteen years ago, much more, two or three and twenty years ago, when we were first discussing this project, that in the nineteenth year of our Confederation the debt of Canada would be very nearly three times as much per head as the debt of the people of the United States is to-day; had anybody told me that the necessary taxation of Canada would be 50 per cent. greater than the necessary taxation of United States; that in 1886, in the nineteenth year of our Confederation, our total volume of trade would be \$24,000,000 less than it was thirteen years ago, in 1873; that after having had possession of the North-West for fifteen years, after having expended \$100,000,000, or thereabouts, of the public funds, and a very large amount—how much I am unable to state—but probably \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 of the private means of the people of Canada, in endeavoring to develop and settle that country, we should to-day (on the evidence of the census, returns placed in our hands by his gentlemen opposite) after that huge expenditure and after the lapse of fifteen years, we should scarce boast, from the Pacific Ocean to the confines of Ontario, of a poor 200,000 settlers there; had anybody told me that starting with the advantages we had, after nineteen years, and after

Importing at great cost

to the people of this country, some, 900,000 immigrants, as our records allege—whether truly or falsely—the total white population of Canada would, at the expiration of those nineteen years, be scarcely 1,000,000 more than it was in 1867, I must confess I should have felt tempted to entreat that person very harshly—almost as harshly as some hon. gentlemen have occasionally felt disposed to treat me, not for venturing on predictions, but for calling attention to certain facts as they actually existed. Sir, had anybody made such a statement then, I would have pointed to the increase of Canada in the twenty years which elapsed before Confederation. I would have pointed to the increase of the United States in the first twenty years of their existence, from 1790 to 1810, when they, certainly under greater difficulties than we have had to contend with, made far greater progress than has unfortunately fallen to our lot. I would also have pointed to the progress of our sister colonies in other parts of Her Majesty's dominions, and I should have asked what reason there was to suppose that Canadians would have fled from their country as if it were stricken with a pestilence, or to suppose that our people would have displayed so little prudence and so little energy as to permit such a state of affairs to exist. * * * You will find only too good reason to think that in

a great deal of this expenditure there has been

Much Waste, Much Extravagance,

and I fear in some cases down-right positive corruption of a very grave character. What we have to consider to-night are really the consequences, not so much of these petty misdoings as of certain grave and long continued errors of policy. We have had to contend with errors in our fiscal policy, errors political and errors administrative; but although they have been of various sorts, they all, I think, may be fairly traced to one source, and that is the determination on the part of the hon. gentlemen opposite, at any cost, and at all hazards, without the slightest reference to the effects of their conduct on the future of this country, to maintain themselves and their friends in place and power. Now, Sir, beyond all doubt, the man who is chiefly responsible is the Prime Minister, and chiefly responsible on this ground: That, perhaps, alone of all his present Cabinet he sees clearly and understands what are likely to be the consequences of the policy he has adopted. As for his colleagues, or, perhaps, I should more fitly call them his subordinates, for colleagues in the proper sense, that hon. gentleman for a long time has had none—as for the hon. gentleman's colleagues—for I will not quarrel about a word to-night—as for those gentlemen, Sir, I think some leniency might be shown. Reviewing their conduct, I have come to the conclusion that a considerable proportion of them, at any rate, might be fairly described as having become morally and politically color blind. * * * Now, Sir, concealment of our actual position has become impossible, and we must consider what the facts are as revealed to us in the Public Accounts. It is impossible, even for the Ministry or their supporters to deny that last year they had a deficit of at least \$2,240,000. As the Minister candidly admitted about \$1,000,000 further was borrowed from 1886,

making the real deficit last year in reality \$3,240,000. But what he did not tell us was that in the capital account on the Intercolonial Railway at least \$287,000 were charged for items which have no business or place in capital account. * * * If he chose to take to his credit \$893,000 on account of Dominion lands, he should in all fairness have added \$303,000 which you will find charged to capital account for expenditure on those identical Dominion lands. Now, Sir, in point of fact, but for the expedient of borrowing from the revenue of the present year, the actual deficit for last year would have amounted to no less than \$3,900,000; and even giving him credit for the \$1,700,000 which was expended in the North-West, there would still remain a deficit of \$2,200,000 to be charged against last year. With respect to

The Deficit for the Present Year,

on the 1st March, we had a deficit of \$4,716,000. The hon. gentleman tells us that since that time a very large amount of money, some \$3,800,000, as I understood him, has been paid by anticipation of the revenue. Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman and the House know quite well that if you choose to anticipate by many millions the revenues which are likely to accrue in the succeeding three or four months, the result will not be to permanently help the revenue of this year, unless, indeed, we perform—by way, I suppose, of paying 1886 for what was lost for the benefit of 1885—the still further act of robbing the revenue of 1887 for the benefit of the revenue of 1886. I am not disposed to quarrel much with the estimate the hon. gentleman has made of the expenditure for 1886, and which he put in all, if I took it down correctly, at \$38,500,000. But, Sir, I am disposed to enter a very strong protest, indeed, against the absurd and unbusiness-like idea of charging \$3,500,000 of that expenditure to capital account. What does that \$3,500,000 represent? I had always supposed that every item in capital account was

supposed to represent some actual value—that at least we had a canal or a railway or something of that kind to show for it. Where have these \$3,500,000 gone? Sir, they have all

Been blown into gunpowder smoke,

rendered necessary by the extreme mismanagement of hon. gentlemen opposite in dealing with the affairs of the North-West; and it is utterly improper and absurd to put such an item, as the cost of suppressing the rebellion, into the capital account of the Dominion of Canada. So, Sir, instead of admitting, as the hon. gentleman would desire us, that he is justified in saying that he will close this year's account with a deficit of \$1,400,000 we find that we shall close the year 1886 with a true, genuine deficit of \$4,900,000, if not more, according to the statement of the hon. Minister himself. He would not, indeed, tell us what he expected the Franchise Bill would cost. nor did I observe that he told us at all what would be the expense inflicted on this Dominion as the fruit of that great constitutional measure known—I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon for naming him—as the McCarthy Act, as to which I fear, unless the information which has reached me is entirely erroneous, a sum of \$200,000 or thereabouts will represent what the country will have to pay for the constitutional opinion of the First Minister endorsed by that of the hon. member for Simcoe. * * *

The Gross amount of Canadian indebtedness

reaches \$281,000,000, that there was in addition many million dollars of liabilities under the guise of railway subsidies and other claims incurred but not accrued, I think the House will see that there is a great deal in our present condition which calls for our most serious consideration. * * * I desire to call attention to the enormous proportion which the fixed charges that we cannot possibly avoid now bear to the total income of Canada.

We find, that for interest and subsidies alone, we are called upon to pay \$15,400,000 a year; we find that the Custom and Excise charges amount to \$1,125,000; Indian grants reach no less a sum than \$1,100,000. The Minister did not deny that the expenditure on post office account now involved an annual deficit of \$1,000,000. * * * Out of an estimated revenue of some \$27,200,000, probably \$19,000,000 will have to be expended on charges like these before we will receive any money for the ordinary expenses of this country. And those honorable gentlemen who recollect the boastful promises with which this National Policy was ushered in, those who recollect the still more absurd predictions which were indulged in as to what it would accomplish, will know as well as I do how little dependence is to be placed on any of the calculations which hon. gentlemen submit to the House on these occasions. Whether we remember the declaration that we might expect, before the next four or five years, the sum of \$58,000,000 from the sales of lands in the North-West, or whether we recollect the

Declaration with which every hustings re-echoed

in 1882, that when the people of Canada once confirmed the National Policy, hundreds of millions of foreign capital would rush in for the erection of manufactories throughout the length and breadth of this Dominion; whether we recollect the statement given on the highest authority that the Crooks Act was not worth the paper it was written on; whether we remember the declaration of the Minister of Public Works, that he and his colleagues had traversed the North-West from end to end six months before the rebellion, without being able to discover one single person with a grievance; or whether we remember the statement of the Minister of Finance that ten years of assured and certain prosperity awaited this happy people—whether we take their declarations, in one shape or the other, I think we will say there is some ground

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for hesitating to put implicit credence in any of the calculations that may be submitted to us to-night. But three years have elapsed since the then Minister of Finance (Sir Leonard Tilley) standing here, exulted and exulted with some apparent reason, in the fact that Canada was possessed of a surplus of \$7,000,000. To-day the Finance Minister (Mr. McLelan), if he chooses to state the question fairly and honestly, is obliged to admit, on his own showing, a deficit of nearly \$5,000,000. * * * If my calculations be correct, and if he requires to raise, as I fear he will, a sum of \$35,000,000 for the service of 1886-87, there will still be a very considerable deficit to be supplied for which his recent taxes will hardly make provision. * * * The hon. gentleman pointed to the increase of the savings banks deposits, and said that was a proof of great prosperity.

Post Office Savings Bank Deposits.

Sir, I say that it is not a proof of great prosperity, but it proves that people are afraid to invest; it is a proof that people are afraid to buy, are afraid to build, are afraid to start new undertakings. * * * From the returns recently laid on the Table of this House that in the case of the post office savings bank there were in June, 1884, \$13,179,000 on deposit. Now, it is quite true there were a very large number of depositors, numbering some 66,000, and as the hon. gentleman contended, if you divide \$13,000,000 by 66,000, the average is a very small one. But that conceals a very transparent fallacy. When you come to analyze those returns, you find that \$2,789,000 of that amount was held by 2,476 persons who had an average of \$1,112 apiece; that \$3,119,000 was held by 5,000 persons, with an average of \$700 apiece, and that \$8,200,000 was held by persons with an average of \$400 and upwards apiece; so that of those \$13,000,000, \$9,300,000, in average amounts of \$650 was held by one-fourth or rather less, of the whole depositors.

And in the same way in the Government savings banks; out of \$16,000,000, \$9,000,000 were held by 4,000 people, in sums of \$2,100 and upwards, and \$2,900,000 in sums of \$700, and \$1,600,000 in sums of \$400 and upwards. The result of all that is plain and clear. The Government of Canada has been charged 39 per cent. more than the current rates, for the benefit of persons who have no claim in any shape or way to have the rest of the community taxed for their exclusive benefit. I am willing enough to concede to the Ministers the propriety, if they like, of granting to those who hold small sums of money, let us say below \$300, the privilege of depositing in the Government savings bank and receiving interest at 4 per cent. But of this gross amount of \$80,000,000 it is quite clear that not 20 per cent. is held by such persons. The vast bulk is held in sums largely in excess of \$400 apiece by a class of the community not in any way entitled to expect that the rest of the country should be taxed to enable them to obtain a high rate of interest.

That the result of the New Tariff

has been largely to increase the cost of manufacturing, that it has diminished the number of the manufacturers' customers, and it has diminished their power of purchasing manufactures, that it has led to an enormous waste of capital, and so far as manufacturers are concerned the domestic competition to which they have been exposed has been very much keener and more injurious to them than the foreign competition they were so desirous to escape. * * * As regards the great bulk of the people, every day's experience has demonstrated its worthlessness. We said it was sure to injure the farmers. These gentlemen said: Give us your National Policy, and you shall have such prices for all your products as you never saw before, and in truth they have such prices as they never saw before. In my own county, where I was defeated chiefly because I declined to impose a tax of fifteen cents a bushel

on barley, I recollect that on the 17th of September, 1878, barley touched \$1.15 per bushel, and to-day—I am sorry for it—the price is only 45 cents per bushel. These hon. gentlemen's organs are constantly instructing the farmers to-day that it is absurd, unjust, and irrational to expect that the Government should fix the price of grain, that the price of grain is fixed by the London and Liverpool market, and that it is unjust to hold the Government responsible for the fall in the price of grain and agricultural products of all kinds. And, Sir, there may be some truth in that, but those hon. gentlemen are not entitled to plead it in mitigation, seeing that they won their present places by most solemn promises to their unfortunate dupes that they would maintain the highest possible prices for all articles they had to sell. * * * A very curious piece of evidence will be found in the American census showing that while in 1880 there were 717,000

Native Canadians in the United States,

there were in the same year 930,000 children of Canadian fathers and mothers born in the United States—a fact which shows extremely clearly, first of all, that the number is not at all likely to have been exaggerated, and next that those who left our country were persons in the prime and vigor of manhood or womanhood, as the case might be.

An hon. MEMBER. Who are responsible for that?

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. The men who raised the expenditure of Canada from \$13,000,000 to \$35,000,000; who doubled and trebled our debt, doubled and trebled our taxation; who created land monopolies and the most scandalous railway monopoly the world has known, at the cost of the unfortunate people who are condemned to pay the expense. Those are the men who are responsible for the loss of 2,000,000 Canadians, if we include the loss of the children born of Canadian people in the

last twenty years—those and none other. * * * But as it is, we have spent \$100,000,000 of the people's money, of the property of private persons, many millions have also been sunk in the North-West, and whereas we might easily have had three-quarters of a million, if not a million, of people there settled now, we find, there is scarcely 200,000 of white population there.

Slow Settlement of the North-West.

We find, looking at the very last returns those hon. gentlemen have sent us, of the population of the three immense Provinces, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta, that the population in each is as follows:—

Assiniboia.....	16,478
Saskatchewan.....	1,792
Alberta.....	4,800

* * * For my own part and the part of my hon. friends beside me, we have not the smallest hesitation about expending public money, if only we could obtain adequate results. Let those hon. gentlemen show us a million or even three quarters of a million of settlers; let them show us public works that yield anything like a fair and honest interest on the money expended, and I will not complain of them for having added \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 to the public debt, or for having enormously increased taxation.

* * * What have we got for our

\$200,000,000 added to our debt

within the last nineteen years? We have: Item, one Canadian Pacific Railway scandal; item, two rebellions; item, seven deficits; item, one outrageous railway monopoly. We do not even own the road we ourselves built and paid for. Therein lies our reproach; we have neither known how to spend nor how to save. I believe myself that of the \$200,000,000 which have been added in nineteen years to our national debt, a prudent and wise expenditure of \$50,000,000 would have given us far better results.

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to show the House that there is scarcely any English speaking country where the frugal, abstemious, temperate, honest workingman has to pay so heavy a portion of the public burthens as he has in this country of Canada. * * *

I take the case of England.

There, no doubt, there is a large total taxation. Their population is put in their last returns at 36,000,000. Their taxation amounts, in the whole, to £72,000,000 sterling, but £26,000,000 of that is levied by way of income tax and stamp taxes, which no one can pretend in any way effect an ordinary poor man. Then their Custom tax amounts to £19,700,000, and their Excise to £27,000,000 that class of taxation amounting in all to about £46,600,000 which is the taxation which the poor man may be said to bear. If hon. gentleman will divide that by 36,000,000, they will see that the total Customs and Excise of England amounts to exactly \$6.24 per head, while the total Customs and Excise of Canada, computing the population at 4,500,000 white people, will amount, according to the Minister's statement, to \$27,500,000, giving a result of \$6.10; so that the total *per capita* taxation which can with any propriety be said to be paid by any ordinary wage-earner in Canada is almost precisely equal to that which is paid in England. * * * Then we will

Take the Case of the United States,

to which also the Minister of Finance referred. Now here alone in one respect is the burden equal, because, as he fairly enough showed, the protective system of the United States is even heavier than ours; but, in the United States, at this present moment, all the people of that country require to raise by taxation is barely \$230,000,000. Their total expenditure, apart from the sum they applied to the reduction of debt, was \$260,000,000, of which about \$30,000,000 was received from miscellaneous sources, similar to those which figure in the same manner in our accounts; so that all they require to

raise is \$230,000,000, to be collected from a population 57,000,000 odd. The result of that is, that whereas we require to raise by taxes \$27,500,000, being at the rate of a little over \$6 for every man, woman and child in Canada, all the people in the United States require to raise is \$4 per head; so that the statement which I made while ago that the necessary taxation of Canada is 50 per cent more than that of the United States is simply and literally accurate; and I might add that a very much larger percentage of the taxation of the United States is raised by internal taxes of the nature of Excise on spirits and tobacco than with us; so that all the Americans require to raise by Customs duties is barely \$118,000,000, being at the rate of a very little more than \$2 per head, as against \$4.50 at least which we require to raise under our present system. * * * Now, Sir, I have to say that our first duty, under the circumstance, is to do what we can to educate the people of Canada to a clear comprehension of the situation. I do not expect, Sir, any very great improvement until the members of the Cabinet, and the members of this House, are also taught to understand that they are trustees of the people, and not entitled to make profits out of the property of their wards. Moreover, we have got to realize the insane folly we have been committing in piling up this mountainous debt without having anything whatever to show for the expenditure, except a perfectly unproductive property, or worse than unproductive property, as appears to be the case in some of those enterprises in which we have invested a great many millions of dollars. Now, the hon. Minister intimated to us that they were not going to do this thing any more. He talked of retrenchment; he talked of paying off our debt; he talked of our having engaged in a triumphant war against nature—and he might have added against common sense; and he talked of our not emerging in any worse condition than the Americans emerged from their great civil war. Sir, I say that those hon. gentlemen cannot do it. Those hon. gen-

tlemen are caught in their own precedents. Every unwise grant, every unwise piece of legislation, that has been conceded, is of necessity the parent of many more. You cannot escape the result of your own acts. Even if a miracle were to be wrought in your behalf, even if the members of this Cabinet were to cease

To hunger for Timber Limits,

or railway subsidies for the benefit of railways in which they are large proprietors; if all these wonderful things were to occur, and if their supporters were to cease to be applicants for timber limits, coal areas, ranches, shares in colonization companies and railway subsidies for the benefit of themselves or their constituents—if all these things were to occur. What has been the action of the past three years? In 1883 we granted subsidies to 11 different railways, involving appropriations of \$2,250,000. * * * In 1884, we granted subsidies to twenty-six different railways, involving appropriations to the extent of \$8,000,000. In 1885 we granted subsidies to nineteen other railways, involving appropriations of \$3,000,000; and I should not be surprised in spite of all the protestations of the Minister of Finance, to find that before this House rises this Session many other railway grants will have to be conceded to hungry supporters. * * * There is one factor which the Minister talked of, but did not talk enough. He has overlooked in his estimates for the future this important consideration, the fact that the income of a very large portion of our people, I mean of the

Agricultural portion of the people

has of late years been very seriously diminished. We have not got absolutely perfect statistics, but I am correct in saying that, apart from what they raise for their own use, our farmers throughout the Dominion probably sell about \$100,000,000 of produce, part for export and part for the remainder of the population. Now, I am in

the judgment of the House whether I am not correct in saying that there has been a reduction of probably 20 per cent. at least on the average value of those farm products, and while the hon. gentleman and his friends have been adding many millions to the taxation of those farmers, the reduction of prices to which I have alluded has reduced the selling value of those persons' produce by probably at least \$20,000,000 a year.

* * * Now, to a certain extent, I fear we must make up our minds that a period of stagnation has arrived. It is quite clear that our farmers, in particular, are going to be exposed to an era of low prices, and are going to have to contend with a much more formidable competition than they had to reckon on a few years ago. * * * Sir, I am sorry to have to say it, but I believe many of our people have forgotten the very A. B. C. of government; they have been given over to a strong delusion, to believe a lie; they have come to think that it is a very excellent thing to pile up a huge debt; they have got to believe that the best way to enrich a country is to heap up taxes; they have got to suppose that truth, honor—common decency I was going to say—are almost superfluous in the administration of our public affairs: they have come to suppose that

Plunging into Huge Enterprises

without counting the cost, or considering how they will affect the future of the country, is the best test and proof of high statesmanship. It has come to pass that to-day, however much we regret it, we are obliged to admit that ever second member of the Cabinet has been either the recipient of a testimonial largely subscribed for by public contractors and public employes, or have received subsidies granted for the purpose of advancing lines in which they are large shareholders; or that they have been participants, under the cloak of a special company created for that special end, in printing contracts, and other jobs which they could not have

whether I there has 10 per cent. of those non-gentlemen adding on of those as to which the selling produce by 10 a year. t, I fear we a period of quite clear, are going prices, and with a much than they o. * * Sir, at I believe forgotten the they have elusion, to e to think ng' to pile to believe country is got to sup- on decency t superflu- of our to suppose

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considering re of the proof of me to pass regret it, we bond mem- either the largely sub- s and pub- subsidies advancing holders; ts, under created contracts, I not have

undertaken in their own proper persons without putting their seats in peril; or that they have been recipients of timber limits; and I am sorry to say, as the Cabinet are, so are the majority of their supporters, and so are the majority of the press that supports them both. Now there is some excuse perhaps to be made for ordinary members of this House. I believe a great many of them never properly considered the effect of what they were doing when they became applicants to the Government for those various favors. I am aware that some of them made no profit, though that cannot be said of all. I believe many of them were carried away by the great speculative whirl that swept this country a few years ago; and on the whole, I am not disposed to deal so severely with the conduct of the members as with the Ministers who fostered this thing, and put temptation in the way of their supporters. But be that as it may, the results are exactly as I state them. I say, the positions are thoroughly irreconcilable; I say that no man being a trustee, whether he be a privy councillor or a member of the House, has a right to speculate in the property of his own wards, which the public are; I say that no man, being another's attorney, is able or even can be able honestly or fairly to deal with the man for whom he is acting. It is one of the worst proofs of the political degeneracy to which Canada has come, that I can state such things of one-half the Cabinet and one-half of their supporters, and that the accusation is received with a laugh. All this has occurred in a loosely cemented country, side by side with a very great State; all this has occurred in defiance of warning and after the amplest experience of the mischief of this kind of thing; all of this has occurred after we have been rescued again and again from difficult positions. I say to the hon. gentlemen opposite that it is a record to cause every true Canadian to blush, and I say more, that it would be idle and criminal on our part to conceal our opinion of these things. If they go on, a few years or a few months may bring our whole Confederation to a very

abrupt termination. Hon. gentleman, or, at any rate, the country will have to learn that government by bribery is the most costly and the most dangerous possible system of administering the affairs of a country. Our duty is to oppose and fight these evils; a short time will tell whether Canada is to shake off the incubus that now presses on her, or whether our Confederation is to rot to pieces by its own corruption, before it is able to stand alone. I am grieved, Sir, to have to make these statements, but I have not been twenty-two or twenty-three years a member of the Canadian House of Parliament, and five years a Minister of the Crown, without knowing what the result of this kind of conduct is likely to be. The proofs are superabundant; no man can or dare deny the substantial accuracy, at any rate, of the statements I have made, whether as affecting certain members of the Cabinet or many of the members who support them. No doubt, there are many causes which have combined to produce this state of things. We have had

A Bad Fiscal System;

we have had in addition a temporary inflation which had the result of turning a large part of this country into little better than a great gambling table; we have embarked foolishly in premature public works; but the first and worst and chiefest of all the causes, has been the shameful corruption of a certain portion of the Cabinet and a certain portion of their supporters. If hon. gentlemen dispute the statement as made by me, I will give a few words of an independent authority, which, on certain occasions when it suits their turn, they quote with great respect:

"Most of us have learned pretty well to acquiesce in the fact that the Dominion Government is a government of corruption. Men, places, Provinces, interests, churches, organizations of every kind, are bought in different ways, some more coarsely, some more subtly, in order to form the basis of a system which is administered, after its kind, with great ability, and is closely bound up with personal ambition of its veteran chief.

Corruption is not wholesome; it does not become more wholesome as it becomes more inveterate; to say nothing of the debt which is rolling up, it must deprave the political character of the people, as, in fact, it is visibly doing, and in the end prove fatal to the spirit, if not to the form, of representative institutions. Nor can the architect and manager of a corrupt system be himself a Chatham, though power, not lucre, may be his personal object, and he may be in a certain sense patriotic. That he should have around him a swarm of low political agents is an inevitable and a very noxious incident of his position."

That is the language of a person who poses, and whom hon. gentlemen are fond of quoting, as independent authority. The facts, I fear, are substantially true; and although I hold that the spirit of the article is dastardly and the inference detestable, inasmuch as it would lead us to acquiesce in this kind of thing instead of endeavoring to redress and reform it, I say there is no denying the serious nature of the charge, there is no denying there is too much foundation for that.

Indictment against our present Government,

and our present system of Government. It is the existence of this temper in instructors of the people, it is the existence of this temper in just such persons as the writer of this article, whoever he may be; it is the existence of this temper in the pulpit and among respectable men, which goes a very long way to make this corrupt system possible, and the presence of hon. gentle-

men opposite as governors of this country possible. * * * I speak more in sorrow than in anger; I know that many things I say are not pleasant for me to say, and cannot be pleasant for any hon. gentleman to hear, but I say things cannot go on in this way, there must be a reformation or there is a risk of the total dissolution of our system. I hold, and I have always held, that there are ample materials, in spite of all that has been wasted and squandered, wherewith to build up a powerful, independent nation in good time; but although I know that there is enough of energy, enough of wealth and population, and superabundance of territory, for all these purposes, I know also, if there be any truth in history, that none of these things will enable us to build up a nation, unless there is, behind and inspiring all these, true, honest and intelligent public opinion. That is what we lack; that is what we require. Our laws may require amendment, and be amended; but laws without character and without conscience on the part of the people will do very little indeed, if any, permanent, important good. What is needed is a tribunal of appeal, and that appeal can only be attained when a resolute, awakened public conscience will make it thoroughly impossible either for members of the Government or members of the House so to prostitute their great trusts, as those trusts have been prostituted any time within the last seven years. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

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Senator Alexander,

A LIFE-LONG CONSERVATIVE, UPON PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

WASTE AND RECKLESSNESS,

A CONSERVATIVE SENATOR VENTURES TO ADMONISH THE CONSERVATIVE ELECTORATE.

The Evils of Party Under the Guidance of an Unscrupulous Leader.

(From Ottawa Daily Free Press, March 1, 1886.)

The Hon. Senator ALEXANDER observed: As a citizen of this rising country, I venture to warn them against the evils of misguided party spirit. Blind allegiance to party at this moment would imply ignorance of passing events. Party combination for higher objects and principles is commendable, but the acts and methods of the present party in power, can not entitle them to be classed in that category, but verify too truly the memorable prophetic words of the illustrious Washington in his farewell address to the people of the United States:—

“That partisan combinations are likely to become engines by which cunning and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and use their position for their own selfish purposes and ends.”

The crying evil at this moment in public life is an unscrupulousness, that would not hesitate to do anything to retain power. Under Sir John Macdonald's ways and methods, now practised, with a lawyer's astuteness, our system of responsible government, introduced by that

Upright and distinguished statesman

Robert Baldwin, has become “the madness of the many for the gain of the few.” Like Sir Robert Walpole of old, he has thoroughly corrupted the virtue of parliament. He has sunk the standards of

truth and honor, which ought to obtain and govern our public life.

The ruling article of faith at Ottawa is to hold offices at any cost and by any means. Sir John magnanimously bribes the people with their own money, and distributes the public patronage with a lavish hand. He is an expert at his trade of teaching everyone to look for something, and he is said to be very lavish in his promises, sometimes promising the same office to a multitude of applicants. The disappointed must bide their time. Such a leader can always command popular demonstration. Grateful recipients of past bounties and eager expectants from every point in the compass flock to do him honor. His

Blandishments of manner

are equal to every occasion, and thus it is that he has so long retained power, a popular man amongst men. But thoughtful men are becoming aware that all this dramatic performance may be accompanied by most reckless administration of our public affairs, and reprehensible neglect of the public interests, and that the greatest part of this colonial statesman's time is devoted to the thousand artifices by which he has kept his parliamentary majority together. It is now admitted on all hands that the rebellion in the North-West was caused and provoked by the most wanton neglect of duty and attention to the grievances of those half-breed families at Fort Carlton, and the present government is chargeable with all the loss of life—with the many millions of public expenditure caused thereby—and with all the consequent evils arising from that outbreak. This trouble arose from the bad treatment by agents of the Ottawa govern-

ment, some of whom are irresponsible men, recklessly appointed to such positions, as a reward for political services.

WHAT A PUBLIC SCANDAL

that such a grave calamity should thus be brought upon the country. Then again behold the disastrous losses arising from the mad encouragement of those colonization companies by the government, and those investments in North-West land shares, which have brought many a household to want. And we shall have Sir John soon again coming to parliament for more millions, with his visions of Japan and China trade to be carried over nearly 4,000 miles of road to Louisburg, after 7,000 miles of ocean!

I hope and trust that the officers and members of the Liberal-Conservative associations do not uphold and endorse the course pursued by their leader, in the unconstitutional ground which he took upon the boundary and license questions, harassing Ontario and other provinces, causing in a most unstatesmanlike manner a collision of Dominion and Provincial interests, and a reprehensible waste of public money in the courts. It was fortunate for the province of Ontario, that we preserved the right of appeal to the Privy Council. And what explanation can that leader give to electorate of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick of his entire remissness of action,

In regard to the fisheries question,

If this question leads to disturbed feeling and international complications, it can only be ascribed to that everlasting "to-morrow policy," which has become a chronic infirmity, with this Conservative Leader.

And what about those infamous gerrymandering and franchise bills, simply designed by their author to snatch a fraudulent verdict from the electorate at the polls? Do the Liberal-Conservative associations endorse such ways and methods of carrying out responsible government? It would not be proper that I should be silent upon the

Wasteful Expenditures of the Government,

especially for partisan purposes and objects, which very full details of which have been given very recently to the public by prominent members of the Commons. No one would object to a large increase of the public debt, where the grants are honestly and wisely voted for the development of the country. But I do not believe in excessive payments upon contracts over and above the public tenders to enable such contractors to contribute largely towards the return of government candidates at the elections. I do not believe in voting large amounts to certain localities for works of doubtful requirement, in order to soften down in such districts, disaffection to the party in power—or in passing omnibus railway bills involving money votes and expenditure of many hundred thousand dollars in localities where there can be no traffic to sustain a railway—and such public money would therefore be wasted. I do not believe in superannuating large numbers of of the Civil Service

In the full vigor of life.

at enormous cost to the country for the sole purpose of providing for partisan followers, or in duplicating such positions of large emolument of those of the Speaker of the Commons and Chief Librarian for the same purpose. By such reckless and reprehensible expenditures they have largely brought up the controllable expenditure from \$6,500,000 in 1878 to \$13,000,000 in the brief period of 7 years—while it is acknowledged by their own organs that they have during that period added \$100,000,000 to the debt of the Dominion. But of all the public wrongs which have been done—of all the revelations which have yet been made—that showing the greatest depravity of purpose has been the distribution privately, without tenders, among partisan supporters of the government in parliament and out of parliament, of the valuable coal lands and timber limits in our North-West Territory at small nominal values. I believe it is not denied that one prominent partisan

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follower had re-sold a timber limit or coal
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A clear gain of \$80,000,

some say a much larger amount. Those
enormities have been practised under re-
gulations never submitted to parliament,
but emanating from the Department of
the Interior.

It must rest with the country to deter-
mine whether such wrongs and methods
of administering the government shall go
on. With such public burdens already

required, from profligate administration
to be imposed, ranging up to a 35 per
cent tariff—with all the overstrained
revenue collected, it would appear that
we shall, notwithstanding, have a deficit
this year of upwards of \$5,000,000. It
is for such prodigal management that the
Conservatives praise their leader? If
we desire that this Confederation should
not break into fragments from political
abuses and maladminstrating, there
must be less blind allegiance to party and
a more independent and enlightened
exercise of the franchise at the polls.

A CONSERVATIVE SENATOR'S OPINION ON SENATE REFORM.

HON. MR. ALEXANDER, at a late
Session of the Senate, moved:

"That an humble Address be presented to
His Excellency the Governor General, ex-
pressing the opinion that it is not in the
public interest that any more vacancies in
the Senate, arising from death or any other
cause, should be filled, until the people of
the Dominion have had an opportunity, at
the next general election, to express their
views respecting the constitution of the
Senate."

He said: I believe I shall best con-
sult the convenience and the pleasure of
the House by being as brief as I possibly
can in bringing this motion to its notice.
I am sure that the House will to-day
discuss this important question from the
standpoint that under the Confederation
Act the Senate of the Dominion was
designed to be a high judicial body.
Such was the purpose of the framers of
the Confederation Act, designing it to be
a safe-guard to prevent all maladminis-
tration from either the one or the other
of the two great political parties of the
country. When the Senate acts as a
partisan body it fails to fulfil its mission

to the country. As regarding the past
appointments to this Chamber, every
one must admit that those selected,
have been prominent men of their re-
spective districts. Had those very men
been elected by the people, we should
then have had the Senate in accord with
public sentiment. I need not weary the
House by going over ground which is
familiar to every one. We all know
how the Senate has become almost entire-
ly composed of Conservative members.

A Dignified Policy Advocated.

It cannot be expected that the en-
lightened people of a rising country such
as this is will permit this peculiar state
of things to go on: and would it not be
more dignified and more graceful for
this august body to take the initiative
to-day in aiding the people to have Par-
liament framed and formed so as to
secure for them faithful, wise, and hon-
est administration of their public affairs.
If ever there was a people upon earth
that deserve to be well governed, it is
the people of this Dominion. What a

bright picture of human life we behold in the rural districts of the Province of Quebec—their beautiful churches, their frugal habits, and their happy contentment; and is the picture less bright in the other provinces, where we have as the result of untiring industry and energy, profusion of the products of the soil and a state of well-being. Then I say, let us act worthy of ourselves and take the high patriotic ground that we invite the people of those beautiful provinces to say how they desire the second Chamber to be constituted at the next general election.

It is Surely no Honor

to be a member of the Senate of the Dominion unless we possess the esteem and respect of the country. Contrast the position of the Senate of the Dominion with that of the United States. The latter is regarded by their people as the most important of the two branches, whereas the Canadian Senate is never heard of in the columns of our public journals; and a large portion of the Dominion press speak of this Chamber either as a nullity, or, as some few local

papers, say an expensive incubus. Is it not deeply to be regretted that the Canadian Senate, composed to a large extent of most estimable men should have been so managed and led—shall I say for ten or fifteen years—as to deaden all public interest in the deliberations? I for one raise my humble voice, and I hope that the Senate to-day will echo that voice that there be no more vacancies filled upon the nominative principle. I earnestly hope that the House will confirm my humble motion before we rise, and then the next proceeding will be to draft an Address to His Excellency the Governor-General to be laid before the Throne, supplicating the Imperial Government and parliament to amend the Confederation Act, declaring that future vacancies in the Senate of the Dominion shall be filled by popular election, as it was during the period from 1856 to 1867, or by the Local Legislatures. The principle of election of members to the Upper House should never have been departed from.

[NOTE—The resolution was not adopted].

SYNOPSIS OF
MR. CHARLTON'S SPEECH

IN THE

House of Commons,

IN SUPPORT OF RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE GOVERNMENT FOR GRANTING TO
FRIENDS AND FAVORITES

RAILWAY SUBSIDIES, COAL LAND LEASES,
TIMBER LIMITS, PASTURE LAND LEASES,
COLONIZATION LAND GRANTS,

MAY 4th, 1886. (*From the Official Report.*)

Mr. CHARLTON. In amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply, I shall move a resolution expressing regret that the Independence of Parliament had been impaired by the conduct of the Government in various respects, in its administration of the public trusts of this country. The members of an administration are the stewards of the people and should discharge their trusts with an eye to the interests of the entire people. As agents it is dishonest for them to embezzle or misappropriate public funds or public property. They should levy taxes only to such an extent as to furnish the means for the economical and efficient administration of the affairs of the country, and as custodians of our great public domain, they should honestly seek to advance the interests of Canada.

Independence of Parliament.

A corrupt government must have the support of a corrupt servile parliament, for a free and independent parliament will not permit a shamelessly corrupt administration of public affairs. Consequently the care of a corrupt government is to corrupt and debauch parliament, and a parliament when thoroughly debauched becomes a constant menace to

the liberties of a free people. If a member of Parliament accepts for himself an unjust advantage or a bribe, his individual gain is the loss of the country, and having accepted, he cannot raise the voice of protest though every member of the House should be a transgressor in the same line. Whenever this state of affairs is entered upon, as is now the case in Canada, the country stands upon the brink of an immeasurable abyss of concession and demand—of concession on the part of government—for the purpose of debauching Parliament, and of demands on the part of corrupt members for increased favors from the government.

England's experience should instruct and warn us. Charles I. attempted to raise taxes for the support of a standing army, without the aid of Parliament. His chief Minister, Stafford, was attained by Parliament and executed, and he himself was brought to the block. Upon the restoration, Charles II. adopted more refined methods, and a parliamentary majority was secured by the use of crown patronage and of direct bribes. At the time of the Revolution of 1689, this evil had reached alarming magnitude, and in 1690 a great popular outcry was raised against placemen and government crea-

tures to the House of Commons. In 1695 a parliamentary investigation was demanded, and Sir John Trevor was expelled for receiving money to expediting bills for others. Here in Canada nothing is thought of a member expediting bills for others and for himself as well. Following the expulsion of Trevor came the disgrace of the Duke of Leeds for corrupt practices, and later on the corruption in the days of Walpole and William Pitt led to Parliamentary reform and the passage of an Independence of Parliament Act.

Independence of Parliament in Canada.

We also have an Independence of Parliament Act and any member entering into a contract with, and receiving emoluments from the Crown, is liable to a fine of \$2,000 per day while he sits and votes in the House. The spirit of this Act is violated in the most flagrant manner. We have in this House members who have received timber limits, pasture land leases, and coal land leases, upon private application to the Government, without having given any adequate consideration. We have Members and Ministers of the Crown in this House who are growing rich out of railway subsidies granted to lines in which they are interested—subsidies for their personal benefit which a spirit of shame did not deter them from voting for. We have members of this House who have obtained speculative railway charters without investing a dollar or intending to build a rod of road, and who are hawking these charters around the world offering them for sale; and we have had the scandal exposed here when the members have quarrelled over the spoils, and have seen the Government of the country becoming a party to the scandalous proceedings by formally sustaining the claims of one of the manipulators in an unusually larger railway steal.

The Eagles Gathered to the Prey.

It is said in Holy Writ, "wherever the carcase is thither will the eagles be

gathered together." In our case the property of the nation is the prey around which a swarm, scarcely entitled to be dignified by the name of eagles, are gathered. These birds of prey are engaged in plunging their beaks into the treasury. They have squandered our money till today our net debt is not less, when liabilities are funded, than \$250,000,000 or twice as much per head as that of the United States, and our expenditure has run up since 1867 from \$13,500,000, to \$35,000,000, an increase in both debt and expenditure of 250 per cent, while the population has increased 38 per cent. While we are called upon to meet a great deficit they have imposed upon the country a worse then useless measure for the purpose of securing control of the electoral lists so as to retain themselves in power at an annual cost to this sorely burdened country of from \$500,000 to \$750,000. They have spent millions in Railway subsidies granted mainly to their favorites. They have granted pasture land leases at one cent an acre, and timber limits at \$5 a mile, to members of Parliament, their brothers, their sons, their nephews, their cousins, and faithful and deserving Tories of every station and kind and degree have been the recipients of these favors of the Government, granted at the expense of the public interest.

Brazen defence.

All of these acts are defended. The Government party seem to assume that the people cannot be aroused, that they consider public dishonesty no crime, and that the Tory voter cannot be shocked by any public crime that his Tory leader can commit. Perhaps this is the case if it is, God help our country. Certain it is that this is a critical period in the history of Canada, and that the fate of the future trembles in the balance of the present. Did the prophetic eye of Solomon have our present Parliament in view, I wonder, where he penned those memorable words.

"Such is the way with the adulterous woman; she eateth and wipeth her mouth, and sayeth I have done no wickedness."—*Prov. 30:20*

So it is with the men who stand up here boldly and defend their political crimes. They will eat the substance of the nation, they will wipe their mouth and get up in the House of Commons and say, we have done no wickedness. They seem to imagine that the moral sense of the nation is dead and that the beaks of eagles may rend the prey with impunity. Mr. Speaker, will neither shame for the shameless conduct of the Government, nor care for our own interests as a people, nor regard for the glorious past through which our ancestors have vindicated their right to be a free people, nor hope for the future that lies before us, rouse the people of Canada from their apathy, and lead them to rebuke the men who have done despite to every principle of justice and decency in administering the public offices of this country.

Mr. Mackenzie's Timber Policy.

Great stress is laid upon the fact that between 1874 and 1878 Mr. Mackenzie's Government granted a few licenses to cut timber without competition. The country was then new, competition could not be obtained, and licenses were only granted to parties who were prepared to erect mills and produce lumber for the settlers. This course was avowedly a temporary one and the propriety of the principle of competition was fully recognized.

Since 1878 grants have not been confined to actual requirements. A speculative mania has been fostered, and permitted to run its course, and at least ten Orders in Council have been issued by the present Government where one license has been granted.

The Reform Party did not neglect to define its position and principle regarding the granting of timber limits. With characteristic prescience, Mr. Blake on March 27, 1882, at the very commencement of the rush of government supporters for timber limits, made the following motion in the House of Commons:—

“Moved by Mr. Blake, that in the opinion of this House the existing system of granting

timber limits is liable to result in gross abuse, and in the cession of valuable interests in the public domain for inadequate considerations to favored individuals,—that it is expedient to apply the first principle of competition to the granting of timber limits.”

The motion moved by the leader of the Reform Party clearly defined the principles of the party regarding timber limits. It was defeated by a strict party vote, and in defeating it the Government as distinctly took ground in favor of the abuse of granting limits to friends without competition, as the Reform Party did in protesting against the abuse. Since that day, and up to the present time, the Reform Party has constantly denounced this abuse and the Government Party has as constantly defended it. The issue is clear and distinct, and a few isolated cases of granting licenses without competition prior to 1878, under circumstances that left the Government no choice, can have no legitimate bearing upon the case which the elector is now called upon to decide.

Ontario Plundered.

After the disputed territory had been awarded to Ontario, the Dominion Government continued to plunder the Province by awarding the timber to its favorites, and nearly the entire timber area of the disputed territory was thus granted by the Dominion.

25,000 Square Miles Granted.

The mad policy of squandering the timber resources of the Dominion has been continued by this Government down to the present moment. Returns have not been brought down later than February, 1885, none of these returns have been printed. I have carefully examined them and find that 550 Orders in Council have been issued covering about 25,000 square miles or 16,000,000 acres. For this vast area practically no bonus has been received. In contrast with this I may mention that since 1870 Ontario has put 7,986 miles under license. These lands were offered at public auction, and the Province received in bonuses upon the same, \$1,785,000.

Did Refusal to Invite Competition Result in Loss to Canada?

The refusal to invite competition resulted in great loss to the revenue. J. C. Rykert, M. P., obtained a limit in Cyprus Hills for \$250, and straightway sold it for \$100,000, which could have been obtained by the Government at public sale. Certain limits on Hunter's Island, costing the friends of the Government \$7,500, were sold to Chicago parties for \$650,000 though the bargain was not consummated because the limits were in the disputed territory. In almost all cases of transfer the consideration paid is concealed under the phrase for \$1 and other valuable considerations. The last return gives the following list of transfers where sums were paid to those who were granted permits by the Department of the Interior that might have gone to the Government if competition had been invited:

Assignor.	Assignee.	Consideration.
Donald Gunne.	E. P. Leacock.	\$ 4,300 00
E. P. Leacock.	Thos. Renwick.	25,000 00
Jos. Shareman.	A. W. Ross.	3,000 00
E. P. Leacock.	Thos. Renwick.	25,000 00
A. W. Ross.	H. S. Strathy.	75,000 00
D. McFadden.	Germyn & Bolton.	9,000 00
Thomas Wells.	H. B. Beard.	8,000 00
Jos. G. Dawes.	Andrew R. Potter.	8,000 00
John Taylor.	Wm. J. Bishop.	10,000 00
Smith & Muir.	Keewatin Lumbering and Manufacturing Co., (Limited).	1,000 00
Jos. Sherman.	A. W. Ross.	2,000 00
James Kent.	H. S. Strathy.	11,980 00

Out of the 550 Orders in Council which I have found in the huge mass of returns, I shall, so far as my investigation extended, give the Orders issued to members of Parliament, the Orders issued to friends of members upon their application, the most successful applications made by members, and a list of Orders issued to prominent friends of the Government.

Members of House of Commons and Senate who have received Timber Limits by Order in Council for themselves.

HYP. MONTPLAISIR, M.P.—

Order in Council for self, N. Saskatchewan, 50 miles.

Order in Council for self, Rainy Lake, 50 miles, Dec. 17, 1883.

C. C. COLBY, M.P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 Miles, Jan. 2, 1883.

HON. G. W. HOWLAN—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Woody River, March 23, 1883.

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Birch River, April 29, 1883.

M. K. DICKINSON, M. P.

Order in Council for self, Little Swan River, July 24, 1882.

JOHN WHITE, M. P.—

Order in Council for self, Smoky Lake, 50 miles, March 23, 1883.

Order in Council for self, N. Saskatchewan, 50 miles, April 29, 1884.

HON. WM. MUIRHEAD—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Woody River, Man., Oct. 3, 1882.

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Porcupine Hills, April 30, 1884.

JOHN ROCHESTER, M. P. (application when a member)—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Man., June 30, 1882.

L. MCCALLUM, M. P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Birch Lake, Alberta, May 15, 1884.

DUNOAN MACMILLAN, M. P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Waskew Bay, Man., April 17, 1882.

J. B. DAoust, M. P. (letter to Sir John, April 18, 1882, asking for support)—

Order in Council for J. B. Daoust & Co., 50 miles, Pigeon River, May 3, 1883.

H. A. WARD, M. P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Red Deer River, Nov. 1, 1883.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). He was not a member at that time.

Mr. CHARLTON. He was not, but he was a prospective member, and was treated by the Government to favors for their good boys. Many of whose names I shall read after finishing out members of Parliament.

C. E. HICKEY, M. P. (co-applicant with Wm. Broder)—

Order in Council for self and partner, 50 miles, Lake Kogwankok, Man., April 30, 1884.

WM. ELLIOTT, ex-M. P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Jackfish River, April 24, 1883.

HON. A. W. OGILVIE—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, May 9, 1883.

OSCAR FULTON, ex-M.P.—

Order in Council 50 miles, N. Saskatchewan, March 24, 1884.

When I spoke in Milton, last January, I referred to Mr. Blain in this connection, and, according to the *Mail*, he denounced me as a liar for having said that he obtained an Order in Council. I find, however, as follows:

DAVID BLAIN, ex-M.P.—

Application for self, March 12, 1885.

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Hunter's Island, Aug. 1, 1885.

License issued to Blain, Oct. 24, 1884.

Recorded in Liber A, folio 127 and 128.

L. H. MASSUE, M.P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Lake Dauphin, Man., Feb. 3, 1883.

Here are seventeen members of the House of Commons who have Orders in Council—honest members of the House who have had the manliness to face the music themselves, who made application and got their Orders in Council like little men. There are others who have used stool pigeons and obtained orders in other names. I have traced one or two and I am satisfied there are a good many more. We now come to—

Members of Local Legislatures who have received Orders in Council for themselves:

H. ROBILLARD, M.P.P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Keewatin, Aug. 24, 1883.

LOUIS DUHAMEL, M.P.P., Hull, Que.—

Order in Council for self, Sturgeon River, 50 miles, Mar. 18, 1880.

G. W. MONK, M.P.P.—

Order in Council for self, 50 miles, Manitoba, May 21, 1884.

LOUIS TELLIER, M.P.P., Quebec—

Order in Council, 50 miles, Dauphin River, Man.

HENRI G. MALHIOT, M.P.P., Quebec—

Order in Council, 50 miles, West Shore Lake, Winnipeg.

H. MONTPLAISIR, M.P.P., Quebec—

Order in Council, 50 miles, Dec. 17, 1883.

A. T. ROSS, M.P.P., Cornwall—

Order in Council, 50 miles, Keewatin, for self and brother, Mar. 14, 1882.

Then there is a long list.

Members of the House of Commons and Senate who have applied for limits successfully on behalf of their friends.

S. R. HESSON, M.P.—

Application for H. Symons (son-in-law), June 23, 1882.

Order in Council to H. Symons, 50 miles, July 28, 1882.

Application for James Robb (editor local paper).

Order in Council to James Robb, 50 miles, Nov. 22, 1882.

Application for S. S. Fuller, Stratford, April 14, 1882.

Order in Council to S. S. Fuller, 48 miles, Manitoba, Dec. 15, 1882.

Application for J. Graydon Smith, Stratford, July 23, 1883.

Order in Council to J. Graydon Smith, 50 miles, Keewatin, Aug. 11, 1883.

Application for Wm. Morton, Wellealy, Ont., May 10, 1883.

Order in Council to Wm. Morton, 50 miles, Sturgeon River, June 7, 1883.

Application for James T. Woods, Stratford, March 15, 1883.

Order in Council to James T. Woods, 50 miles, Keewatin, Aug. 11, 1883.

C. H. MACKINTOSH, M. P.—

Application for Henry Large (Ottawa), May 9, 1882.

Order in Council to Henry Large, 50 miles, Beaver River.

Mr. MACKINTOSH. Was I a member of the House when I made that recommendation.

Mr. CHARLTON. The application was dated 9th May, 1882.

Mr. MACKINTOSH. I was not even nominated then. I would not do it now.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am quite willing to give the hon. gentleman credit for having seen the error of his ways and turned to a better course. That is one of the most severe rebukes the Government have received this Session.

HECTOR CAMERON, M. P.—

Promoted application of P. A. McLean (Toronto).

Order in Council to P. A. McLean, 50 miles, Lake Winnipegosis, Jan. 12, 1883.

Promoted application of John Bain (Toronto), telegram, Dec. 22, 1883.

Order in Council to John Bain, 50 miles, Manitoba, Dec. 21, 1883.

Application for Wm. McKenzie (Kirkfield, Ont.), Feb. 6, 1883.

Order in Council to Wm. McKenzie, 50 miles, Red Deer River, Feb 12, 1883.

J. C. PATTERSON, M. P.—

Application for Stephen Knight, June 8, 1880.

Order in Council to Stephen Knight, 50 miles, April 17, 1882.

L. McCALLUM, M. P.—

Application, telegram for McDonald, Latimer *et al*, Dunnville, Jan. 15, 1883.

Order in Council to A. McDonald, R. G. Latimer and Arch. McDonald, 50 miles, March 6, 1883.

Care of correspondence for John Murphy (Stromness, Ont.), April 7, 1884.

Order in Council to John Murphy, 50 miles Buck Lake Creek, May 15, 1884.

Care of correspondence for W. H. Montague, M.D. (Welland), April 7, 1884.

Order in Council to W. H. Montague, M.D. 50 miles, Buck Lake Creek, May 15, 1884.

C. C. COLLY, M. P.—

Letter promoting application of J. S. McEwan, Winnipeg, and asking that Order in Council notice be sent to him, Dec. 14, 1882.

Order in Council to J. S. McEwan, 50 miles, Battle River, Dec. 26, 1882.

HON. J. ROYAL, M. P.—

Application for Robert and Peter George. Order in Council to Robert and Peter George, 50 miles, Jan. 29, 1883.

Applications for Charles de Cazes and James Taillefer, July 15 and 31, and August 18, 1882.

Mr. ROYAL. Where is the wrong?
Mr. CHARLTON. I don't suppose the hon. gentleman sees it.

J. C. RYKERT, M. P.—

Application for James Murray, (St. Catharines).

Order in Council to James Murray, 50 miles, Swan River, July 5, 1882.

HON. JOHN COSTIGAN, M. P.—

Applies for extension of Major John Lewis permit, Feb. 21, 1882. Permit extended.

Application, permit to cut ties, telegram, Feb. 6, 1882, letter, May 15, 1882. Permit granted.

Application for Hyp. Montplaisir, M. P., October 18, 1883.

Order in Council to Hyp. Montplaisir, December 17, 1883, 50 miles, Rainy Lake.

HON. GEO. W. HOWLAN.—

Application for E. J. Dwyer, Kingston, April 24, 1883.

Order in Council to E. J. Dwyer, 50 miles, Swan Lake, June, 5, 1883.

I believe that Dwyer is his wife's brother.

Mr. BERGIN. I may as well give the hon. gentleman the information that Mrs. Howlan's name was not Dwyer.

Mr. CHARLTON. Was it McGilvary?

Mr. BERGIN. No.

Mr. CHARLTON. Then I suppose he had not that reason for making the application. I will hand in the dates of these applications, etc., to the *Hansard* reporters, without reading them all.

HON. GEO. W. HOWLAN.—

Application for Joseph McGilvary, (his brother-in-law by marriage to his sister) Kingston, April 24, 1883.

Order in Council to Joseph McGilvary, 50 miles, Swan Lake, June 4, 1883.

Application for Hon. W. Muirhead, Jan. 11, 1884.

Order in Council to Hon. W. Muirhead, 50 miles, Porcupine Hills, April 30, 1884.

M. K. DICKINSON, M.P.—

Application for G. L. Dickinson (his son), May 16, 1882.

Order in Council to G. L. Dickinson, 50 miles, Berens River, July 12, 1882.

Application for W. B. Dickinson.

Order in Council to W. B. Dickinson, 50 miles, Peevie River, Dec. 24, 1883.

Application for J. J. Burrows (Winnipeg), 56 Islands, May 7, 1883.

Order in Council to J. J. Burrows, 56 Islands, Lake Winnipeg, Oct. 27, 1883.

JOHN WHITE, M. P.—

Application for E. Rathbun.

Order in Council to E. Rathbun, 50 miles, Smoky Lake.

Application for Shell River Colonization Co.

Order in Council to Shell River Colonization Co., 48 miles, Manitoba, Feb. 3, 1883.

Care of application, E. A. de Bellefeuille, St. Eustache, Que.

Order in Council to E. A. de Bellefeuille 50 miles, N. Saskatchewan, April 30, 1884.

Transfer of limit from self to Joseph Green (Hamilton).

Order in Council to Joseph Green, 50 miles, Smoky Lake, April 30, 1884.

Care application for James Elliott (Roblin, Ont.), April 16, 1884.

Order in Council to James Elliott, 50 miles N. Saskatchewan, April 30, 1884.

Application for, A. Forbes (Trenton), April 29, 1884.

Order in Council to A. Forbes, 50 miles, N. Saskatchewan, May 23, 1884.

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T. S. SPROULE, M. P.

Application for G. & J. N. Andrews, May 4, 1882.

Order in Council to G. & J. N. Andrews, 50 miles, May 11, 1882.

Application for John C. Sproule, Aug, 23, 1882.

Order in Council to John C. Sproule, April 2, 1883.

Mr. COOK. Who is John C. Sproule ?

Mr. CHARLTON. He is his brother.

DUNCAN MACMILLAN, M. P.—

Application for Thomas Wells, Ingersoll, letter, Nov. 27 ; telegram, Dec. 1, 1882.

Order in Council to Thomas Wells, 50 miles, Red Deer River, Oct 3, 1883.

Application for John Taylor (his partner), March 2, 1882.

Order in Council to John Taylor, 50 miles, Red Deer River, Oct 3, 1882.

Application for Joseph G. Dawes, Oct. 10, 1882.

Order in Council to Joseph G. Dawes, 50 miles, Red Deer River, Feb. 12, 1883.

Application for Wm. McKenzie, Aug. 4, 1883.

Order in Council to Wm. McKenzie, 50 miles, in lieu of previous grant.

Application for John G. McDonald (Hyde Park), April 16, 1884.

Order in Council to John G. McDonald, 50 miles, Red Deer River, April 3, 1884.

Application for Joseph G. Dawes, and directions to send survey instructions to him, Feb. 20, 1883.

Order in Council to Joseph G. Dawes, 50 miles Red Deer River, Aug. 4, 1883.

GEO. P. ORTON, M. P.—

Application for George D. Farmer, (Ancaster), Aug. 1, 1881.

Order in Council to Geo. D. Farmer, 50 miles, Swan River, July 12, 1882.

Application for James Reynolds (Elora).

Order in Council to James Reynolds, 50 miles, N. Saskatchewan, May 10, 1882.

Application for James Reynolds, April 27, 1883.

Order in Council to James Reynolds, 50 miles, Nut Lake, May 4, 1883.

Application for George D. Farmer, April 2, 1884.

Order in Council to George B. Farmer, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, April 29, 1884.

Application for R. G. Brett, Feb. 4, 1884.

Order in Council to R. G. Brett, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, April 29, 1884.

J. B. DAoust, M.P.—

Application for Théophile Viau, Hull, Que.

Order in Council to Théophile Viau, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, May 23, 1884.

F. VANASSE, M. P.—

Application and recommending D. W. Smith as one of his supporters, July, 1882.

Order in Council to W. D. Smith (La Baie, Que.), 50 Miles, Nov. 22, 1882.

Application for J. M. Duguay.

Order in Council for J. M. Duguay, 50 miles, May 25, 1883.

HON. MR. POPE, M. P.—

Sends his Private Secretary, May 11, 1882, to enquire if the application of (his nephew) W. W. Bailey, of Cookshire, Que., has been granted.

Order in Council to W. W. Bailey, 50 miles, Salt River, Man., Jan. 5, 1883.

THOS. SCOTT, M. P.—

Application for permit, for J. G. Hargrave, to cut wood, by numerous letters and telegrams.

Permit to cut wood granted, Jan. 29, 1883.

HON. JOHN CARLING, M.P.—

Care of application, J. R. Menhenick.

Order in Council to J. R. Menhenick, 50 miles, Alberta, May 10, 1883.

Care of application, John Geary (London).

Order in Council to John Geary, 50 miles, Lake St. Anne, April 26, 1883.

Application, A. W. Porte (London), Aug. 24, 1883.

Order in Council to A. W. Porte, 50 miles, Crooked Pine Creek, Oct. 27, 1883.

Care of Application, W. T. R. Street (London).

Order in Council to W. L. R. Street, 50 miles, Lake St. Anne, April 17, 1883.

A. BOULTBEE, ex-M.P.—

Application for Aaron Squires (Rat Portage), July 12, 1883.

Order in Council to Aaron Squires, 50 miles, Eagle Lake, Dec. 1, 1883.

Application for W. E. Cornell (Toronto), March 5, 1884.

Order in Council to W. E. Cornell, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, March, 1884.

Application for E. J. Chauncey (Toronto), March 5, 1884.

Order in Council to E. J. Chauncey, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, March 20, 1884.

JOSEPH TASSE, M.P.—

Application for Pierre Durocher, Hull, Que.

Order in Council to Pierre Durocher, 50 miles, Pine Creek, Feb. 9, 1884.

Care of application, Eugène Lecourt, (Ottawa).

Order in Council to Eugène Lecourt, 50 miles, Hunter's Island, Oct. 27, 1883.

Application for Raphael Longton.

Order in Council to Raphael Longton, 60 miles, Hunter's Island, Oct. 27, 1883.

F. E. KILVERT, M.P.—

Application for H. D. Cameron, Hamilton, May 17, 1883.

Order in Council to H. D. Cameron, 50 miles, N. Saskatchewan, May 30, 1883.

Application for C. R. Smith and J. Muir. Order in Council to C. R. Smith and John Muir, 50 miles, Keewatin, Oct. 27, 1883.

Application and care of correspondence for Robert Evans, Hamilton.

Order in Council to Robert Evans, 50 miles, Clearwater River, May 28, 1883.

Case of application of W. E. Sandford, Hamilton.

Order in Council to W. C. Sandford, 50 miles, Smoky River, March 6, 1883.

Application for James M. Lotteridge, Hamilton, May 17, 1883.

Order in Council to James M. Lotteridge, 50 miles, Clearwater River, May 30, 1883.

H. A. WARD, M.P.—

Application for Henry A. Reid.

Order in Council to Henry A. Reid, 50 miles, Carrot River, March 24, 1884.

Care of application for W. R. Smith, Port Hope.

Order in Council to W. R. Smith, 50 miles, Sturgeon River, Nov. 8, 1883.

Care of application for Mr. Herman Clark. Order in Council to Mr. Herman Clark, 50 miles, Carrot River, Mar. 24, 1884.

JOHN BRYSON, M.P.—

Application for C. A. McCool, Mattawan, Feb. 6, 1884.

Order in Council to C. A. McCool, 50 miles, White Mouth River, Feb. 25, 1884.

Application for Michael Coughlin.

Order in Council to Michael Coughlin, 50 miles, October 10, 1883.

R. TYRWHITT, M.P.—

Application for Henry Grove (Lefroy), May 14 and September 7, 1884.

Order in Council to Henry Grove, 50 miles, Swan River, September 29, 1884.

HUGO KRANZ, M.P.—

Reference for Wm. Morton, (Wellesley, Ont.,) May 10, 1883.

Order in Council to Wm. Morton, 50 miles, Swan River, June 7, 1883.

DALTON MCCARTHY, M.P.—

Application for John W. Astley, "an old friend of mine," p. 109.

Order in Council to John J. Astley, 50 miles, Saudy Lake, Alberta, May 17, 1884.

Letter of enquiry about his friend Kirkland's application, July 21, 1883.

Order in Council to A. S. Kirkland, (Dunroon,) 50 miles, High River, Aug. 29, 1883,

SIR ADOLPHE CARON, M. P.—

Application for Wm. Sharples, Quebec (brother in law), March, 22, 1883. Says; "Hurry up Order in Council."

O. C. to Wm. Sharples, 50 miles, Red Deer River, March 17, 1883.

JOHN HAGGART, M. P.—

Application and plan sent.

Order in Council to Peter McLaren and others, 15 miles, Turtle Lake, May 20th, 1884.

J. S. MCCUAIG, EX-M. P.—

Application for Edward Rathbun, March 7, 1882.

Order in Council to Edward Rathbun, 50 miles, Alberta, May 23, 1883.

I believe the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Farrow) was very indignant when, in a speech I delivered, I coupled his name with timber transaction, and denied having his hands soiled at all.

THOMAS FARROW, M. P.—

Application for Joseph Leech (Bluevale, Ont.) received March 8, 1883.

Order in Council, to Joseph Leech, 50 miles, Alberta, April 29, 1884.

Care of application, Asher Farrow, (Bluevale, Ont.).

Order in Council to Asher Farrow, 50 miles, Alberta, June 9, 1883.

Application for Geo. Lesson (Brandon, Man.), May 25, 1883.

Order in Council to Geo. Lesson, 50 miles, Alberta, June 7, 1883.

JOHN SMALL, M. P.—

Application for C. C. Small, his brother, March 10, 1883.

Order in Council to C. C. Small (Toronto) 50 miles, Hunter's Island, Aug. 11, 1883.

Application for John Ginty.

Order in Council to John Ginty, 50 miles, Aug. 11, 1883.

S. J. DAWSON, M.P.—

Application for T. McRae (Port Arthur), May 3, 1884.

Order in Council to T. McRae, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, May 17, 1884.

HON. THOS. WHITE, M.P.—

Recommendation for T. H. Schneider, Feb. 12, 1883.

Order in Council to T. H. Schneider, 50 miles.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, M.P.—

Recommendation for Onderdonk, contractor, July 17, 1883, and orders license to issue immediately.

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These are the successful applications made by members of Parliament on behalf of their friends and themselves. I shall now read a list of applications for timber limits made by members of the Senate and the House of Commons for friends or themselves, and not granted, for the reason that the areas applied for were previously granted, or covered by pasture leases, etc. :—

C. H. MACKINTOSH, M.P.—

Application for W. Bradburg, Sept. 19, 1882.

J. C. PATTERSON, M.P.—

Application for Geo. Campbell, April 15, 1882; Matthew Campbell, May 13, 1882.

HECTOR CAMERON, M.P.—

Application for Masson, Boyd, Timber Limit and Cattle Rancho, March 11, 1882; James Anderson.

L. MCCALLUM, M.P.—

Application for Samuel McCallum, April 11, 1883.

HYP. MONTPLAISIR, M.P.—

Application for self, Oct. 1, 1883.

HON. GEO. W. HOWLAN—

Application for G. R. Jones, Jan. 11, 1884; J. W. McKinnon, Jan. 11, 1884; T. D. Doran, April 24, 1883; self, Jan. 17, 1884.

JOHN WHITE, M.P.—

Application for Philip Star, Feb. 26, 1884; Henry Gill, July 11, 1883; Neil McLeod, Curran & Co., Feb. 24, 1883.

T. S. SPROULE, M.P.—

Application for R. J. Sproule, Aug. 23, 1882; Augustin & Kendall, Dec. 9, 1884; Neil Strachan, March 9, 1883; Almond Graham, March 15, 1883; W. M. Glen, Oct. 14, 1883; Matthew Spinks, Oct. 15, 1883.

GEO. T. ORTON, M.P.—

Application for self, Oct. 21, 1884; Reynolds, Dobie & Morrow, Feb. 13, 1883; J. C. Morrow, Dec. 3, 1883; Jas. Reynolds, May 1, 1883.

J. B. DAoust, M.P.—

Application for G. Brown, May 22, 1884; self, April 9, 1883; John Paisley, April 9, 1883.

F. VANASSE, M.P.—

Application for self, March 28, 1884; G. W. Wittie, March 28, 1884; A. Charlebois, March 28, 1884.

THOMAS SCOTT, M.P.—

Application for J. G. Rowe, Oct. 2, 1882; Waller & Kelloch, Oct. 2, 1882; George Beers, Sept. 12, 1882; John W. Colclough

and Thos. Scott, Aug. 18, 1882; W. B. Thi-
baudeau, May 30, 1884; F. T. Murray, Feb.
13, 1883.

HON. JOHN CARLING, M. P.

Application for Wm. Hudson, May 12, 1882.

A. BOULTBEE, ex-M. P.—

Application for S. Hughes; Jas. A. Deacon,
Aug. 6, 1884; D. E. Sprague, June 28, 1883.

F. E. KILVERT, M. P.—

Application for James Walker, May 14,
1883; Geo. Roach, Aug. 9; Richard Guller,
Aug. 9; W. W. Duffield, Aug. 9; S. Aikens,
Aug. 9; Joseph Green, Aug. 9; Adam Brown,
Aug. 9, 1883.

H. A. WARD, M. P.—

Application for Mr. Smith, Oct. 4, 1883;
2 others, names not given, Oct. 4, 1883.

GEO. GUILLET, M. P.—

Application for self, March 23, 1883.

R. TYRWHITT, M. P.—

Application for Samuel Maneer, May 14,
1884.

DALTON MCCARTHY, M. P.—

Application for Wesley Orr, Jan. 11, 1883;
Ed. J. Walsh, Feb. 19, 1883; E. T. Walsh,
May 4, 1883.

HUGO KRANZ, M. P.—

Application for Otto J. Klotz, of Preston.

S. J. DAWSON, M. P.—

Application for Thomas Marks, March 18,
1882; Walter Ross, April 19, 1884.

JAMES BEATTY, M. P.—

Application for H. M. Wells, May 2, 1882;
G. M. Wilson, May 2, 1882.

P. VALIN, M. P.—

Application for Ferdinand Sampson, April
25, 1882; Didas Dion, April 25, 1882; Frank
Ross, April 25, 1882; D. C. Thompson, April
25, 1882; James G. Ross, April 25, 1882;
William Sharples, May 1, 1882.

C. F. FERGUSON, M.P.—

Application for E. Erratt & Co., May 12, 1882.

D. B. WOODWORTH, M.P.—

Application for C. Porter, Sept. 20, 1882.

W. H. McMillan, May 14, 1883.

Jos. E. Eaton, May 14, 1883.

D. H. McMillan, May 14, 1883.

E. B. Harris, May 14, 1883.

ROBERT DOULL, ex-M.P.—

Application for self, June 26, 1882.

WM. BANNERMAN, ex-M.P.—

Application for self, Dec. 4, 1882.

HON. G. E. FOSTER, M.P.—

Application for self, April 25, 1886.

John Sadler, April 25th, 1886.

Henry Muirhead, April 25, 1886.

JOHN POUPORE, ex-M.P.—

Application for John G. Poupore, April 20, 1883.

Hon. M. A. GIRARD—

Application for friends.

DARBY BERGIN, M.P.—

Application for friends.

GEORGE TAYLOR, M.P.—

Application for a friend; Townships 39, 40 and 41, Ranges 18, 19 and 20, west; Oct. 3, 1882.

That is the list of the members of Parliament, brought down to February, 1885—and including some members of the last Parliament—nothing is known of the transactions which have taken place since that time. Now I will read a summary of the results:—

Number of members of Senate and House of Commons who received Orders in Council for Timber Limits to themselves, 17.

Number of members of Senate and House of Commons who secured Orders in Council for selves and for friends, 45.

Total number of members of Senate and House of Commons who applied for lands for selves and friends, 58.

Total number of Orders in Council passed upon recommendation of members of the Senate and House of Commons, so far as made public by the records, 115.

Number of applications made by members of the Senate and House of Commons, for timber lands, and refused for the reason that pasture leases, previous Orders in Council, &c., covered the areas applied for, 86.

Total number of timber limits applied for by members of the Senate and House of Commons for selves and friends, 201.

Here is a list of deserving Tories, not members of the House of Commons or Senate, who have received in Orders in Council for themselves.

NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN,

Order in Council 50 miles, North Saskatchewan, Dec. 15, 1882.

EDWARD FARRAR, Toronto Mail.

Order in Council, 50 miles, North Saskatchewan, Dec. 15, 1882.

JOSEPH GIBSON, Tory candidate, South Oxford.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Turtle Lake, April 25, 1882.

R. S. WHITE, Editor Montreal Gazette.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Montagoo River, Lake Winnipeg.

FRED. W. GIBBS, son of Hon. G. W. Gibbs.

Order in Council, 40 miles, N. W. T.

CHAS. J. CAMPBELL, brother of Sir Alexander.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island.

COL. DAVID TISDALE, defeated Tory candidate in North Norfolk.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Dec. 6, 1883.

JAMES MCKNIGHT, defeated Tory candidate, local, North Norfolk.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Mennitakie, Jan. 29, 1884.

WM. WILSON, defeated Tory candidate, local, North Norfolk.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Aug. 18, 1883.

JOHN WILSON, M. D., President Conservative Association, North Norfolk.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Jan. 4, 1883.

ALEXANDER McCOLL, expects to be Tory candidate for South Norfolk.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Dec. 6, 1883.

JAS. CRAIG BOYD (Simcoe), Tory election agent, 50 miles, Dec. 6, 1883.

W. H. TEETER, North Norfolk, Tory leader.

Order in Council, 50 miles.

FREDERICK COPE (Simcoe), Tory worker.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Sept. 28, 1883.

JAMES ROBB (Simcoe), partner Col. Tisdale, Tory. Care of Col. Tisdale.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Alberta, April 29, 1884.

CHAS. P. YOUNG (Vittoria), active Tory. Care of Col. Tisdale.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Alberta, April 30, 1884.

R. T. LIVINGSTONE (Simcoe), since appointed Judge of Norfolk.

Order in Council, 50 miles, April 30, 1884.

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell). Are you reading the list of those who have got timber limits?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, but I would not have time, if I devoted to-day and to-morrow to it, to read the names of all who got timber limits much less those who applied.

W. P. PAGE Toronto—

Order in Council April 4, 1883, 50 miles.

HENRY O'BRIEN, Toronto—

Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island, Aug. 11, 1883.

L. K. O'BRIEN, Toronto—

Order in Council, 50 miles Hunter's Island, Aug. 11, 1883.

V. Gibbs.
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Alexander,
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Conservative
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lection agent,
ory leader.
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pt. 28, 1883.
Col. Tisdale,
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Tory. Care
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nter's Island,
nter's Island,

J. C. JAMIESON, Belleville--
Order in Council, 50 miles, March 10, 1883.
THOS. SHORTISS, Toronto--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island,
Aug. 11, 1883.
J. S. AIKINS Son. of Governor Aikins--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Manitoba, Aug.
11, 1883.
HUGH MACDONALD, Toronto--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island,
Aug. 11, 1883.
J. J. MACDONALD, Toronto, connected with
John Shields--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island,
Aug 11, 1883.
MICHAEL STARRS, Ottawa--
Order in Council, 50 miles, April 30, 1883.
MARK ARNOLDI, Toronto, Tory lawyer--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's
Island, Aug. 11, 1883.
WM. RICHARDSON, Seely Bay, ex-Tory
M. P. P.--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Sept. 23, 1883.
ROBERT EVANS, Hamilton, Tory boss--
Order in Council, 50 miles, May 28, 1883.
ONDERDONK, contractor.--
Order in Council for limit, 1,200 acres,
July, 17, 1883. Sir John endorses his ap-
plication, and directs that license shall issue
without delay.
WM. SHIELDS, Toronto, brother of John
Shields--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Nov. 29, 1883.
JAS. G. D. BLACK, Montreal, city treasurer--
Order in Council 50 miles, Dec. 19, 1883.
PETER McLAREN, Ottawa--
50 miles, March 16, 1883.
JOHN M. FARROW, Bluevale, Ont.
Order in Council, 50 miles, June 9, 1883.
JOHN SHIELDS, Rat Portage, contractor, &c--
Order in Council, 50 miles, Dec. 21, 1883.
H. M. STAUNTON, Rat Portage--Telegraph
operator who stole the telegrams Mr. Mere-
dith read in the House at Toronto.
Order in Council, 50 miles.
JOSEPH FOSTER, Rat Portage assistant tele-
gram purloiner--
Order in Council, 50 miles.
W. R. GOUIN, Ottawa--
50 miles, Jan. 23, 1884.
JOHN H. BEATY, Toronto--
50 miles January 9, 1884.
W. B. SCARTH, Toronto--
Order in Council 50 miles, Sept. 11, 1883.

THOMAS BIRKETT, Ottawa--
Order in Council 50 miles, Jan: 23, 1884.
JOHN H. BEATY, Toronto, Cousin of M. P.--
Order in Council 50 miles, Dec. 6, 1883.
C. R. CHURCH, M. D., Ottawa--
Order in Council 50 miles, July 7, 1883.
T. G. BLACKSTOCK, Toronto, defeated Tory
candidate--
Order in Council 50 miles, Dec. 6, 1883.
JOSEPH S. SMITH, Port Hope--
Order in Council 50 miles, Dec. 1, 1883.
ROBERT A. BELL, Toronto--
Order in Council 50 miles, Red Deer River,
Jan. 11, 1882.
ROBERT SKEAD, Ottawa, son of Senator--
Order in Council 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg,
Jan. 19, 1883.
EDWARD MCGILLIVRY, Ottawa,
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg,
Feb. 2, 1883.
GEORGE SKEAD, Ottawa, son of Senator.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg,
Jan. 29, 1883.
WM. PRATT, Ottawa.
Order in Council 50 miles, Blood River,
April 2, 1883.
D O'CONNOR, Ottawa, Pres. Tory Assoc'n.
Order in Council, 50 miles, English River,
April 17, 1883.
HENRY LARGE, Ottawa, friend of Mackintosh.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Beaver River,
May 23, 1883.
CHARLES H. CARRIER, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, North Saskat-
chewan, July 29, 1882.
P. McARTHUR, Winnipeg.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Duck River,
Nov. 23, 1883.
K. N. MACPHEE, Montreal, friend of C. C. Colby,
M. P.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Battle River,
Feb. 11, 1883.
PETER WHRLAN, Ottawa, Tory Alderman.
Order in Council, 48 miles, May 12, 1882.
P. A. McLEAN, Toronto, Old Kirk Tory.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipe-
goosis, Jan. 12, 1883.
McLEOD STEWART, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, North Saskat-
chewan, May 23, 1883.
H. K. EGAN, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Manitoba, May
23, 1883.

- FRANK J. CLARK**, Winnipeg, Secretary Tory Association.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Sturgeon Bay, Dec. 4, 1882.
- EDWARD B. BLACK**, Montreal.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Warpath River, Nov. 22, 1882.
- P. E. NORMAND**, Three Rivers, Que., leading Tory.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Limestone Bay, May 6, 1882.
- CHARLES MAGHE**, Ottawa, leading Tory.
Order in Council, 50 miles, March 4, 1882.
- JAMES MURRAY**, St. Catharines, testimonial subscriber.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Swan River, July 5, 1882.
- T. B. VANASSE**, Three Rivers, Que., leading Tory.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg, May 1, 1882.
- FERGUS O'CONNOR**, Billings' Bridge.
Order in Council, 50 miles, English River, March 8, 1882.
- JACOB ERRATT**, Ottawa, Tory alderman.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg, Nov. 24, 1882.
- JOHN RIORDAN AND COSGRAVE & Co.** (Riordan of Mail).
Order in Council, 50 miles, Jumping River.
- G. F. BRISEBOIS**, Minnedosa, Man., Tory Registrar.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Valley River, Man., Oct. 3, 1882.
- H. A. D. ARMSTRONG**, Civil Engineer, Tory.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Red Deer River, Dec. 6, 1882.
- THOS. J. WALLACE & Co.**, Woodbridge, Ont., supposed a brother of Wallace, M. P.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg, April 6, 1882.
- R. C. W. McQUAIG**, Ottawa, Tory, brother of ex-M. P.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Black River, Dec. 22, 1882.
- ALFRED WATTS**, Brantford.—
License, 20 miles, Manitoba, Jan. 10, 1881.
- GEO. A. HUGHES**, Montreal.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Fisher River, March 14, 1882.
- H. V. NOEL**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg, Nov. 22, 1882.
- A. J. CHRISTIE**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Manatagoo River, Dec. 21, 1882.
- J. W. MONTAGUE**, Braeman, Ont.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Manitoba, April 3, 1884.
- THOS. HIGGINSON**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, High River, Alberta, Feb. 11, 1884.
- STEWART MULVEY**, Winnipeg, defeated Tory candidate.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Shawendela Lake, April 30, 1884.
- W. H. PLUMMER**, Sault Ste. Marie, defeated Tory candidate.
Order in Council, 33 miles, Lac des Mille Lacs, Oct. 9, 1884.
- H. H. SMITH**, Peterborough.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Alberta, April 30, 1884.
- R. A. MORROW**, Peterborough.
Order in Council, 50 miles, High River, May 23, 1884.
- CAPT. ALEX. BOWIE**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 Miles, Lake Winnipeg, \$5 bonus, June 4, 1883.
- G. R. KINGSMILL**, Ottawa, immigration agent and Toronto *Mail* employee.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Winnipeg, \$1 bonus, Feb. 5, 1884.
- N. F. PATTERSON**, Port Perry, Ont., Tory ex-candidate.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake of the Woods, Dec. 21, 1883.
- JAMES QUINN**, Orillia, ex-Tory candidate.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Alberta, May 15, 1884.
- GEORGE GOODWIN**, Ottawa, Tory contractor.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Winnipeg River, March 15, 1883.
- ALEXANDER McINNES**, Hamilton.
Order in Council, 50 miles, English River, Feb. 9, 1885.
- J. W. McRAE**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Kogasikok, Man, April 1, 1884.
- HENRY BULMER, jun.**, Montreal.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Keewatin, Dec. 1, 1883.
- T. W. CURRIER**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Quetico River, Man., April 12, 1884.
- MICHAEL COUGHLIN**, Ottawa.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Winnipeg River, June 11, 1884.
- W. B. SCARTH**, Toronto, Tory man-of-all-work.
Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island, Aug. 11, 1883. License issued, Oct. 24, 1884.

L. OLIVER, Barrie.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Hunter's Island,
August 11, 1883.

WM cKAY, Ottawa.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Rainy Lake,
Feb. 5, 1884.

G. D'ARCY BOULTON, Toronto, Tory lawyer.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Red Deer River,
April 1, 1884.

JOHN B. SPRAGUE, Winnipeg, Tory worker.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Rainy Lake, Jan.
23, 1884.

R. M. CARROLL, Ottawa, relative of Hon. W.
J. Howlan.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Porcupine Hills,
Jan. 23, 1884.

JOHN STEWART, Ottawa.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Assiniboine
River, April 1, 1884.

J. S. McCRACKEN, Ottawa.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Lake Laurence,
May 23, 1884.

THOS. BIRKETT, Ottawa.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Sturgeon Lake,
Man., Jan. 23, 1884.

WM. WILSON, Montreal.

Order in Council, 50 miles, War Path River,
Dec. 27, 1883.

A. T. McCORD, Toronto, lieutenant of A.
Boulbee.

Order in Council, 50 miles, Lac Seul, Kee-
watin, March 14, 1882.

Now, these are a portion only of the names. The total number of Orders in Council granting limits, to February, 1886, was 550, so far as I have examined the records. The number not given in foregoing list is 398. The total number of square miles granted to February, 1885, is 25,300, and the total number of acres, 16,192,200, making a quantity two-thirds as great as the total amount of the cultivated land in the Dominion in 1881; and it is possible, if we had last year's record, from February, 1885, to the present time, we would find the Government had issued Orders in Council covering an area of timber limits equal to the entire amount of cultivated land in the Dominion in 1881.

Mr ORTON. How much money was received?

Mr. CHARLTON. \$5 a mile.

An hon. MEMBER. How much did you expect to receive?

Mr CHARLTON. I can give you a little correspondence, but I shall not read it all. * * * Here is a telegram from the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Rykert), dated Ottawa, 5th July, 1882:

"Will you please push through Order in Council for coal licenses and that limit for Orr?"
(Signed)

"J. C. RYKERT."

There is another letter from the hon. member for Lincoln urging that a certain supporter of my hon. friend for Monck, should receive timber limits; Mr. James Mitchell, of Castorville, is anxious to get a limit to cut timber in the North-West.

Mr. McCALLUM. He is not in my county at all.

Mr. CHARLTON. I said that Mr. James Mitchell, of Castorville, a friend and supporter of Mr. McCallum, is anxious to get a permit to cut timber in the North-West. The letter is signed, J. C. Rykert.

Mr. McCALLUM. I have lots of friends in this country.

Mr. BLAKE. Have they all got timber limits?

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell), No, nor harbor contracts either.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Is it usual to get them at the price?

Mr. CHARLTON. Mr. Pope, the Minister of Agriculture, sends his private secretary to obtain an answer to the following memorandum to the Hon. D. L. Macpherson:—

"1st. T. P. Buck applies for timber berth on Porcupine Hill near Fort McLeod. Can he obtain it?"

"2nd. H. Bailey applies for a timber permit in the disputed territory. What answer can Mr. Pope give him?"

"3rd. A. Herme & Co., of Galt, ask a free grant of land on which to erect flouring mills. Would the Minister of Interior accord this?"

This was addressed to Mr. Lindsay Russell. We have here correspondence from Mr. McMillen with relation to J. G. Dawes; correspondence from Dr. Orton, M. P., with an application for George D. Farmer; correspondence from D. Macmillan, M. P., making an application for himself;

correspondence from Thomas Scott, M. P., and Joseph Tasse, M. P., supporting George H. Bradbury, a strong supporter of the Government; correspondence from Adolphe Caron. M. P. :

"DEAR MR. MACPHERSON,—May I ask you to hurry up the granting of the license applied for by Mr. William Sharples on the Red Deer River."

And it was hurried up, and Mr Sharples, who is a brother in-law of Sir Adolphe, got his license. Correspondence from S. R. Hesson, for his son-in-law, Mr Symons :

"Some time ago I wrote you on behalf of Harry Symons, Esq, of Toronto, for timber limits on the Saskatchewan. Your reply was that a previous application was in for same. Will you now do me the favor of changing that application to Cedar Lake, as Mr. Symons is the only applicant now for that place. I hope you will enter his name at once, and, he will complete the application forthwith. As Mr. S. is a particular friend of mine, I hope you will see to this at once."

Mr. HESSON. Anything wrong about that ?

Mr. CHARLTON. I think not. I think that was very paternal. Here is also an application from Mr. Hesson for Mr. James Robb, setting forth that he had been editor of a local paper, and that, if he got the limit, he would not be ungrateful. Here is an application from S. R. Hesson for J. P. Woods; an application from Mr. Hesson for J. Grayson Smith; an application from T. N. Gibbs and S. R. Hesson for T. H. Tuller; an application from Mr. H. Cameron for a reputed partner of his, Mr. William Mackenzie. I shall not trouble the House with any further reference to this correspondence, as the hour is growing late.

Mr. HESSON. Give us a history from Michigan.

Mr. CHARLTON. I might. People who obtain timber limits in Michigan pay for them like honest men and obtain them in competition with other men, they will not get a paternal Government to give them a limit for \$250 which they can sell for \$100,000.

About Ranche Companies.

Leases of Pasture Lands have been made without asking for competition at 1 cent per acre rent or equal to 6 per cent on 16 cents an acre. These leases have been made to friends with no restriction except that not more than 100,000 acres should be leased to one party. A return recently brought down shows that on March 1st, 1886, 2,452,610 was under lease to 58 companies, 38 Companies with 1,592,290 acres had cattle on their holdings, 20 companies with 869,320 acres had no cattle on their holdings. The total number of cattle sheep and horses upon these ranches was 63,714, or one for each 38 acres, showing that leases had been made far in advance of actual wants, as was only natural when it cost only one dollar a year to hold 100 acres. From the vast area placed under lease, the Government has received a total revenue of only \$66,255. Lands ought not to have been leased faster than required, and when leased should have been put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder.

About Coal Land Leases.

The policy with regard to coal land leases has been equally reprehensible. The returns brought down to February 1883 show that 449 applications were made. In the list of applications members of Parliament as figured as follows :

J. C. Patterson,	M.P.	4	Applications
C. O. Colby,	M.P.	7	"
John Haggart,*	M.P.	1	"
A. Boulton,	M.P.	1	"
Thos Scott,	M.P.	3	"
Hon T. N. Gibbs,	M.P.	1	"
Hector Cameron,	M.P.	1	"
J. G. Blanchet,	M.P.	1	"
Dalton McCarthy,	M.P.	1	"
J. C. Rykert,	M.P.	1	"
Robert Hay,	M.P.	1	"

*John Haggart M.P. denied that he had applied for a coal lease. On the following day Mr. Charlton produced the official copy of his letter of application to the Department dated Dec. 9, 1882 applying for a mining location. And the copy of the reply of the Department addressed to John Haggart, M.P., acknowledging receipt of application and dated Dec. 15, 1882. See Hansard May 6, 1883.

George Hubbard M.P.	1	Applications.
also		
Sir A. T. Galt	2	"
Hon. John Norquay	2	"
Nicholas Flood Davin	1	"
Edward Farrar	1	"

As the returns have not yet not been brought down later than 1883, I am unable to say what number of these applications were granted, but I say unhesitatingly that the principle was a vicious one because the principle of competition was not introduced and the Government was party to a plan for permitting its friends quietly to monopolize the coal supply of the North West to the lasting injury of the settler.

About Colonization Land Grants.

Mr. CHARLTON. Coming to other parts of the Government policy, I refer to colonization plan No. 1. That plan was adopted on 23rd December, 1881. It was adopted just upon the eve of a dissolution of this House. Whether it was adopted expressly for the purpose of attaching to the Government a large speculative interest, I am unable to say, but whatever might have been the intention of the Government, the result was to attach to the interest of the Government a very great and powerful speculative interest in land. The results, of course, of these investments in colonization lands have not been as favorable as those who invested anticipated. This has been largely due, perhaps, to the fact that the Government granted these lands to speculators. Nothing perhaps has had a more unfavorable influence upon the settlement of the North-West than the fact that the Government acted upon applications for blocks of land which were to be given to speculators, if they confirmed to the conditions, at half the price the settler had to pay for the land. The rush under this plan No 1 was something phenomenal. The order was issued on the 23rd of December, 1881. I see by returns that on the 1st January, 1883, one year and eight days after the order had been issued,

after the colonization plan had been made, that the number of applications made during that time was 251, and they covered 2,295 townships of land. The members who applied for colonization lands in that brief period were as follows :

Robert Hay, M.P.	applied for 6½	Townships.
Robert Hay, M.P.	do	2 do
Robert Hay and associates	do	2 do
Robert Hay,	do	5 do
Col. Williams, M.P.	do	6 do
Geo. A. Drew, M.P.	do	4 do
C. H. Mackintosh, M.P. ass's	do	7 do
John White, M.P. ;	do	4 do
Geo. Guillet, M.P.,	do	10 do
Geo. Guillet, M.P.,	do	3 do
C. F. Ferguson, M.P.,	do	3 do
Hugo Krantz, M.P.,	do	5 do
T. Valin, M.P., & G. Ross	do	2 do
Thos. Arkell, M.P., & ass's	do	6 do
Wm. Elliott, M.P.	do	5 do
M. H. Gault,	do	2 do

Mr GAULT. No, Sir, my name is found nowhere on the books.

Mr. CHARLTON. This is taken from the Sessional Papers of 1883, Volume 16, No. 12, Return No. 84.

Mr. GAULT. I never spent one cent, and had nothing to do with any territory in the North-West. I went up there to buy land, but I saw so much of it that I came away.*

Mr. CHARLTON. This refers to the applications. I will read on :

Robert Doull, M.P.,	app'd for 4	Townships.
Geo. P. Orton M.P.,	do	6 do
C. F. Ferguson, M.P. & ass's	do	6 do
P. Valin, M.P.,	do	1 do
J. C. Patterson & associates	do	7 do
J. S. McCuaig, M.P.,	do	1 do
James Beaty, M.P.,	do	1 do
J. B. Daoust, M.P.	do	6 do
Clarke Wallace, M.P. and associates,	do	6 do
C. C. Colby, M.P., & others	do	6 do
Senator Almon and others	do	12½ do
D. Macmillan, M.P.,	do	6 do

Here are the names of twenty-one members of Parliament making applications for land to the Government, to be received on conditions so favorable that they expected to secure these lands at half price, or \$1 an acre. In addition, Sir A. T.

*On Tuesday, May 11th. Mr. Gault said in his place in the House that he found that he had made application for some friends.

Galt applied for fifty townships, and that gentleman was allowed \$1,500 from the Treasury of Canada to pay his expenses while he went to the North-West to select his land. Here are other names :

Wm. Sharple's,	applied for 2 Townships.	
Robert Henry & others	do 4	do
H. Symmes,	do 6	do
D. Tisdale,	do 6	do
A. T. Drummond,	do 17	do
Thos. Long & Geo. Moberly,	do 15	do
A. Ferguson,	do 39	do
D. Tisdale,	do 6	do

Now, Sir, the applications, made in the space of one year and eight days, covered 2,295 townships in the North-West; and the effect, I repeat, of this scheme upon the elections of 1882, was very marked indeed.

Seeking Political Help of Speculators.

Every speculator who embarked in this speculation, covering this vast area, was a friend of the Government; it was in his interest that the Government should be maintained, that the regulations by which he was to receive land at half price, should not be rescinded by another Government adopting an honest policy; and for that reason no more potent factor in the elections of 1882 exerted its influence upon that result, than the policy of the Government with regard to the colonization plan No. 1, so called. And the Government, now that the result has hardly been as those gentlemen anticipated, is adopting a plan to let them out as easily as possible; those who have taken blocks of townships and have made partial payments, are to be permitted to consolidate their interest, to select such parts of the township as they may choose—and, of course, they will select the cream of the thing—and the payments made covering the whole tract are permitted to be concentrated upon the best portions of the township, and they will receive land in accordance with the payments made be it more or less, and their interests so far as the Government can care for them, will be carefully guarded.

Members Invited to ask Favors

In all these matters to which I have referred, members of this House have had the inside track. They have had the ear of the Government; they have known what the Government plans were. They could go to the various Departments and lay their case before the Government, and they always found in those Departments friends willing to oblige them. They were in point of fact invited to ask favors of the Government, and they never came to the Government and asked a favor in vain.

Mr. Speaker, I have approached this subject with personal regret. Whether hon. gentlemen opposite will believe me or not, it is not a task congenial to me to probe this matter and expose these irregularities on the part of the Government. The task has fallen upon me, and I have endeavoured to discharge it in a spirit of fairness and as temperately as possible. No doubt many hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, probably all hon. gentlemen opposite, feel they have pursued a proper course in these matters, and do not see anything irregular in receiving bonuses from the Government for their private purposes,—in receiving timber limits from the Government for themselves and their friends without the limits being put up to competition, and in making \$160,000 out of \$250 in one admitted case. They may have such peculiar views about political and moral ethics as to see nothing wrong in these transactions. But I am unable to agree with them, and I conceive it to be a part of my duty as an independent member of Parliament who desires the good of his country to denounce such conduct. The whole system is subversive of the independence of Parliament. It is incompatible with a nice sense of political honor; it is calculated to control action and conciliate support by the use of corrupt methods, and it is a system that should excite alarm in the breast of every member of this House and every citizen of Canada for the future of this country. I beg to move in amend-

ment thereto to leave out all the words after the word "that," and add the following instead thereof:—

"The practice of members of the House applying for and becoming personally interested in the disposal by the Crown of those public

resources, which are dealt with by the Executive; or by Parliament on its recommendation, has grown to alarming proportions, is in its nature liable to abuse, has in fact been abused, and should be checked, in order to avoid lasting injury to the public interest and to restore and maintain the independence of this House."

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF

Mr. Paterson, Esq., M.P.,

ON THE

BUDGET,

APRIL 2nd, 1886.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). It has been very pleasant to me to listen to my hon. friend opposite (Hon. T. White), and to observe the righteous indignation which possessed him as he surveyed the late Finance Minister (Sir Richard Cartwright). The hon. gentleman makes the mistake of supposing that he and his colleagues are the country. Now there never was a greater mistake than that. There was a country here before the hon. gentlemen occupied seats on the Treasury benches. I think there was a country in many respects more prosperous than it has been since they have taken their places there, and when I say that, I speak, of course, comparatively. * * * Sir, we believe that we have a country that should have taken leaps and bounds almost infinitely greater than it has taken under them. Hon. gentlemen opposite think they have fulfilled all the duties of their position, that they deserve credit for well managing the affairs of this country, if they can prevent us going on the down grade—we, with millions and tens of millions of acres of land, inviting settlers of other countries; we, who

have spent two or three millions of money in inducing immigrants from other countries to come here! After all this they point to the result of their management for a period of six or seven years, and claim that we have actually maintained our own natural increase in the country. What a great record! how the gentlemen boast! Well, they know they are not capable of much, and they are to be excused for boasting of little.
* * *

The Public Debt.

I will not attempt to follow my hon. friend in all the statements he has made, but I will touch upon some points he has alluded to, and I think I shall be able to present another view of the question. He has touched upon public debt, has dwelt largely upon that, and has endeavored to controvert the position taken by the hon. member for South Huron. He speaks of our national debt as if it were not a matter of great consequence. He tells us that the interest upon our national debt is not a

great deal more now than it was some years ago, and he claims that the reason why we are not paying much more interest now than we did a few years ago, is owing to the excellent management of affairs by the present Government. They take to themselves the whole credit of having reduced the rate of interest throughout the world. Yet, I suppose, hon. gentlemen opposite, although we might suppose from some of their utterances they feigned ignorance, would not care really to admit such ignorance as not to be cognizant of the fact that the rate of interest is low at the present time everywhere. While it must be admitted that such is the case, they have the supreme effrontery to claim it is due to the action of the Government during recent years, whereby a loan can be placed on the money market at a lower rate of interest now than was the case eight or ten years ago. I am not overstating their case. The Finance Minister when speaking on this subject, gave us distinctly to understand that it was due to that cause, and that cause alone; that it was the management of the affairs of the country by hon. gentlemen opposite. * * * What is the national debt of Canada to-day? We have it in figures given to us by the Finance Minister, and I invite the attention of the House to them and through the House the attention of the country. Our gross debt on 1st March, 1886, was \$281,314,532. But the Finance Minister told us we had assets to the value of \$72,791,837, leaving a net debt of \$208,522,695. Now, I make the per capita amount \$45. The hon. gentleman who preceded me said it was \$40.70. We must have taken a little different basis for the calculation, I fancy. However, the net debt as given by the Finance Minister was on 1st March, taking the population at 4,700,000 on which we shall both agree, was equal to about \$45 per head. * * * Let me state the amount of debt that this Government has placed upon the counties, and let the people realize the fact that, though they may not realize and fairly appreciate the burden on ac-

count of the manner in which the taxes are collected, yet each riding has to pay annually the interest upon, as their share of the public burden, no less than \$988,259. Let each riding in this country remember that this is their share of the public debt, and when I am speaking of that I am speaking of the net debt, and I am for the moment granting, which I do not grant, that the \$72,000,000 are all available and interest bearing assets, which is not the case; but to make my position perfectly impregnable, I take the net debt, giving credit for all assets available and interest bearing, and each riding in the Dominion has a burden upon it, in addition to all other burdens imposed by the municipality itself, of \$988,259. But there are some counties that have two ridings, and on each county large enough to be divided in two, the debt is \$1,978,511, or nearly two millions on every county of two ridings as their share of the Dominion debt, the interest on which has to be toiled for by the people year by year and paid by them into the public treasury. But some of our large counties are divided into three ridings, and on each of those counties—Simcoe, Huron, Bruce, York and others—there is a debt of \$2,964,777. * * *

Annual Expenditure.

But what is the position of our finances, now with reference to our annual receipts and expenditures? Why, Sir, we find from the Public Accounts which are now before us, that we have for the fiscal year 1885, which is fully closed, an expenditure of over \$35,000,000, with receipts of less than \$32,000,000. We have the fact that hon. gentlemen opposite were unable, with all the excessive taxation they have levied on the people of this country, to make both ends meet, and they stand in their places to-day confessing to a deficit of \$2,240,059. This, after all their boasts of their superior management; this, after the boasts of their surpluses; this, after their claims of being able so to regulate the affairs and finances of the country

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that deficits would be things which would no more be heard of in the land. And do they say that this state of things is only for one year? No, I am sorry to say if we take the financial year of 1886, which is not fully completed, the estimate of the receipts and expenditures of that year was given to us by the Finance Minister himself, and what is the tale that they tell? He says he estimates that our receipts will be \$33,550,000, and that our expenditure will be \$38,500,000. It is seven years since they last entered upon office, and our expenditure has run up from about \$24,000,000, until the Finance Minister told us that at the close of 1886 it will amount to \$38,000,000. * * *

These are the Gentlemen

who claimed that they had the power, and who made pledges to the people of this country, that they would govern Canada with less money than was required by the late Finance Minister, and they sit in their places to-day with almost every promise they made to the people of this country, violated; with almost every pledge broken, unable to point to scarce a single thing they have done which has really been in the interests of the country or for which they can claim the slightest credit. No, there they are; the country is rushing head-long into debt and they are unable to keep their expenditure within their income, but they leave us with their anticipated deficit this year amounting to \$4,950,000 as stated by the Finance Minister himself. Oh, but he is going to ease us in this, and how is he going to do it? Well, he is just going to take \$3,500,000 of this deficit and charge it to

Capital Account,

and he is thus going to reduce the deficit to \$1,450,000. Will placing it to capital account pay it? We generally supposed that what is placed to capital account is something for which we have assets to show; but what assets will we have for this \$3,500,000? A partially blackened and ruined country,

graves on the western prairie, the smoke of gun-powder, one or two knighthoods; and for this the people of the country are to have \$3,500,000 added to their debt.

* * *

Immigration,

I charge the Ministers of the day with having been utterly reckless in their expenditure of money for promoting Immigration; I charge them with having squandered millions of the people's money without achieving any good result whatever. In Canada, which ought to be able to retain its own population within its borders, we find that during the last six years, when we ought to have had a natural increase of 2 per cent. per annum on a moderate estimate, we had only an increase of about 1½ per cent.; and to achieve that result we spent, during those six years, \$2,403,266. * * * In answer to a question the other day, the Minister of Agriculture stated that the population of Manitoba was now 125,000. We learn, by actual count, that the three districts of the North-West contain 48,363 souls; so that the total population in Manitoba and the three districts of the North-West, including Indians, is 173,363. Now, according to the census of 1881, the population of that country was 122,400. What is the result? In five years the population of our whole North-West and the Province of Manitoba has increased just 50,963 souls. That is the result of five years' labor; that is the result of the expenditure of nearly two millions and a half of dollars to promote immigration; that is the result of giving away tens of millions of dollars to aid the Canadian Pacific Railway;— a poor 50,963 extra souls above what were there in 1881 when the census was taken. * * * In 1880 the First Minister gave us a calculation of the settlers we might expect to go there. He gave us a table showing that there were to be 30,000 in 1881, and 5,000 additional in each year afterwards; so that by the end of 1885 there would, according to his calculation, have gone into that

country 200,000 souls. Now, those 200,000 souls—and it was a moderate estimate on his part—added to the 122,000 there, when the census was taken, would have made 322,000 souls, while we have actually only 173,363 there. The First Minister thought this estimate was under the mark, judging by the experience of the Western States, when he said that in 1885, 50,000 settlers would go into that country. How many actually went in? The Minister of Agriculture gave us the figures the other day in reply to an hon. gentleman opposite him, and they were 7,240 souls. * * *

State of Trade

We have had statements made by the hon. gentleman who preceded me, as well as by the Finance Minister, with reference to the state of trade. They have been forced to admit that it is not quite as satisfactory as it should be, but still, they say it is in a better condition than it was a few years ago. * * * We have had some increases, but the sum total of our exports shows that we were only able in 1885 to export \$3,181,500 worth, while in 1878 we exported \$4,127,755 worth. * * * The hon. gentleman who has preceded me, when he spoke before, pointed out that we were not exporting because our people were all manufacturing for the home market, but unfortunately that is not the case. The

Imports

of those very articles which we are manufacturing for the home market, have been greater in 1885 than they were in 1878, which is proof positive that the manufacturer of those goods has not the home market in 1885 to the same extent that he had in 1878. * * * The Finance Minister dwelt upon the benefit his tariff has been to the farmers. There is an industry which concerns the farmers as well as the manufacturers, to which I wish to refer. I mean the

Flour Industry,

which comes next in importance, and in

the amount of capital it employs and in its output, to the saw milling industry. We used to hear moaning and wailing because American flour was consumed by Canadians, and the Government asked that a duty should be put on the American flour in order that our people should be compelled to buy Canadian flour made out of Canadian wheat. Have we accomplished that? In 1878 we imported of American flour 314,520 barrels. Then the Government put on their tariff of 50 cents a barrel to prohibit that coming in, and, notwithstanding that in 1885 we imported 540,108 barrels of American flour, or 225,588 barrels more than in 1878. Was that to the benefit of the farmers? Did that benefit the Canadian miller? Then they were going to benefit the coal industry. Let us take, first, the importations of

Coal and Coke,

and what do we find? In 1885, we imported 1,953,948 tons; in 1878, we imported 896,446 tons, making an increased import of coal in 1885 over 1878 of 1,057,502 tons; or, in other words, we have an increased import of 118 per cent. on coal in 1885 over 1878. In 1885 we find that Maritime Provinces exported 479,706 tons, and, in 1878, they exported 340,127 tons. Thus, we had an increased export of coal in 1885 over 1878 of 139,579 tons to set off against the increased import of 1,057,502 tons. In other words, our imports increased 118 per cent., while our exports increased but 41 per cent.; and thus it is they have benefited our coal industry. Now, although this duty on flour and this duty on coal have failed to accomplish what hon. gentleman said they would, they have not failed in one respect. They had given the Government an amount of revenue, for there was paid, by way of taxes on coal, in 1885, \$1,072,161, and by way of duty on flour, in 1885, \$270,054; or a total duty on flour and coal amounting to \$1,342,215. Now, let these gentlemen, with their \$4,900,000 deficit, place the tariff as it was placed by the hon. member for South Huron (Sir

Richard Cartwright). If their flour and coal duties were wiped out, we would have, instead of a deficit of \$5,000,000 for 1886, a deficit of \$6,300,000. * * * We have

Been told time and again

by these gentlemen that things are not dearer in Canada than they are in the neighboring Republic, that they cost no more here than they do across the border. That may be true. I am not in a position to say, or rather I will not assume to say, that it is not true, but I would like to ask the Minister of Customs one question. If he takes that position, if it be true that goods are as cheap in all lines in Canada as they are in the United States, how is it that some people are so silly as to go to all the expense, and risk, fine and imprisonment, in order to smuggle goods which can be obtained just as cheaply in the country itself? Do they smuggle for the mere fun of the thing? Do they risk incarceration in the gaols of the country, and the fines and imprisonment which the Minister of Customs is so frequently imposing for that? If not, what do they do it for? Is it just for the fun of being caught? It must be just because they like it. Everything is as cheap here as over there, and the men like to have the fun of the Minister catching them. That can be the only reason! * * * Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to notice the

Concluding Remarks

of the hon. gentleman who preceded me in his brief reply to statements that had been made by the hon. member for South Huron with reference to the corruption that prevailed amongst members of Parliament and in the country. And he attempted to defend it; nay, he attempted, so far as the members were concerned, to say that no such thing existed. Well, Sir, I hope and trust it is so, and that a future meeting of the committee may wipe out that dread doubt that has entered into some people's minds that there has been traffic on the part of certain members of Parliament to a great

er extent than merely writing a letter for a friend to the Department of the Interior. But, Sir, he attempted to defend the people of the country against the charges that, he said, were levied against them by the ex-Finance Minister, that they were morally and politically blind, because they had seen fit, in 1878, to dispossess him of office and to put them back in office, and he seemed to think it was jealousy on the part of the hon. member for South Huron, and that was the reason why he condemned the people of the country as unable to understand their own best interests. He told us the people saw that. But the people saw more than that, Mr. Speaker. The people saw, in 1878, when they did dispossess that gentleman of power, they saw gentlemen claiming to be men whose words might be taken, whose promises might be relied upon, that if they were to put that gentleman and his colleagues out of position and put them in their places, they would then better the condition of every man, woman and child in this country. The people took them at their word, a portion of the people believed them, and placed them in their position. But, to-day,

Are those Gentlemen willing to rely

upon the fulfilment of their promises made to that electorate, in order to secure a return to power? Did they, in 1882, rely upon them? We know what the people of the country know, and what the people saw—that they could not trust themselves, even at that early day, upon the records they had made for themselves, and before they dared to appeal to the electorate they had to gerrymander, in the most cowardly manner, in a manner that was unworthy of men who bear the name of Britons, they had to cut and carve in the constituencies of the great Province of Ontario, in order that Liberals might not be returned, and that they themselves, afraid to stand upon their own records, might thus secure a majority for themselves. Not content with that, Sir, they stated to the people, already deceived by

them once: "Put us back again, and there are millions and tens of millions of capital waiting to be invested in manufacturing enterprises in this country." I ask them them to-day if they can point to those millions. I asked them in 1882, and three years after I ask them again where those millions are that were to be put into large iron works in this country. Where are they? * * * Sir, I come now to notice what the gentleman who preceded me, himself a Minister of the Crown, did not attempt to answer pointedly to the charge that was made by the hon. member for South Huron. I think, that it will be impossible, before this debate closes, that one of the gentlemen on the Treasury benches shall not get up and answer the charges framed specifically by the hon. member for South Huron against members of the Cabinet themselves, about which the hon. Minister did not say one word.

Sir, what were those Charges?

* * * You, Mr. Speaker, and the House will bear in mind that this is no statement made by some irresponsible person upon a hustings or a platform. It is a statement made by a gentleman who has occupied one of the highest positions in this country, as he does yet, and made in the face of the men whom he charges while he stood within twenty feet of them. These charges must be answered. The Minister of Interior cannot afford to let these charges go unanswered. The Minister of Interior ought not to have sat down, he could not afford to sit down, with these charges unanswered by him; and we had a Cabinet Minister rising and taking notice of the fact that has been charged against some members of the House, and ignoring, not saying one word of that fearful charge that is brought against members of the Cabinet. * * * Sir, if such a state of things exists, and if if such a state of things is tolerated, that men who hold the highest position in this land do not deny these charges, then there is danger ahead. We cannot have corruption in high places to that extent. Corruption if it does not exist, must be

denied by the members of the Cabinet; if they have not received money subsidies to aid railways with which they are connected and that is charged; if they have not participated indirectly in printing contracts, if they have not been recipients of testimonials subscribed for among others by contractors with whom they have had dealings, then I hold that they cannot ignore the charge. It is made by a gentleman of too high a position, it is made in the Parliament of Canada and to the face of those hon. gentlemen. They must rise in the interests of their party and deny that those charges are true. * * *

We may commit errors of Administration.

we may have extravagant management of our affairs; but we are a young country and we are a reliant people, and we can surmount evils that come upon us in that direction; but if we are to have, what has been charged upon those gentlemen and yet not denied, corruption in the very highest places in the land, then, Sir, there is a dark outlook for this country. Everything tells us that. The Great Law Giver has given to civil rulers this injunction:

"Thou shall judge the people with just judgment. Thou shall not respect persons—neither take a gift, for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise and pervert the words of the righteous."

We must have true men in high places. I speak not in a pharisaical spirit. This charge cannot be answered by, "You are another." I hear people often say, politicians are all alike. I challenge those who say it to prove the statement. I do not claim for each individual member of the party to which I have the honor to belong, that there never have been mistakes made or acts done that should not have been done; but I claim that

You cannot look over the record

of the Reform party and find such record in this respect as you do find in the record of hon. gentlemen opposite. I

want to say more, and my remarks to apply in a general way to myself as they do to every member on this side of the House as well as every member opposite. It is the duty of the people of this country, who need not care particularly for one party or the other, it is in their hands to purge out the old leaven of political immorality so that the whole lump may not be leavened by it. If we have gone out of the true path we may thus return to the path of rectitude and purity in the administration of the affairs of the country. If the hon. gentlemen opposite are tried upon their record and found guilty, depose them; if gentlemen who succeed them do not prove true to the public interest, depose them; if the gentlemen who succeed them do no better, depose them; but let the people of the country, those who truly wish to see it maintain its character as a nation see to it that

Party prejudice no longer blinds

their eyes, conscience and judgment, but let justice be meted out. There must be men in the country who, if accused, would rise and repel charges like those made against hon. gentlemen opposite. Let them be put in the position, and if they fall from their high estate, punish them. The evil is this: If there be corruption in high places it permeates

down among the masses of the people till, unfortunately, as the hon. member for South Huron said, the public conscience is deadened till it does not give the answer it should do, till it does not resist the things it should resist as promptly as it should do, and as it would do if it were not tainted by this corruption that I fear, from the fact that it has been charged and not denied, prevails in this country. Sir, we want as the rulers of this land those who will act upon the precepts I have uttered, those who will not run after rewards and look for gifts, but who will recognise that if any special class are to be looked after and their interests promoted it is not the rich and wealthy, but it is the poor as are embraced under the head of the widow and fatherless. Sir, we want men in positions who will regard the claims of labor just as readily as they will recognise the claims of capital, that the mechanic and laboring man can gain their eye and have their wishes granted as readily as capitalists and manufacturers. We want men there actuated by noble principles, so that the prayer of the petition of the poor Indian and the Metis of the far West will be as quickly heard and receive as ready a response as the demand of the speculator who may be seeking to deprive him of his land and home.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF

Mr. M. C. Cameron, M. P.,

(WEST HURON.)

ON THE

INDIAN QUESTION.

Mr. CAMERON (Huron). . . . The First Minister, in his report for the year 1885, recently submitted to Parliament, states:

"That the Indians who revolted had no reason for so doing, in so far as their treatment was concerned, is sufficiently established by the concurrent testimony of all those connected with the management of the Indians in the North-West Territories."

I say that no statement could be further from the fact, and no allegation could be more at variance with the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. . . . The officials of the Department are by no means reliable witnesses. They robbed and cheated and swindled the Indian, as I shall establish, and those who permitted the Indian of the North-West Territories to be frozen to death and starved to death, are not very reliable witnesses, are very unlikely to disclose their own misconduct and to admit their own criminality. . . . I shall establish the charges that I propose to make against this Government and the officials appointed by this Government by the reports of the few honest men that are connected with that service in the North-West, and by a mass of independent testimony that in my judgment is simply startling. The reports of the Department for the last four or five years are eloquent with statements of wrongs done to the Indian, of promises broken, of violated treaties made with the Indian, of gross injustice done to the Indian, of shameful official misconduct on the part of those appointed to administer Indian affairs in the North-West, of lying, cheating, and robbing the Indian. . . . In order to retain the confidence of the Indian, in order to educate, to

elevate, to civilise and to christianise the Indians, it was of the first consequence that men of character, honesty, thankfulness and high moral standing, should have been selected to preside over and administer Indian affairs in the North-West Territories. I regret to say that such men have not been selected.

The incapability of Officials.

Men who were unfit for positions in the public service in the older Provinces were shipped off and given charge over the Indians, men who have proved themselves to be utterly unfit for their positions, who have proved themselves to be dishonest, careless and immoral. The conduct of the officials of the North-West Territories, more than anything else, created dissatisfaction and discontent among the Indians; the misconduct and the mismanagement of the Administration in connection with the Indian affairs in the North-West Territories, as much as anything else, produced the uneasiness, dissatisfaction and discontent among the Indians, which ultimately broke out into open rebellion. . . . The *Winnipeg Times*, a Conservative paper, published in the city of Winnipeg, thus describes Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney;

"But the dross of gold is not Mr. Dewdney's gold. He is eminently a philanthropist. His delight is to advance the interests of the savage and promote the welfare of the more wretched white man under his sceptre. For example, when Long Lodge, chief of the Assiniboines, who were camping last summer near Indian Head, complained that the contractor's bacon, costing the Canadian taxpayers nineteen cents per pound, was not suitable to the Indian palate, the Indians

feeding always on buffalo meat; when Long Lodge offered to accept half a pound of steer beef, costing a York shilling a pound dead weight, in place of a pound of bacon costing nineteen cents; when Long Lodge said the bacon was "hurting his people because it was not their food," Mr. Dewdney said "the Indians should eat the bacon or die, and be d---d to them." This was not said in haste, but at his honor's leisure. He did not say it because his friend the contractor, who happened to be in a land syndicate with him, had 90,000 pounds of that bacon to dispose of, but because he wished to indoctrinate the savage with the tastes of the average white man."

Condemned by friends.

The Ottawa Sun, another paper not unfriendly to this Administration, speaking of the officials in the North-West, says:

"The country has been cursed with an unscrupulous and tyrannical officialdom, and to this cause may be traced the origin of the present trouble. Junius tells us something about public men who suddenly became rich, which may be properly applied to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney. That gentleman, when he came to Ottawa in 1872, was practically a pauper. To-day he is a wealthy man. He did not save his wealth out of his salary."

The attention of the Government has been drawn to the conduct of this man, to the actions of this man, yet up to this hour the first step has not been taken to remedy the wrong that is alleged to have been perpetrated by him. . . Mr. Jackson, a member of the North-West Council, a life-long Conservative, a man who boasts that he has been an unswerving and faithful supporter of the First Minister of this Dominion for a period of twenty-five years, in a speech delivered by him at Qu'Appelle in January last, thus speaks of Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney and the officials of the North-West Territory:

I have shown you that he (Dewdney) had neglected his duties, and prostituted his position as Indian Commissioner; that he has allowed people to starve to death. I can show you that he said at Qu'Appelle Station that the Indians of the north might give trouble, but that he felt sure the Indians of Treaty No. 4 would give no trouble to the Government. If that is the fact, and if he allowed men, women and children to go to their death without a warning, that man was accessory before the fact." (Loud cheers.)

The evidence of Christian Missionaries.

Mr. McDougall, one of the Methodist missionaries, who has devoted his life to the service of elevating, educating, civilising and christianising the Indians, thus speaks of the officials:

"Mr. McDougall points out the great difficulty of governing from Ottawa, and says that laws were enacted which could not be enforced; furthermore simply unfit men were appointed to office without any knowledge of the nature of the work expected of them, the Indians and the country and Government having to run a risk in the meanwhile of being experimented upon."

Hon. Lawrence Clarke, at one time a member of the North-West Council thus speaks of the class of men who were sent by this Government to administer Indian affairs:

"Brutal ruffians were appointed as farm instructors over the Indians, who maltreated the poor people in the most brutal manner, answering them with kicks and blows, accompanied with showers of profanity and disgusting epithets; of the farm instructors killed by the Indians two were universally known to be brutal wretches such as I have mentioned, and the priests lost their lives in attempting to save them from the pent-up wrath of the savages."

Mr. MITCHELL. Whose report is that?

Mr. CAMERON (Huron). That of the Hon. Lawrence Clarke, formerly a member of the North-West Council. He proceeds:

"Let a commissioner be appointed or a committee of Parliament, and I pledge myself to show to the people of this Dominion such a picture of the facts as will make them wonder how it is that rebellion did not break out years ago. Had not the Indians been restrained by the priests and ministers, the farm instructors and other paid politicians appointed over them would have been killed, long ago."

Archbishop Tache, in his manifesto, speaking of the Indian troubles, says:

"There were some well qualified men but important posts were assigned to men totally unqualified for the position, while other persons perfectly apt have been dismissed or left aside because ten, fifteen, or twenty years previously they were political opponents."

Mr. Jackson, in his speech at Qu'Appelle, from which I have just quoted, said :

"A white man never believes in him (Dewdney). The Indian thinks of him as a man who does not tell the truth to-day, but might to-morrow ; but that to-morrow never comes. (Laughter.)"

The *Winnipeg Times*, speaking of Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, said :

"For the first time in the history of the British nation the representative of the Queen is known to the savage as a liar."

Driven to Insurrection.

I say it is a marvel to me, not that the Indians took up arms against the sovereign power of this country, but the marvel to me is that long years ago the Indians did not protest in the only way known to them against the misconduct, maladministration, incapacity and culpable neglect of this Administration. . . . An organ of the Government, three years ago, called public attention to the fact that one of the agents of this Administration was living on a reserve, beneath the shadow of the Methodist mission, in open adultery with two young squaws. The Government were aware of it, but the Government never moved, never enquired, never investigated, and up to this hour, this unworthy representative of Ottawa officialdom administers Indian affairs in that particular locality . . . A young Englishman was provided for in the Indian service of the North-West Territories, and he has been living there for three or four years revelling in the sensual enjoyments of a western harem, plentifully supplied with select cullings from the western prairie flowers. We send missionaries of the Cross to the North-West to educate and elevate, to civilise and christianise the Indians. . . .

The debasing influence of the officials.

We send missionaries, official missionaries, to the North-West Territories to humiliate, to lower, to degrade

and debase the virgin daughters of the wards of the nation, and yet we find people expressing their surprise and astonishment that the Indians do not take kindly to the ways of modern civilisation, and that after the munificent donations which Parliament votes every year to feed, clothe and keep in comfort the wild Indians of the plains, they are still dissatisfied, still discontented, still rebellious. . . . If you refer to one of the reports of one of the Departments brought down last year, you will find that 45 per cent of one class of officials in the North-West were under medical treatment for a peculiar kind of disease in one year. . . . The *Mail* newspaper, of the 30th of January, 1886, publishes an interview with one of the missionaries employed by one of the leading churches of the Dominion. That missionary said :

"But what we want in our reserves are married men as employees, and a few hundred dollars expended in putting up houses for them would pay in the end. And, let me say, get Christian men ; thank God there are such to be found ; and don't employ a man because some influential man down east wants to get a situation for him. Again, put a stop to white men living with Indian women unless they are lawfully married to them. Where are the young girls of 13 to 16 that have been partly taught in our schools ; and others before them ? Sold to white men for from \$10 to \$20. Where are their children ? Running about the reserves wearing rags ! Where are the women themselves ? They are prostitutes hanging around the towns. Stop the sale of Indian girls to white men and another great step is taken."

Further Evidence of Corruption

The *Mail* newspaper of the 2nd of February, 1886, publishes an interview with Mr. James Grier, to whom I have already alluded, in which the following occurs :—

"Then the conversation drifted back to the Indians, and I asked him if he knew of any frauds that had been committed on them. He answered : ' I know any amount of corruption exists in the Indian Department, and I know that many of the officials have one squaw or two. This is a matter of public notoriety.'"

I ask you, after having heard this evidence, whether I am not apply justified in the charge I have made against this Government, that they appointed to positions of public trust in the North-West Territories, from among their army of carpet-baggers and camp followers some of the most unfit men that ever occupied public positions. . . The confidence which the Indian usually has in the Sovereign of this Dominion has been shaken. He can no longer rely on the faith of the Crown, and the result has been a rebellion in the North-West Territories, in which the Indians took no unimportant part, and the result is that to-day, I solemnly believe, from the testimony that comes from the North-West, that this Dominion is standing on the brink of a volcano, which may burst forth at any moment. But in order that the matter may be put beyond peradventure, I propose to establish it out of the blue-books submitted to this Parliament during the last four or five years. . . .

Evidence from the Agents reports.

I say that the reports of the Department establish most clearly that broken promises and violated treaties have characterised the dealings of the Government with the Indians for a long number of years. Mr. McDonald an Indian agent publishes a letter from Poundmaker, in which Poundmaker uses the following language :—

“ It is Poundmaker who takes the liberty of sending you a few lines. We entreat Your Honor to send him the grist mill with horse-power you kindly presented him at Cypress. We expected it last summer, but in vain.”

Poundmaker says further :

“ Let me have the 22 oxen you promised for my band.”

G. McPherson, Indian agent, says :

“ The clothing for the chiefs and councillors was good, except the trousers and shirts which were inferior and worn out in three or four days.”

J. W. Herchmer, Indian, speaking of the Ssateaux band under South Quill, says :

“ Hunting having failed in their neighborhood, the band have been obliged to sell most of their horses to buy supplies, and are now miserably poor.”

Miserably poor ! With the munificent donation voted by Parliament, and expended last year, of some \$1,109,000. Miserably poor ! And why ? Because this Government negligently and carelessly permit their contractors to supply these Indians with an article of wearing apparel that lasts the Indians only three days. . . .

An inspector reports :

“ The potatoes and barley received last spring were half rotten.”

The same inspector again says :

“ That the councillor complains that the quality of the hats, trousers and shoes received by him were inferior.”

Mr. Herchmer, speaking of the Sioux bands, says :

“ A great deal of sickness has visited them lately caused by the want of fresh meat.”

W. Pocklington, speaking of the Stoney Indians, says :

“ During last winter there was a great deal of distress among them for want of clothing, many of them not having a blanket to cover their nakedness.”

We promised, and were under obligations to supply the Indians, just fresh from the plains, from which the buffalo had disappeared, with fresh beef. But instead of fresh beef, we supplied them with salt pork, though we could get fresh beef at from 8 to 15 cents per lb., and had to pay for the pork, some of which was rusted at that, from 20 to 25 cents per lb.

Disease and Death dealt out by the pound.

Mr. Herchmer, says :

“ A great deal of sickness has visited them lately caused by the want of fresh meat.” The Indians, under treaty 4, received in 1884-5, \$15,290.92 worth of pork, and \$1,288.45 worth of beef, although it is known that beef is life to the Indian, while salt pork is disease and death to him.”

This bountiful, humane and attentive Government, whose duty it was to look after the interest of the Indians, supplied them with twelve pounds of disease and death to one pound of life. . . . Agent Herchner, in his report dated 24th July, 1885, speaking of the types of disease among the Indians, says :

"To these might be added I think the sudden change from fresh meat on the prairies to flour and bacon in comparative confinement,"

And again at page 61, he says :

"At Oak River, eleven men have died out of 88 heads of families, and seventeen children under three years old. This is very distressing and is hard to account for—the change of diet, owing to the failure of hunting, and scrofula, being probably the cause."

It is very distressing, the agent pathetically says, while all the time these very agents were doing what they knew they ought not to have done ; namely, supplying these men with salt pork at 20 to 25 cents per pound when they could have got fresh beef at from 8½ to 15 cents per pound. . . .

Distress and misery everywhere.

We have allowed them to be robbed, swindled and cheated out of what they were entitled to, by the agents and the middlemen, that we gave them little or no clothing, and; to cap the climax of our criminality, we have allowed them to be frozen and starved to death. Mr. McDonald, Indian agent, published a letter from Poundmaker, dated 10th November, 1882, in which the old chief says :

"There is to-day great distress in my band. Their rations are suspended now for 41 days, and, of course, everybody is busy roving about and hunting. It is impossible to work on an empty stomach."

Commissioner McLeod, in his report for 1879, says :

"I have experienced great difficulty (with the distress and suffering) applications for relief being constantly made to me by the starving bands of Indians."

Again the Commissioner says :

"A Stoney Indian and his family had been without food for many days."

Superintendent Walsh, in his report for 1880, says :

"Hunger and suffering prevailed. In some places persons became so reduced as to be unable to help themselves. The want of food followed by disease caused an epidemic, which marked its results by the many graves now to be seen in Wood Mountain."

Monuments of violated promises.

The breach of faith, the violated promises, the broken pledges, the fraud and misconduct of the officials, the robbing and cheating all around, the negligence and incompetency of this administration, are all marked by the graves of the Indians on the side of Wood Mountain. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West Territories luxuriated in his comfortable quarters in Regina, and the Indians whom we are bound to protect might starve to death and freeze to death as far as he was concerned. . . .

Mr. Jackson, in his speech to which I have already referred, said :

"Now, I charge that at Indian Head, in the winter of 1883, several of the Indians died of starvation. When I stated that fact, I knew it to be a fact. The Lieutenant-Governor in his reply to me, brings a lot of documents, and the report of Dr. Edwards says that five men starved to death. Mr. Lewdney said there was as much provisions at Indian Head. I know they were there ; but his flat had gone forth not to feed them so much, that Pi-a-pot was a bad piece of muslin, and that they must cut down the rations. And now, instead of five dying, it is a matter of my own knowledge, a matter I can prove on oath, that instead of five dying there, 10 per cent. of all the Indians on the Indian Head reserve died through starvation in six months (that is 20 per cent. per annum),

This policy of starvation was adopted by the Agent General of Indian Affairs six years ago. It is a cruel and atrocious policy, it is a policy that ought not to prevail in any civilised country. . . .

Mr. Pocklington, in his report, says :

"In January, while visiting the Piegan Reserve, I received a letter from Lieut.-Col. McLeod that 75 Stonies were in Pincher Creek in a starving condition. I started for their camp at once, and found them in reality

starving, except for assistance given them by Col. McLeod and other residents."

The Government directly to blame.

The Indians of the North-West Territories have been subjected to the greatest possible suffering, the Government have permitted them to freeze to death and starve to death, and that in the midst of plenty, and with the bountiful donations of this Parliament for feeding and clothing the Indians. Dr. Edwards, an employee of this Government, reported to Commissioner Dewdney, and so scandalous and outrageous was the nature of that report, that Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney suppressed the original report, and it has not seen the light of day to this hour. This scandalous state of affairs was well known to this Administration. I hold in my hands part of a speech made by Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney to the North-West Council during its last Session, as reported in the Regina *Leader* of the 10th December, 1884, in which he says:

"Shortly after they had taken up their residences on the reserve, hearing that there was a great deal of sickness in their band, we instructed Doctor Edwards, who was then in our employ, to make an inspection of Pi-a-pot's people. In his report which I now have before me he states in these words, 'some of these Indians have died of starvation this winter. They were ill and could not eat the bacon and flour.'"

I ask you, Mr. Speaker, I ask this House of Commons, I ask the people of this country, if it is not a scandalous outrage that, right under the shadow of the vice-regal establishment at Regina, at Indian Head, on the borders of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Indians should have been allowed to starve to death during last winter, and that in the midst of plenty, with the enormous sums voted by this Parliament for the purpose of feeding and clothing the Indians. . . .

An investigation demanded.

I challenge this Administration now to issue a commission to investigate the

matter, to appoint a commission of sensible and honest men to investigate this whole question, and I believe that every statement I have made upon this subject is capable of the clearest possible proof. I say a Government which has so neglected the first duties of a Government towards its wards deserves condemnation, deserves the severest condemnation at the hands of the people of this country. That is not all. I say further, that the Indians, as I have shown, have been robbed, defrauded and swindled, frozen to death and starved to death, and yet we expect them to be peaceful, submissive, faithful and loyal subjects of the Queen. And that in the face of the statement of the Agent-General for Indian Affairs made in 1880 and re-affirmed in 1885 that the policy of this Administration was a policy of submission by a policy of starvation; and that in the face of the report of Agent Herchmer sent to the Department that a little starvation would do the Indians good; and that in the face of the declaration of Governor Dewdney that if they did not eat salt pork they might die and be damned to them. With this cruel and brutal treatment of the Indians, with this cruel and brutal report of agent Herchmer, and with the admission of Lieut.-Governor Dewdney, need anyone wonder that the Indians are dissatisfied and discontented. . . .

Waste of Indian Funds.

Now, according to the Indian report for 1886, the Indian population of the North-West Territories resident on the reserves, numbered 12,102, and they had under cultivation 4,614 acres, and to half cultivate this land the Government charge the Indian account in three years with \$87,444 worth of agricultural implements and tools. . . Is it not the fact—I charge that it is the fact, and I challenge them to a scrutiny. I challenge them to appoint a commission or a committee of this House to enquire into the matter—is it not a fact that in one of the bands numbering 1,150 families they are charged in one year with 1,160 hoes, and

the very next year this same band are charged with 63 ploughs, 63 harrows, 140 scythes, and 140 hay forks; and the following year this same band are charged with 1,014 additional hoes? Is it not the fact—I charge that it is the fact—that one band received in one year 50 ploughs, 320 scythes, 320 hay forks, and the very next year this same band is charged with \$2,209 worth of ploughs, besides more scythes and hay forks, and \$5,490 of implements under contract? Will any man tell me that these articles ever reached the Indians? . . . The Indian was robbed and the country was robbed, and the only men who profited by it were the agents and the middlemen. . . I ask you, Sir, and I ask this House, when the Parliament of this country liberally donated \$1,109,000 to feed, clothe and support the Indians, why we should pay the sum of \$3,630 as commission to I.G. Baker and others for advances made by them? . . .

Extravagance of Officials.

In the account for 1883, the enormous sum of \$26,312 is charged to the Indian account for the travelling expenses of the agents appointed by this Government over the Indians in the North-West Territories. And recollect, we supply these men with horses, buckboards, sleighs, and camping outfits and everything required for travelling, and yet there is this enormous sum of \$26,312 charged in one year for travelling expenses. I tell you, Sir, and I say it without fear of successful contradiction, that every agent in the service, from the Lieutenant-Governor down to the humblest farm instructor, can travel in the North-West Territories from the 1st January to the 31st December, all the year round, and not spend \$26,000. It is the cheapest country in the world to travel in. All you require is a few Indian ponies and a buckboard, and in the case of these agents these things are supplied. Last year the expenditure on Indian account was \$1,109,604. Mr. Dewdney, in his report, says it cost \$454,000 to

feed and clothe the Indians. Will the hon. Minister explain to the House and the country what became of the other \$645,000? The Indian account is charged with sums paid to Indians who were not in the band; it is charged with sums paid to Indians who never were in the band; it is charged with sums paid to Indians after they were dead and before they were born, as the following statement made by Mr. McColl in his report shows:

“One of the councillors having two wives is represented on the May sheet as receiving annuity in 1881, for a family of 11 including 2 infant children, whereas at the date of payment, only one of these children was born.”

How Oxen are paid for.

Take the Indians under Treaty No. 4. They are charged with seventy-one yoke of oxen in three years. The Indians under Treaty No. 6 are charged, in 1883, with 45 yoke of oxen; in 1884, forty-two; and in 1885, forty-two, or 130 yoke of oxen in three years. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask you to tell me why the Indian account should be charged in three years with 130 yoke of oxen under this treaty, although this band of Indians had not, so far as I am able to judge, a thousand acres under cultivation? It is nothing less than a wilful waste of money. These 130 yoke of oxen cost the people of Canada \$26,470; and many of the oxen were aged, crippled and unfit for work of any kind when delivered, so that in a year or so many of them died from old age, and such of them as did not die had to be sold or killed, as they were unfit for work.

Dewdney's Pickings.

The Indian account was charged a year or two ago with still more curious items. Among them are a table cloth and a napkin for His Grace the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West, washing blankets, cotton, painting, varnishing and cleaning Government house carriage, kitchen utensils. Now, we pay Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney

as Lieutenant-Governor, \$4,000 a year; we pay him further as commissioner, \$3,200 a year; and we pay him yearly for travelling expenses nearly \$2,000; we supply him with other contingencies required for travelling, such as horses, sleighs, buckboards, &c., and surely he ought to wash his own blankets and varnish his own carriage, instead of charging these things to the Indian account. In 1882 the Indian account is charged for a horse for the commissioner, \$160; repairs to harness, \$18.25; sundry articles, of which the items are not given, \$146.45; sundries again, \$57.50; two other horses, \$275; two other horses for the commissioner's interpreter, \$165; two horses again for commissioner, \$340; two horses for Mr. Wadsworth, \$110. So that Mr. Dewdney, in that year, got from the Indian Department five horses for his own use that cost \$775, every one of which was charged to the Indian account. Why, in the name of common sense, should Commissioner Dewdney get out of the Indian fund five horses in one year, costing the people no less a sum than \$775.

Exorbitant Prices.

In the following year, I find charged to that account, one set of harness for the commissioner, \$35; another horse for the commissioner, \$150; washing the towels of the commissioner, \$6; 2 waggons and harness for the two inspectors, \$528. I would like to know what kind of waggons were those two that cost \$528? In that year again, there is charged to Indian account, one buckboard, \$117; one waggon and harness, \$100; and another buckboard, \$115. In 1885, another buckboard is charged to Indian account at \$125. In the report for 1886, the same account is charged with one mare for commissioner, \$125; one pair of horses for Mr. McRae, \$265; one buckboard for Mr. McRae, \$90; one horse for Mr. McRae, \$166; one sleigh for commissioner, \$40. Why, every single thing is charged to the Indian account; yet Mr. Dewdney draws nearly \$2,000 a year for travelling expenses. In the same

year, we paid \$1,492 to Baker & Co., and others, for advances made, and this same year \$20,150 was charged to Indian account for travelling expenses. Among some of the items not open to discussion are the following:—P. G. Williams, paid for travelling expenses from Piegan Reserve to Crooked Lake, \$183; J. A. Hargrave, \$125 for one desk for Winnipeg office. Can you imagine, Sir, the kind of desk that would cost \$125 for an Indian office? My knowledge is too limited to enable me to grasp that great subject. Mr. Wadsworth was allowed \$100 for a buckboard—\$40 is the average price. I now come to a couple of other items, which will be found interesting.

Garden Seed instead of Food.

Three thousand nine hundred and forty-eight dollars is charged as spent on potatoes for one band of Indians, the Indians under Treaty No. 4. The Indians under Treaty No. 6, are charged with \$478.87 for garden seeds in 1883; in 1884 the same Indians are charged with \$742.89 for garden seeds; and in 1885, the same Indians are charged again with \$810.78 for garden seeds, so that, in the three years I have given, these Indians were charged with \$2,027 worth of garden seeds. I mean to say that the Indians never got these seeds to this extent, or if they did it was a scandalous waste of the public, or rather Indian, money. I mean to say, Sir, that \$2,000 worth of garden seeds would seed every garden in the whole North-West, from the western boundary of Manitoba to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and then leave enough to seed part of the Province of Ontario.

I have shown you that we have dealt harshly and cruelly with the Indians, that we have broken our solemn promises, that we have violated every line of every treaty that we made with the Indians, that we have permitted our agents and middlemen to rob and steal from the Indians, that our agents have allowed those Indians to be frozen to death and starved to death, and that in the midst of plenty.

Sensible men, reasonable men foresaw long ago what would be the inevitable result of the foolish and mad policy pursued by this Administration towards the Indians, the policy of submission by a policy of starvation. . . The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, in his report for 1886, says :

"The Indians who rebelled do not plead grievances in extenuation of their having done so."

Mismanagements lead to rebellion.

I know that the supporters of the Government, in Parliament and out of Parliament, and the press supporting hon. gentleman opposite, and all those who clamored for the blood of Louis Riel, in order if possible to increase his criminality, have declared that, had it not been for him, the Indians of the North-West would not have taken up arms. That is true in a sense and it is not true. It is true that the action of Louis Riel was the spark which fired the train, but I say the combustible material was there all the same. It slumbered for seven years, but it only slumbered. It is not true that the action of Louis Riel was the only or the main cause of the Indians joining their kindred, the half-breeds, in the recent insurrection in the North-West Territory. The Indian, on the whole, is a quiet, peaceable, law-abiding, loyal subject of her Majesty the Queen, and it required a good deal more than the mad freaks of a lunatic to induce the Indians to take up arms against the sovereign power of this Dominion. I say that every man not blinded by party prejudice, every man whose eyes are open, or who is willing to have his eyes opened and his ears unstopped, must see that the policy, the avowed policy of the Administration and of their officials in the North-West had a great deal to do, had everything to do, with the outbreak of the Indians, and that that policy would sooner or later eventuate in an armed insurrection. The way to maintain the loyalty of the Indian is not by violating

solemn engagements, not by breaking every treaty entered into with the Indian, not by unfulfilled promises made by the Government, not by cheating, robbing and swindling the Indians, not by cruel and harsh treatment, not by death from cold and starvation; and of all these things I charge that this Government through their agents have been guilty.

Police bullets preferable to starvation.

Mr. Jackson, in the speech from which we have already quoted, says :

"I heard some of the men say, who took up arms against the police to protect themselves (it was said before some responsible citizens of Fort Qu'Appelle): 'We had to do it or starve to death, and we preferred to die by the police bullets rather than die by starvation.'"

Instead of dealing fairly and honestly by the Indians, as we ought to have done, in ad of maintaining unbroken our treaty obligations with the Indians, we pursued, and we still pursue that mad and reckless and inhuman policy of submission by starvation. . . The Minister of Justice told us not long ago, in his speech in Parliament, that :

"The man who undertakes in the North-west to incite the Indians to rise and commit war and depredations on the settlers takes his life in his hand, and if he appeals to me for mercy, he will get justice."

That sentiment was vociferously cheered by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. I agree with that sentiment. It commends itself to my judgment; but I tell the Minister of Justice that if he is disposed to mete out merited justice to those who, by their misconduct, by their maladministration, by their incompetency and by their criminal neglect, provoked the Indian uprising, the hon. gentleman will sit alone upon the Treasury benches. There is nothing that hon. gentlemen so much fear as justice, that justice they will receive at the hands of the people of this country, if not at the hands of this Parliament.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY

M. R. McMULLEN, M. P.,

(NORTH WELLINGTON)

ON THE ABUSES OF THE

SUPERANNUATION SYSTEM.

APRIL 28th, 1886.

Mr. McMULLEN. The Superannuation Act introduced by Sir Francis Hincks, in 1870, provided for a deduction of 4 per cent. from all those Civil servants who received a salary over \$600, and 2½ per cent. from those who received less than \$600. The Act was amended by Sir Leonard Tilley, when Finance Minister, reducing the sum deducted from the salary of Civil servants over \$600 from 4 per cent. to 2 per cent., and from below that from 2½ per cent. to 1½ per cent., so that the amount received from the Civil Service has been reduced one-half; while, on the other hand, owing to the abuses of the Act, the number placed on the list has been largely increased. The number superannuated in the year 1885 was 49. The number on the list of superannuated officers on the 30th of June, 1884, was 438, and the number on the list on the 30th of June, 1885, was 446. The average annual amount paid to those on the retired list in 1884, was \$470, and the average annual amount paid to those on the retired list in 1885, was \$433. The amount paid in during the year 1883-4, by those on the list of Civil Service officers, was \$51,882. 21. The entire Civil Service, during the year 1884, paid in a sum sufficient to pay the 438 on the retired list \$120 each, and the Dominion paid them \$350 each. The entire sum paid out during the year 1884, was \$192,692. 70, of which the Civil Service paid \$51,882.21, and the net loss to the country, under the operation of the Act in that year, was \$140,810.49. The number on the superannuated list on

the 1st of January, 1886, according to a return presented to the House, was 423. Twelve were granted annuities, which in all amounted to \$4,792.47, or an average of \$399.37 each. The sum paid in by the Civil Service during the year 1884-85, was \$52,701.38, and the sum paid out was \$203,636.21, so that the

Net loss to the country

under the operation of the Act during the year 1884-85, was \$150,934.88. The average amount drawn by each person on the superannuated list during the last year was \$469. The Civil Service paid in during the year a sum sufficient to pay those on the retired list \$121 each, and the country paid them \$348. The net loss to the country under the operation of the Act for 1884-85, was \$10,124.39 more than for the year 1883-84. The system of granting a gratuity to those who are retired under the Act before serving ten years has been abused, as well as the system of granting annuities. In most cases the sum paid as gratuities is greatly in excess of the amount the parties have paid into the fund. For instance, R. A. Adair served four and one quarter years, paid into the fund \$25.50, and got a gratuity on retiring of \$170. B. Biggs served two and three-quarter years, paid in \$17.19, and drew \$114.58. W. Villeneuve served two and one-sixth years, paid in \$6.18, and drew \$50. S. Simard served six and one-half years, paid in \$41.60, and drew out \$276.25. D. R. Bruce served nine and one-half years, paid in \$66.97, and drew out as gratuity \$446.50.

F. Revely served six years, paid in \$216, and got a gratuity of \$900. J. W. Ryan served eight and seven-twelfths years, paid in \$75.10, and drew out \$500.70. D. S. Lowry served three years, paid in \$15, and when he retired got \$100. Let us see what

The Result to the Country

of the operation of the Act during the year 1885 has been. There were forty-nine retired, forty-one by annuities, and eight by gratuities. The salaries paid to those forty-nine amounted to \$42,384.09; salaries paid to the twenty-five new appointees amount to \$15,768.75. The places yet vacant the Government intend undoubtedly to fill, because the returns laid before Parliament always, if an office is abolished, state so. Consequently, when not abolished, no doubt it is the intention of the Government to fill the office. They have therefore twenty-four offices to fill, the cost of which will be \$16,195; but, allowing that they have made a reduction in the matter of salaries for those twenty-four offices when they will be filled, proportionate with the reduction in the case of the twenty-five officials who have been appointed, and which was 25 per cent. less than those who occupied the offices before—deducting from the \$16,195 25 per cent., or \$4,048.75, those yet to be appointed will draw \$12,146.75, making in all \$27,910. The yearly allowance to those placed on the superannuation list last year is \$18,362.62, the gratuities to those retired by gratuity is \$2,568.03 which makes in all \$48,838.65. The net loss to the country for those superannuated last year are \$6,454.56.

How extra pay is given.

We find, on looking over the returns, that in 1884 there were 140 clerks, in or around Ottawa, receiving an average salary of \$1,349.66. The amount paid to those clerks for extra work during the year—work, done after hours, owing to the increased duties devolving upon them, possibly through the fact that some were superannuated—amounted to \$57,792,

or \$412.80 each. This makes the salary of each \$1,762.42, averaging \$6 a day; and their salaries at the end of ten years, with the statutory increase of \$50 per annum, would be \$1,850 each, exclusive of payments for extra work. In superannuating those clerks, counting that they are now ten years in the service, they will be entitled to an annuity of \$750. Coming down to the present year, we find there have been eighty-one clerks in the Departments who have drawn \$59,233.85 for extra service, or \$731 each, and their ordinary salaries amounted to \$1,698.83 each; so that they got \$137,605.61 of salary altogether. This makes the amount drawn during the last year for salary and extra services by those eighty-one clerks, \$2,429.83 each. The total sum paid into the superannuation fund during the time they were in service, by those who were superannuated in 1884, was \$10,048.86, or \$240 each; just about enough to pay one-half a year's allowance. The total number in the service eligible to be superannuated in 1884, and in a position to claim superannuation, was 1,753, and the total number now eligible to superannuation is about 2,000.

The System of Adding Years

to the time of service of those who have been in the service has been followed persistently by the present Government. It is a most pernicious system. In 1884, Mr. Russell, Surveyor-General, was superannuated, after serving fifteen years. They added ten years to his time, and he is now drawing \$1,550 a year, though in all the time he was in office he only paid into the fund \$632.33, or not enough to pay one-half year's allowance. Mr. Russell, chief clerk, served twenty years, and had a salary of \$2,250; ten years was added to the time when he was superannuated in 1884, and his retiring allowance is \$1,671.24, though he paid in nothing to the fund. Mr. J. B. Spencer, who filled the position of Collector of Customs, Winnipeg, was superannuated in 1882. His salary was \$2,600, and he had paid into the fund in all \$388.48,

and he now draws an annuity of \$1,663.92. He is now engaged in another business, while drawing

This handsome allowance

from the resources of the Dominion. Mr. N. N. Ross was in the Customs Department getting a salary of \$1,600; he was superannuated in 1884. He is now drawing an allowance of \$1,120; his successor gets \$1,400; so that this office now costs the country \$2,520, while before the superannuation of the man who occupied the position it only cost \$1,600, so that the increase in that one case is \$920 a year so long as the man lives. N. W. McLean, clerk of Private Bills, was superannuated last year. His salary was \$1,400. He has a retiring allowance of \$616; the new appointee gets the same salary of \$1,400; so that this office now costs the country \$2,016. We have one man stepping around doing nothing, living comfortably and easy, while another man does the work. Then there was also Mr. Witcher, the Deputy Minister of Fisheries; he was superannuated with an allowance of \$1,008. It is not supposed that he was superannuated because he was inefficient or incapable to do the work; another gentleman in the office who was anxious to fill the position got the office. Mr. Witcher is now receiving his annual allowance of \$1,008, and the other man is drawing a salary of \$3,200, so that the Deputy Minister of Fisheries is costing the country \$4,208 a year. Another case is that of Mr. MacMicken, Assistant Receiver-General at Winnipeg. He was superannuated and gets \$1,579.80 as his superannuation allowance. That gentleman ran for a constituency in Manitoba and was elected. He was also appointed Speaker of the Manitoba Legislature. He drew his retiring allowance of \$1,579.80 from the Dominion Government, he drew his sessional allowance as a member in the Province of Manitoba, and he got his allowance as Speaker, so that he was

Well remunerated

for his services. Under the Mackenzie Government, in 1873-74, the receipts for superannuation were \$31,620.18, and the expenditure was \$64,442.84. In 1878-79, the year they left office, the receipts were \$41,856, and the expenditure \$106,588. So that the increase in five years, under the Mackenzie Government was \$42,135.16, or an average annual increase of \$8,429.03. Now, take the case of the present Government. When they came into power, the receipts were \$41,856, and the expenditure was \$106,588. In 1883-84, at the end of the first five years of their term of office, the receipts were \$51,882.21, and the expenditure was \$192,692.70, an increase in five years of \$86,104.70, or an average increase of \$17,220.94. The present Government increased the annual expenditure in the first five years of their term \$43,969.54 more than the previous Government did in the same time; so that at the end of their first five years of office a permanent increased annual charge had been created of \$45,969.54 more than would have been had the Mackenzie Government remained in power. Now, to give an idea of the operations of the Act, take the case of the Clerk of the House. The Clerk's salary is \$3,400. We have a superannuated clerk drawing an allowance of \$2,379.96. Then for the position of clerk in the House we are paying \$5,779.96. We have a deputy-clerk whose salary is \$2,400. We have a superannuated deputy—yes, two of them—one drawing an allowance of \$1,543.92, and another drawing \$400, so that these three deputies, one doing the work and two stepping around doing nothing, are costing the country \$4,343.92. Then for the Clerk and deputy-clerk of this House, under the operations of

This Pernicious System,

the country is now paying \$10,123.88 a year, and every one of those gentlemen were superannuated by the present Government. Mr. Ross, Middlesex, moved, in 1882, to provide for the abolition of

the present system, and the substitution of a plan whereby a percentage of the salary of each Civil servant should be retained and placed to his credit; and be payable to him, with interest, on his quitting the service, or his family in case of his death in the service. Every member on the Reform side of the House voted for that measure, and everyone on the Government side of the House voted against it.

There is no class of people in the Dominion who are better paid for the services they perform than the Civil servants, and the Act has been grossly abused. The Government have taken advantage of a clause in the Act, whereby they found it convenient to superannuate a number of civil servants, who were capable of performing the duties, because there were a number of others who were anxious to get the positions, and as they could not very well put two in the same place, those who held the positions were superannuated and others were put in their places. Out of 423 superannuated on the 1st January, 1886, 342 were superannuated by the Macdonald Government, and only 81 by the Mackenzie Government. The Macdonald Government, During the first five years of their term of office, from 1878 to 1883, superannuated 351.

The Macdonald Government have superannuated since they came into office 453, of which we have on the list on the first of January 351. The Reform Government superannuated 256, and on the first January, 1886 there were only 81 of those alive, which shows conclusively that in the case of those superannuated by the Reform Government the cause was ill health or old age, while in the other case it was evidently to make room for political friends. We are now paying, under that Act, 433 men a sum of over \$203,000. They are going about doing nothing, and we are paying other men salaries for doing the work. At the return, moved brought down this session, showing the number of Civil servants on the superannuation list on the first of January, 1886. It gives the names in full, the

dates they were superannuated, the amounts they have drawn. Here are a few names:

	Superannuated.	Entire amount paid in whole in the Service.	Amount drawn up to January 1st, 1886.
Agnew, N.....	Oct. 1, 1878..	\$ 141 87	\$ 4,263 00
Asho, E. D.....	May 1, 1883..	458 00	2,613 32
Bell, R.....	Sept 1, 1878..	343 23	4,215 75
Bonott, W.....	July 1, 1879..	239 14	3,-22 00
Birch, C. J, age 55.....	July 1, 1872..	112 00	10,207 26
Bramley, J. C.....	Nov 1, 1878..	451 99	8,034 69
Bernard, H, age 51.....	Sept 1, 1876..	505 00	18,704 37
Briscoe, C, age 57.....	May 1, 1871..	69 33	10,972 92
Brunel, A.....	Jan. 1, 1883..	1 050 85	7,200 00
Cary, A, age 64.....	Oct 1, 1875..	255 99	6,405 84
Cooper, P.....	Jan 1, 1883..	22 89	3,257 34
Dickson, G. P.....	Dec 1, 1880..	535 88	6,039 00
Flife, W. G, age 59.....	Dec 1, 1872..	211 97	10,773 00
Flanigan, Jno.....	Sept 1, 1881..	357 85	4,506 66
Fulvoys, Geo.....	Jan 11, 1875..	420 00	24,579 41
Hewett, Thos.....	Apr 1, 1872..	112 00	10,373 44
Hood, H. A.....	Aug 1, 1883..	349 29	1,488 65
Howard, C, age 63.....	May 1, 1876..	166 84	8,048 64
Kelly, E. C.....	July 1, 1871..	56 98	6,393 96
Kimber, R, age 59.....	May 1, 1875..	275 71	11,187 20

M. Kimber performed the duties of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod for a number of years. It appears that the air of Ottawa did not agree very well with his health. And he is now in Paris. He draws the money from Canada and spends it over there. Then I find:—

Kingston, G. J.....	Feb 1, 1880..	\$140 00	\$10,990 80
Langton, John.....	Aug 1, 1878..	847 00	2,146 98
Loelle, Joseph.....	Feb 13, 1879..	584 36	16,868 30
Lindsay, P.....	Jan 1, 1878..	216 00	7,833 60
Maingay, W. A.....	Nov 1, 1874..	113 00	4,308 33
McEedith, E. A.....	do 1, 1878..	639 25	18,060 00
McKay, H. B.....	Dec 15, 1881..	223 71	8,887 23
McMicken, G.....	Feb 1, 1878..	261 13	12,506 75
Passaw, J. M.....	May 19, 1879..	99 33	10,133 33
Patrick, A.....	Dec 1, 1880..	Nil.	12,098 33
Prieur, F. H.....	July 1, 1875..	240 00	9,975 00
Ramsey, G. W.....	do 15, 1873..	83 56	4,446 18
Ross, J. W.....	Nov 1, 1877..	294 90	8,318 24
Tasse, F. L.....	do 15, 1875..	126 35	10,013 13

The whole amount drawn amounts to \$1,059,093.65, or an average of \$2,503.76 for 423 servants, towards which each had paid in on the average only \$163.14, or not sufficient to pay a half-year's allowance on the amount drawn. This is a very serious matter deserving the attention of the electors of the Dominion.

The which been u that w Hall h for du non b one-ha gencies for the 17 year four-fiv pended for rep \$512,0 before light, \$ Genera ling ex staff, \$ 000, m an aver \$60,000 year in cure an more th be int 1879, s ditions, Rideau garden light, 744.92 Govern In 1886 addition 799.78 ten and light; 61,508 65.80

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY

Wm. McCraney, M. P.,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, UPON

RIDEAU HALL EXPENDITURE.

Rideau Hall.

The Rideau Hall expenditure for which many items cannot be found has been used to cover up many transactions that will not stand inspection. Rideau Hall has been a happy hunting ground for dudes, dandies and a large retinue of non bread-winners. Not more than one-half of the money charged to contingencies, fuel, light, etc., was ever used for the benefit of Rideau Hall during the 17 years of Confederation. Up to eighty-four-five, the sum of \$236,785.85 was expended for construction and purchase; for repairs, furniture, garden and grounds, \$512,041.96; for rent of Rideau Hall before purchased, \$8,000; for fuel and light, \$95,000; for salary of Governor-General and staff, \$1,125,340; for travelling expenses of Governor-General and staff, \$140,000; for contingencies, \$238,000, making a total of \$2,355,107, or an average of \$140,000 per annum. Fully \$60,000 is wasted or plundered every year in this way. Rideau Hall, furniture and grounds to-day would not bring more than \$75,000. A few items might be interesting to the tax-payers. In 1879, \$38,678.69 was expended for additions, repairs and maintenance of Rideau Hall; \$11,494.95 for furniture; garden and grounds, \$4,076.62; fuel and light, \$7,723.06; contingencies, \$18,744.92; traveling expenses, \$3,949.98; Governor-General and officials, \$59,504.43. In 1880, \$48,525.57 was expended for additions, repairs and maintenance; \$12,799.78 for furniture; \$4,612.41 for garden and grounds; \$9,014.44 for fuel and light; Governor-General and officials, \$61,508.27; for contingencies, \$14,265.80; travelling expenses can't be

found, but not less than \$10,000. In 1881, \$11,076 was expended for additions and repairs; \$508.20 for furniture; \$4,027.99, for garden and grounds; \$9,312.10 for fuel and light; Governor-General and officials, \$61,541.63; for contingencies, \$14,124.60; travelling expenses can't be found, but will be not less than \$10,000. In 1882, \$17,742.39 was expended for additions, repairs and maintenance; \$492.27, for furniture; \$4,244.87, for garden and grounds; \$8,200, for fuel and light; Governor-General and officials, \$61,516.43; for contingencies, \$13,301.08; for travelling expenses, \$11,135.82. In 1883, \$24,104.71 for additions, repairs and maintenance; \$805.25 for furniture; \$6,492 for garden and grounds; \$8,200 for fuel and light; \$59,949.97 for Governor-General and officials; \$18,556.64 for contingencies of Governor-General's office; \$10,849.97 travelling expenses. This is a sample of how the people's taxes are expended, and it might be interesting to have a few of the details of contingencies. In 1881, hardware, \$1,412; carpets, \$280; rent of pianos, \$403.76; jobbers and laborers, \$4,240.76; carpenters, \$760; painting, \$495; seeds and flower pots, \$214; extra clerk, \$1,220. 1882, lumber, \$1,490; hardware, \$2,900; painting and glazing, \$1,938; carpets, \$368; gardening, laborers and jobbers, \$12,059. In 1883, hardware, \$3,200; lumber, \$1,800; painting, \$5,500; rent of pianos, \$384; linen, \$575; gardeners, laborers, jobbers, forester, \$17,200; billiard goods, \$265; tennis balls, \$75; flags, \$58; garden seeds, \$115; total maintenance for 1883, \$31,222.86. 1884, hardware, \$2,689; lumber, \$1,197; rent of pianos and three

Amount drawn up to January 1st, 1886.

\$ 4,268 00
2,618 32
4,215 75
3,22 00
10,207 26
5 094 08
18,704 37
10,972 92
7,200 00
6,406 84
3,237 34
6,039 00
10,778 00
4,506 66
24,510 41
10,873 44
1,488 65
5,048 64
6,393 96
11,187 20

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\$10,000 80
2,146 98
16,868 30
7,833 60
4,508 33
18,060 00
8,687 23
12,406 75
10,133 33
12,098 33
9,975 00
4,446 15
8,318 24
10,013 13

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new ones, \$2,899; dry goods, \$845; carpets, \$471; mattresses, \$192; carpenters, \$4,959; laborers and gardeners, \$9,000; charwoman, \$870; painting, \$6,946; plumbing, \$487; crockery and glassware, \$4,053; total maintenance for 1884, \$35,507.94.

A comparison between the expenditures on account of Rideau Hall and the Governor-General and similar expenditures for the President of the United States and the official residence will prove instructive, and for this purpose the United States estimates for the year 1884 are given.

See 24th Session, 47 Congress, Vol. 17.

United States estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884:

President, per annum.....	\$ 50,000 00
Private Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Executive Clerks, Stenographers, Telegraph Operators, Steward, Door Keeper, Ushers, Messengers, Watchmen and Fireman.....	\$35,757 15
Contingent expenses, including stationery, record books, telegrams, books for library, miscellaneous items, furniture and carpets, care of office, carriage, horses and harness.....	\$ 8,000 00

Total expenditure of executive proper.....	\$93,757 15
Grounds.....	17,500 00
Repairs, fuel and furniture.....	33,000 4 years, 8,250 00
Lighting.....	15,000 15,000 00
	\$65,500 \$134,507 15

It will be seen by comparing the above account with the Rideau Hall expenditure that the average annual cost of maintaining Rideau Hall and paying the Governor-General has been over \$5,000 greater than the cost of paying the President of the United States and maintaining the White House in 1884. In making the comparison we spread the expenditure for furniture, which was made that year, over the period of four years. As new furniture is purchased at the beginning of each Presidential term, and the entire amount charged in the account of 1884 should be spread over four years, making the proper proportion for 1884 the amount given in the above statement. When we bear in mind that the White House expenditure is for a nation of 58,000,000 people, and the Rideau Hall expenditure for a colony of 4,500,000, further comment will be unnecessary.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF

James Somerville, M. P.,

(NORTH BRANT)

ON

PRINTING CONTRACT FRAUDS,

Delivered in the House Commons of July 2nd, 1885.

Mr. SOMERVILLE (Brant). I wish to call the attention of the House to a matter which is of considerable importance, with regard to the public expenditure, and at this late stage of the Session I will be as brief and as concise as possible. I have given considerable attention to the question I am about to bring before the House, and I have found that the following sums have been spent during the year for printing and advertising, outside of the regular contracts, according to the Auditor General's report—advertising, \$54,079.85; printing pamphlets, maps, etc., for the Agricultural Department, \$81,667.06; half the amount paid for the Rev. Mr. Bray's pamphlet, which was charged to Dominion lands, \$2,500; paper used in printing pamphlets, \$27,660.79; advertising and printing for Intercolonial Railway, \$8,319; printing Civil Service list, \$7,688.74; total amount expended, \$201,915.44 altogether, outside of the sum paid to the contractors for the parliamentary and departmental printing.

The printing of the Civil Service list amounts to a large sum of money. The Government saw fit to purchase for the proprietor of the *St. Hyacinthe Courier* the type to be used in the publication of those lists, at a cost of \$3,931.12, which ought to have been given to the regular contractor at much lower rates. The Auditor General called the attention of the Under Secretary to the fact that \$57.34 were charged in excess of the prices which the regular Government contractors could have charged under their contract. But, contrary to the opinion expressed by the Auditor Gen-

eral, that this amount should be deducted from the account rendered by the *St. Hyacinthe Courier*, the Treasury Board, after considering the matter, decided that the ruling of the Auditor General should be set aside, and that this money should be paid to that newspaper, in spite of the protest entered by the Auditor General. The report of the Chinese Commission was given to the *Montreal Minerve*, and was printed by that journal. In the Supplementary Estimates I find the sum of \$4,369.60 provided for the payment of that work. I believe an hon. member of this House (Mr. Tasse) is interested, if not directly, indirectly, in that newspaper, which is published in the city of Montreal. The Minister of Militia has also his pets, and two years ago he purchased type for Mr. Foote, of the *Quebec Chronicle*, for his use in printing the militia list. I find this year that the militia list has again been issued in the same form, and, I suppose, by the same party. Furthermore, I observe, in addition to publishing it in that shape, the Minister of Militia has seen fit to publish the same list in his report. He has had the type re-set at Ottawa, and the list forms a large number of pages, and thus adds to the cost of the report. I can understand readily why he directed the work to be given to his friend in Quebec. That, I suppose, was to be considered as a legitimate perquisite, and it seems to have been not only necessary that the information should be thus printed in special form, but that the Minister should have it printed in Ottawa, and embodied in his annual report. I fail to see any necessity for extravagance of this kind

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being perpetrated by the Government. A few words with respect to the advertising given by the Government to the newspapers. Any hon. member who gives the subject the slightest attention must come to the conclusion that a great deal of extravagance is indulged in by the Government in dispensing advertising patronage to the Canadian newspapers. The advertising given out last year by the Government, according to the Auditor General, amounted to \$54,079.85. I will give some of the items: Belleville *Intelligencer*, the organ of the Minister of Customs, \$271.86; Berlin *News*, \$232.82; Brockville *Times*, \$206.80; Montreal *Gazette*, \$737.70; Montreal *Herald*, \$246; *Shareholder*, \$719.90; *Star*, \$619.80; Quebec *Chronicle*, \$808.31; Toronto *Mail*, \$1,278.55; and other amounts in proportion, I suppose, to the importance and influence of the organs of the Government. In the city of Ottawa, I find that the *Citizen* got \$515.17, and the *Investigator*, \$147.90.

Mr. LISTER. What paper is that?

Mr. SOMERVILLE (Brant). There is something strange about that paper. It is a paper which I find is published semi-occasionally in the city of Ottawa. It makes its appearance once a year, when the House is about to meet, and I have here a specimen of this publication. Its editorials are devoted to lauding the good qualities of some particular Ministers of the Crown—and I have no doubt they are possessed of many good qualities—and in speaking in high terms of praise of their abilities as Ministers of the Crown. You see the size of this journal, and I do not think it circulates to any great extent outside of this building. I know we are all favored with one copy when we come here, but I never happen to see another after the first. Now, I think that is a very good exhibit for the little *Investigator*, and for the work that journal performed last year it was paid the sum of \$147.90. Then the *Regina Leader* got \$1,710.68, and I think I may refer to an account which was rendered by that journal.

An hon. MEMBER. Who is the editor?

Mr. SOMERVILLE (Brant). Mr. Nicholas Flood Davin is the editor, and he seems to be a particular favorite with the present Government. I find in the Auditor General's report page 367, that the *Regina Leader* rendered an account for the publication of mining regulations, and in one charge which serves to make up the amount I mention, I see that the Queen's Printer has seen fit to raise the amount of the account which was rendered, that gentleman evidently thinking that the *Regina Leader* man knew nothing about his own business, that he did not charge enough, and consequently he increased the price \$31.98. I find that he dealt in the same liberal way with the *Winnipeg Times*, the account of that paper for publishing the mining regulations having been raised \$35.78. Furthermore, I find that the *Brandon Mail* rendered an account for the same work, and that the Queen's Printer raised the number of lines which the proprietor of that journal charged for and he was paid a larger sum than he demanded in the first place. I would just say, in connection with this matter, that I believe a vast amount of money is being squandered annually by this system of advertising. When they advertise for contracts to be let, the advertisements are distributed all over the Dominion, whether there is any chance or not of the advertisements proving of any benefit to the Government or to the country. I think there is a fearful waste of money in this regard, and it is evident that the money is spent more for the purpose of subsidizing the organs of the Government than benefiting the public service. Besides this amount of \$54,079.85, which I have referred to as having been paid for advertising by the several Departments, I find that \$28,319 was paid for advertising and printing for the Intercolonial Railway. This work was dispensed among the organs of the Government in the Maritime Provinces principally, some of them receiving very large amounts, footing up, in some cases to \$1,000 for

this work. Now, I wish to draw the attention of the House to some facts in connection with the work which is given out by the Department of Agriculture. I find the following statement in the *Ottawa Citizen* of the 22nd April, headed "Facts about the Pamphlets.":

The number of publications issued and circulated by the Department of Agriculture in 1884 was, at all points, 2,597,579. The total cost of this service was, in the calendar year, \$80,066.01 including paper and all charges for freight."

By referring to the Auditor General's report, I find that the *Ottawa Citizen* made a mistake of only \$27,660.78. That can probably be easily accounted for by the fact that the *Ottawa Citizen* is one of the favorites of the Government and receives its proportion of patronage sometimes in a very liberal way. This year the proprietors of that paper have not been favored so extensively as in former years, but they received an advance, amounting to \$1,600 for work which was not done, which was not delivered, and of which no account can be given. In addition to that, they were paid over \$500 for advertising, amounting in the whole, to over \$2,100 in the past year. I do not wonder so much at the *Citizen's* statement which I have read from that journal, and which I have conclusively proven to be incorrect. It is evident that it is the intention of the organs of the Government, the *Montreal Gazette*, the *Toronto Mail*, and the *Ottawa Citizen* to misrepresent everything they possibly can with regard to this printing matter; but I feel it to be my duty, as a member of this House, to reveal the facts in connection with the matter, so that the country will thoroughly understand them.

Now, I wish to call the attention of the House to some of these publications, and to give some particulars as to the price at which they have been printed, and the number of editions that have been published. I think it is important that the House should be put in possession of these facts, which I have gone to considerable trouble to collect; and I

wish to state here, from my experience in the newspaper and printing business, that I am positive the statements I am going to make are strictly true in every respect, and are incontrovertible. I ask the criticism of any gentleman in this House or out of it upon them, and I defy any contradiction of the figures I am about to give. Of the tenant farmers' report, there were a large number of editions printed; and in order to show how this patronage was dispensed, I wish to state that the journal to which I shall refer first, the *Hamilton Spectator*, is the property of a company composed of Messrs. Southam & Caréy, and some other gentlemen, and that the same firm own a job printing office connected with the *Toronto Mail* newspaper. I find that in July, 1883, that company received an order for 50,000 copies of the tenant farmers' report, for which they were paid \$3,134.40. In May, 1884, they received another order for 53,000 copies, for which they were paid \$3,458.86. The *Toronto Mail* job office, which is owned by the same company, also received an order in May, 1884, for 51,158 copies of the same publication, which cost \$3,126.04. Then I find that an account was rendered by the *Spectator* company, without any date, for 51,479 copies, for which they were paid \$2,979.99. I presume that the date was the same at which the other order was given to the same company for the same work. The Auditor General in his report, notes that no date was attached to this account. Then, the same company were favored with the publication of what is known as the Guide Book. On the 26th of June, 1883, they delivered 54,000 copies of that book, for which they received \$3,205.08. On 18th August, 1883, they had another order for 31,000 copies, for which they were paid \$1,992.81 and I find that to this amount must be added \$1,500, which they drew during the previous year on account, and which was referred to in the Auditor General's previous report. The total amount paid for this work, to the *Spectator* company, was \$17,897.18; and they also received advertising, in addition, to the amount

of \$801.02; so that the total amount which went to the Hamilton *Spectator* company during the last year for printing and advertising, was \$18,198.20. Now, I wish to go into some of the details of this account. There was paid for composition, at 35 cents a thousand, on those orders, \$747.04, which would have cost, at the contractors' price, 10 cents a thousand, \$71.20; so that the excess paid to the *Spectator* company on composition, was \$675.84. They were paid for press work, 20,865 tokens, at 30 cents., \$6,259.50. They were allowed to charge for 20,865 tokens of 250 impressions each—because that is what a token means—when only 10,433 tokens were printed, which the contractors would have done for 10 cents a token, amounting to \$1,043.30; so that the excess paid to the *Spectator* company was \$5,216.20 on press work alone. Now, I cannot see why those journals which are favored with the patronage of the Government should be allowed to charge for work which they do not perform. I see by the accounts which have been rendered that they are not only allowed to charge for double the amount of work they actually performed, but they are paid for it at 30 cents a token whereas the Government contractors are only allowed to charge 10 cents a token, which I consider is a gross outrage. For stitching, covering, folding in maps, etc., the *Spectator* company charged \$10,425 for the tenant farmers' report and the guide book. This work could have been contracted for, at ordinary binder's rates, for say, \$7 per 1,000, or \$2,030, which shows an excess paid for binding to the *Spectator* company of \$8,395. So that they received on these jobs a total excess of \$13,287.04 over the regular prices on work which cost \$17,897.18. It was not only necessary to feed the Hamilton *Spectator* at the rate of \$18,000 a year, but this same tenant farmers' report was given to the Montreal *Herald* office; for I find that on the 19th of February, 1884—I believe that was before the hon. member for Northumberland (Mr. Mitchell) became proprietor of that journal—the Montreal *Herald*

received an order for 50,000 copies of this same pamphlet which was printed by the Hamilton *Spectator*, for which it was paid \$2,767.26, at the same extravagant rates which were paid to the Hamilton *Spectator*. I find that the Government not only dispenses this patronage to the journals which support them, but they do not forget their other friends, for I find that the Allan Steamship Company, which has recently been subsidized to the extent of \$126,000 a year for carrying the mails—which is considered by those who know what that service is worth, to be double what ought to be paid for it—is favored by having its advertisements placed in these pamphlets free of charge. It is not in the interest of the country that the Allan line should be favored above all other steamship lines, by having their advertisements printed and circulated at the expense of the Government. Now, I will devote a little attention to the patronage which has been given to the Montreal *Gazette*. I find the *Gazette* was favored with the printing of a pamphlet on British Columbia during the past year, and published five editions of that pamphlet—a 32-page pamphlet, with cover and map. The account was rendered 5th October, 1883, for 195,000; in January, 1884, 140,000; in March, 1884, 54,000; in April, 1884, 56,000; in June, 1884, 25,250; or, all told, in a little over eight months, five editions, amounting to 460,250 copies, at a cost of \$9,211.15. I find that the composition of these pamphlets was paid for four times, although stereotype plates were used in the printing, and the composition was paid for at the rate of 35 cents per 1,000, which multiplied by 4, makes the total amount paid at the rate of \$1.40 per thousand, fourteen times more than the contractors' rate, 10 cents per thousand. I admit the amount paid for composition is not very much, because it was not a large pamphlet. It was composed of 32 pages and contains 185,000 ems, but still the difference paid the Montreal *Gazette*, as contrasted with the contractors' rates, amounted to \$117.30. There was paid for press work

for these pamphlets, 11,046 tokens at 30 cents, \$3,313.80, when only 5,523 tokens were actually printed, which the contractor would have charged for at 10 cents per token, of \$552.30, showing an overcharge of no less than \$2,761.50 on press work over and above what the contractors would have charged, or five times the contractors' price. For binding 460,250 copies, the price charged was \$4,768.02, and the work could be done for \$4 per thousand in any bindery, which would amount to \$1,841, or an excess paid on binding of \$2,927.02. The following are the overcharges to which I have just referred:—

Excess paid on binding	\$2,927 02
“ “ composition..	117 30
“ “ press work...	2,761 50
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Thus, on a work which cost, all told, \$9,211.15, there is an overcharge of \$5,805.82 over and above the ordinary business profit. But this was not all the *Montreal Gazette* got during the past year, in the way of Government pay, as the Public Accounts reveal the following payments:—

For pamphlets for Immigration Department.....	\$9,211 15
Printing Geological Report....	2,876 14
“ reports on fossil plants	126 45
“ proceedings Royal Society.....	5,321 29
Advance for work in process..	1,500 00
Advertising.....	737 70
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	\$19,772 73

And I find there was an advance made on the work in progress, and in this regard the *Gazette* is in the same position as the *Ottawa Citizen*. It is very convenient for the organs to have the Dominion Government acting in the capacity of their banker. When hard up they draw on the Government for sums ranging from \$500 to \$1,500. The *Gazette* drew for work in progress \$1,500, and received for advertising \$737.07, making a total of \$19,772.73, for printing and advertising, as the total amount the *Gazette* received. It is said I have no right to put in this amount the sum paid

for printing the proceedings of the Royal Society. True, that account was not rendered in the name of "the *Gazette*, but the order was given to Daw-on Bros., of Montreal, who get their printing done at the *Gazette* office, and this report was printed there, because it bears the imprint *Gazette*. It must be admitted that the *Gazette* had to furnish the paper to print the book, and to pay for the binding; and by the accounts rendered the Government it is impossible to say how much was paid for binding and paper. Take off \$1,772.73 for the paper which was used in the publishing of the book, and for the binding, and that is double the amount which might properly be allowed for it—the *Montreal Gazette* pocketed, during last year, \$18,000 for printing and advertising. I do not know that the "exigencies of party" require that the *Gazette* should be paid this exorbitant sum for Government printing. It is not in the interest of the country or to the credit of the Government that they should pay these large subsidies to the chief organs in Montreal and elsewhere. Furthermore, I believe there is an Act in force with regard to the independence of Parliament, in which it is provided that no member of the House shall have any interest in a Government contract. I do not say that any member of the House is directly interested in the *Gazette*, but I believe it is the general opinion that a gentleman who occupies a seat here has some indirect interest in that paper. It does not add to the independence of Parliament that by the organization of a company a member of this House can have an interest in Government patronage, and that these exorbitant prices should be paid. Now, I find that the *Quebec Chronicle* has been favored again. It was not sufficient that the hon. Minister of Militia should purchase type for Mr. J. J. Foote, of the *Quebec Chronicle*, to enable him to print Militia lists, but he was favored with four editions of the pamphlet, "What Farmers Say," from 10th April, 1883, to February, 1884, and the actual amount paid to the *Quebec Chronicle* was \$3,780.46. The composi-

tion was paid for, considering the number of editions published, at \$1.13 instead of 10 cents, or 11 times the contractors' price. The press work was paid for at 30 cents instead of 10 cents, and for double the quantity of work actually performed.

It will be remembered that the Messrs. Stephenson, who are sons of a gentleman who now holds an office under the Dominion Government in the North-West, and who was at one time the member for Kent in this House, and a strong supporter of hon. gentlemen opposite, received the order for printing the C. P. R. Royal Commission report; that they never touched the work, never set a type in connection with the publication of that work, never read a proof, never handled the copy in any way whatever; but they were favored with the order for that work, and came to Ottawa and handed the work over to the Government contractors, who did it at their regular rates, I suppose, or probably more than their regular rates, taking it second hand, and at any rate the Stephensons pocketed \$3,000 in clear cash for this work which they never touched. It appears that the Government or the Minister of Agriculture deemed it was necessary, in the interest of his Department and in the interest of the country at large, that this Government should publish a pamphlet in German, and they looked about to find some man who would undertake the work. It happened that they struck Mr. H. W. Bennett, of the Prescott *Messenger*. I do not know how it came about that he was picked out among all the newspaper men of the country for the publication of a German pamphlet, for it must be obvious to the House that he was in no way in a position to publish German work. It was stated in another place in this House that before he got this order he was interviewed, or he interviewed some member of the Government in regard to this work, and he was promised the work if he would furnish his office with German type. It is well known to every member of this House that Prescott is not in a

German settlement, and that there are very few, if any, Germans within the reach of the circulation of the Prescott *Messenger*, and that no German work is required to be printed in that neighborhood; and it seems strange that the Government should pitch upon Mr. H. W. Bennett to do this work; but, at any rate, they did, and we find that he was favored with two orders for the guide book in German. In September, 1883, he received an order for 30,000 copies, for which he was paid an advance of \$879.70 previous to the delivery. For this order he was paid \$4,107.50. The composition was allowed at \$1 per thousand. It is well known to every practical printer in the country that German composition is charged for at no greater prices than English composition, and that a German newspaper man charges the same for the composition in German as the proprietor of an English newspaper would charge for the composition in English. But we find that this favorite of the Government was allowed \$1 per thousand for composition, and was allowed for press work at 30 cents. In May, 1884, he got another order for 20,000 more of this pamphlet, for which he was paid \$2,764.15, and for the composition again at \$1 per thousand, and the same for press work; he was allowed to charge like all others, for double the amount of press work that he actually did. Well, after this matter came up in the Public Accounts Committee I received a letter from a German publishing house in the county of Waterloo. The proprietors of that journal asked me to send them a copy of this German pamphlet, and a copy of the account which was rendered to the Government. I complied with their request, because I wanted to have some one to back me up in the statements I was about to make to the Public Accounts Committee and to this House in regard to these printing accounts, and I received a letter from the publishers of that German newspaper, in which they say that "after a careful calculation the work can be done here for \$1,800;" and the letter further says "that the foreman of another office in the same

town also made an estimate and he arrived at the same figure." Now, it will be seen, as I have said, that the total cost of this work was \$6,871.65. The sum this work would have cost if the order had been given to any German printer in this country would have been \$1,800, which shows that the excess paid on this job was no less than \$5,071.65. The excess paid on this one pamphlet would buy

a steam press, a steam engine, and all the type that would be required to furnish the office of the *Prescott Messenger*. In giving this work to the *Prescott Messenger* the Government presented to the proprietor of that paper enough money to buy his office and furnish it with all the material he requires in his business, together with a power press and a steam engine to drive it.

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Comparative Statements between 1878, the last full year of the Mackenzie Government, and the latest returns dealing with the management of the affairs of the country by the present Administration.

Public debt, 1878.....	\$174,957,268	
" " 1886.....	281,314,532	
Increase.....		\$106,357,264
Public expenditure, 1878.....	\$23,503,158	
" " 1885.....	35,037,060	
Increase.....		\$11,423,902
Civil government, 1878.....	\$ 823,869	
" " 1885.....	1,139,495	
Increase.....		\$316,126
Salaries, public departments, Ottawa, 1878.....	\$665,195	
" " " " 1885.....	922,904.	
Increase.....		\$257,709
Immigration and Quarantine expenses, 1878.....	\$180,691	
" " " " 1885.....	506,408	
Increase.....		\$325,717
Contingencies, public departments, Ottawa, 1878....	\$158,174	
" " " " 1885.....	206,858	
Increase.....		\$48,684
Number of employees, public dep'ts., Ottawa, 1878....	512	
" " " " " 1885....	1,227	
Increase.....		715
Printing, advertising and paper for Immigration purposes, 1877-1878	\$17,406	
do 1884-1885	244,505	
Increase		\$227,099
Paid for travelling expenses and cab hire, 1885.....	\$ 36,256	
" newspaper advertising, 1885.....	51,822	
" legal expenses, 1885.....	57,692	
" extra clerks, Ottawa, 1885.....	171,560	
Cost of Senate, 1867 to 1885.....	2,315,823	

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