

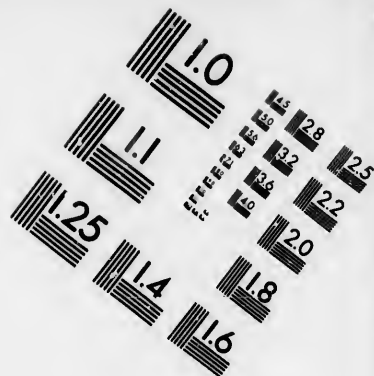
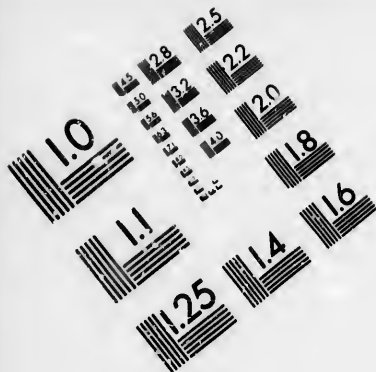
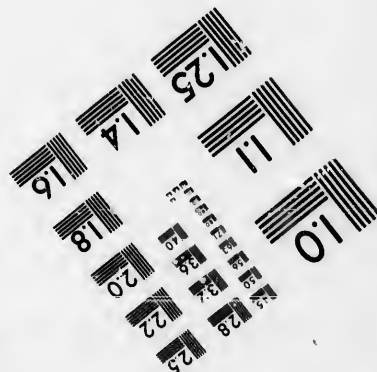
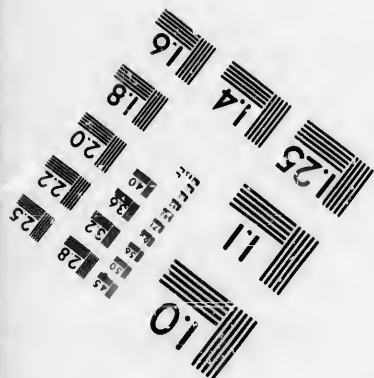
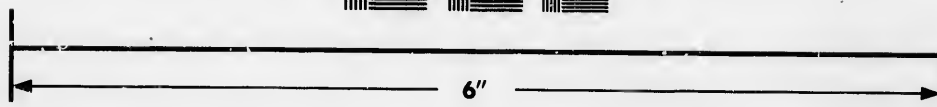
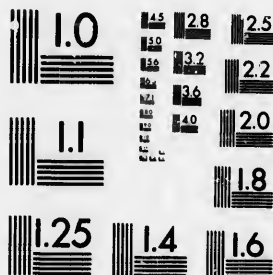


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

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

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1986

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

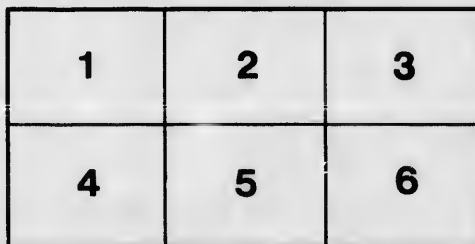
Douglas Library
Queen's University

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

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

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

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



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

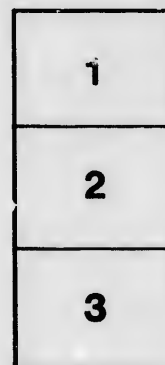
Douglas Library
Queen's University

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

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

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

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



House of Commons Debates.

THIRD SESSION—SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

SPEECH OF SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, M.P.

ON

THE BUDGET

TUESDAY, 14th FEBRUARY, 1893.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. At any time, and under any possible circumstances, the annual exposition, or even the annual re-affirmation of the financial policy of the Government, is a matter of considerable interest to all classes of Canada; and, on the present occasion, when, as the Minister correctly told us, there is an extraordinary feeling of unrest and disquiet pervading the masses of the community, there is no doubt that it is an occasion of more than usual interest. I am not quite sure that I can congratulate the hon. gentleman on having entirely risen to the level of the occasion; but to those who will take the trouble to read between the lines of his speech, the speech was undoubtedly significant enough. To us who have been in the habit of listening to that hon. gentleman and his compeers for a great many years, there was a rather remarkable absence of what I must call the braggadocio with respect to the National Policy, which has heretofore characterized utterances from that side of the House. There was also an almost complete absence of those taunts which used to be flung across the floor to gentlemen on this side, bidding them bow to the will of the people, and assuring them that the National Policy was so rooted in the innermost instincts of the people of Canada that our puny efforts to disturb it were in vain. Sir, a change has come over the spirit of the dream of my hon. friend. He has had a vision. Possibly he may have dreamed that he heard the president of the young Conservatives of Toronto declaring that they were being annexed in job lots. Possibly he may have heard a gentleman who was whilom designated as the brains of the party, blaspheming the holy tariff, and speaking evil words even against the sacred gerrymander itself. Possibly the hon. gentleman is aware that the farmers' institutes, from one end of the country to another, are kicking against the wise and merciful provisions of his tariff. Possibly he is also aware that there is hardly a subsidized newspaper, or, perhaps, I should say, an insufficiently subsidized newspaper, that is

not helping to swell the chorus. Under these circumstances, I can well understand that our political Vicar of Bray might be a good deal puzzled as to what was the duty of a conscientious public man. Of course, the hon. gentleman knows that it is his duty to obey the powers that be, but, on the present occasion, the hon. gentleman is not quite sure who are the powers that be.

Mr. FOSTER. We know who are not.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. I do not think the hon. gentleman does. Well, Sir, under these circumstances, I hope the hon. gentleman won't take it amiss if I suggest that if he has not looked to Washington exactly, he has certainly looked to that high-souled American statesman immortalized by Lowell, whose policy, very like the hon. gentleman's, was summed up in these beautiful lines:

There may be men of greater talents,
Who can't sit stidder on the fence.

Although, looking at the hon. gentleman's performances, I may remind him that while a fence may be a steady seat, a tight-rope performance of the rather acrobatic character we have seen to-night, is not apt to be so. Sir, there is a sort of resemblance, if I may say so, between the hon. gentleman and his policy. If I may make the remark without offence, I believe the hon. gentleman commenced his career as a professional philanthropist. Now, I understand that the business of a professional philanthropist is to make everybody else better, as it was the business of the National Policy to make everybody richer. Sir, I wonder if the hon. gentleman ever heard his late lamented leader give his opinion of what a professional philanthropist is? If he has not, I must gratify his curiosity on the present occasion. It is known to some hon. gentlemen in this House that in my green and salad days, ever so many years ago, I was in the habit myself, sometimes, of sitting at the feet of that estimable Gamaliel, and I am bound to say that I have been the recipient of not a little useful, and a great deal of very entertaining, knowledge from that hon. gentleman. Now, Sir, I recollect one

occasion when a question came up for discussion touching professional philanthropists, I remember also that I spoke inadvertently and somewhat slightly of that valuable class of men. Sir John took me up at once. Professional philanthropists, he assured me, were an exceedingly useful set of people. He, himself, always liked to have one or two professional philanthropists in his cabinet. They were useful, he said, for the purpose of keeping up the average of respectability, which, he remarked—and I entirely agreed with him—was sometimes quite a desideratum; but he went on to observe, and I remember the words well—possibly the hon. gentleman may have heard them—that he had noticed that men who went in to get a living by making other people better were apt, in course of time, to require extensive moral repairs themselves. Now, far be it from me to say that the hon. Finance Minister is in need of extensive moral repairs. I deprecate any such inference being taken from my words. Since he has become Minister of Finance it may be that his views on moral questions have broadened and widened considerably; but I am free to say that I believe him to be quite as pure-minded now as when he entered Parliament. But, as Sir John observed, the reason of this little defect in professional philanthropists was that virtue had gone out of them; and it did appear to me, after listening to the hon. gentleman's speech, that he likewise had come to the conclusion that virtue had gone out of the National Policy, and that some other device must speedily be sought for the purpose of circumventing people for their own good—for their own good, you will understand, Mr. Speaker—or else his seat and the seats of his colleagues were imperilled. Now, Sir, one thing at any rate is clear from the declaration of the hon. gentleman. By his own express statement and admission, which I will allude to more at length later on—and let me say it was one of the most remarkable statements I ever remember to have heard or read of a Minister of Finance making on a similar subject—the whole fiscal policy of the Government is now up for review, the whole fiscal policy is to be examined from the bottom up, for the hon. gentleman's declaration meant that and nothing else. We have had fourteen years of the hopeful experiment of endeavouring to make ourselves rich by increasing our taxes. What has been the result of that experiment? Sir, there is, let me tell the hon. gentleman, a very widespread feeling that the whole National Policy has been from first to last an egregious fraud. There are men to-day in the street and in the market place, in the shop and on the farm, wherever men are gathered to-day, all Canada over, who are recalling the predictions and the promises by which they were induced fourteen years ago to adopt this same National Policy, and they are comparing those promises and those predictions with the ascertained facts which confront

every one at this moment. It is not my purpose to enter minutely, at all events, into all the petty minutiae with which the Minister of Finance was obliged to fill a large part of his speech; but there is one rough and ready test which every man, learned or unlearned, can apply, which I have always felt and always said was a test worth a hundred thousand or a hundred thousand thousand of all those petty percentages and all those little quibbling details which have been presented to the House, if you want to ascertain whether the country is prosperous or not. If a country is prosperous, people all over the world will be glad to go there; they will be glad enough to stay in such a country, and they will be loth to leave it. That is a rough and ready test, I grant you, but it is one which every man can apply, and the truth of which no human being who knows anything of the position of the country will ever venture to dispute, and that test before I sit down I propose to apply to the hon. gentleman's arguments. We have to-night sundry fallacies to deal with, we have sundry, I will not call them falsehoods, but statements without foundation in fact to expose, and sundry conspiracies, I fear, to lay bare. Let us take up the long list of broken pledges by means of which hon. gentlemen opposite carried the country against Mr. Mackenzie and his Administration in 1878. Sir, I remember well, perhaps the Minister of Finance does not, because his parliamentary life is rather short compared with mine, how the people were told that give those hon. gentlemen the right to control the destinies of Canada and they would stop the exodus, they would provide a home market for everything our farmers could raise, they would restore the balance of trade—they laid great emphasis on restoring the balance of trade in those days—they would enrich our people, they would raise the value of land and raise the value of farm products (but the hon. gentleman has got new light on that question since that time) they would fill the Northwest from end to end with a teeming population, and, lastly, they would obtain reciprocity with the United States. The bare recital is enough. All those pledges and promises may well match with Sir Charles Tupper's famous declaration that in a few brief years, and ten years have elapsed since then, we would export 640,000,000 bushels of wheat from Manitoba, and on 31st December, 1890, \$58,300,000 would be paid into our treasury, as profits from the sale of our public lands, and the Canadian Pacific Railway would not cost the people a sou. I shall make a short review, and a very short one, of the way in which those promises have been fulfilled. I regret not to see the hon. First Minister in his place, because the First Minister's view and mine with respect to the exodus differs slightly, and there would be given an opportunity on this occasion for the hon. gentleman to redeem the pledge he partly gave that he would review and con-

trovert the arguments I advanced on a recent occasion in opposition to some of his statements. With respect to the exodus, I want to call the attention of the House to this fact: I am prepared to prove that so far from stopping the exodus, the exodus during the last ten years was double, and more than double, the exodus between 1871 and 1881, and it was three times as much as the exodus which took place in Mr. Mackenzie's time. I have taken the trouble to examine not merely our own statistics, but the United States' statistics, and I have ascertained from them that the total annual exodus in Mr. Mackenzie's time was probably not more than 32,000 all told, from 1874 to 1878, and that it certainly did not exceed 42,000, taking into account the entire foreign-born immigration which came to Canada during that period. In the five years beginning 1874 and ending 1878, 148,000 immigrants, according to our own official returns, are stated to have come to Canada. Of those, 12,000 a year were required to make up the death rate, to keep up the number of immigrants to Canada at its former strength, and even if we lost all the remainder they would merely aggregate 88,000 people. We have the American statistics for 1874-75-76-77 and 1878. For 1874 and 1875 they group all the Americans together, north and south. For 1876-77 and 1878 they give correct figures. In 1876 the total Canadian-born immigrants from Canada to the United States amounted to 22,471; in 1877, 22,116; 1878, 25,518. So far as it is possible to ascertain, the number was about 25,000 in 1874 and 1875, making a reasonable deduction for the number of immigrants from Mexico, the West Indies, South America and other countries included with the Canadians who went to the United States. I do not allege that that was due entirely to the policy of Canada at the time, for the simple fact that during those five years emigration to the United States had almost entirely ceased, as any hon. gentleman can see if he examines the United States' statistics. But how does that compare with the emigration under the regime of hon. gentlemen opposite? As I have said, the maximum immigration in Mr. Mackenzie's time was very little over 40,000 souls, putting together the foreign-born immigrants who came to Canada and the native-born Canadians who left. What was the number under the Administration of hon. gentlemen opposite? Our own census returns prove to a demonstration that we have lost 440,000 of our own native-born population, and the hon. gentleman's own statistics prove, unless those statistics are a lie, a fraud and a sham, that we have lost of foreign immigrants 727,000 more. Put these two figures together and you will find the loss to Canada of native-born Canadians, by far the most valuable class, and of foreign immigrants, amounts to a total of 1,167,000, being at the rate of 116,000 per annum during the last ten years, as against, in Mr. Mackenzie's time, an ex-

treme number, an over-estimated number, of 40,000 a year from both those classes. Those hon. gentlemen made every hustings ring in 1878 with their declamations as to how, if they were only permitted to enjoy the control of this country, a home market would be provided in every town and village for everything the farmer could raise. Our villages were to become towns and our towns were to become cities, and our cities were to become something hardly ever dreamed of in this country before. We were to have at our farmers' doors, markets which would consume every vegetable, every cereal, and every head of cattle and poultry that they could possibly raise. I do not think the hon. gentleman dare prate to the farmers of their home market to-day. They were to restore the balance of trade. Well, to my poor judgment, that was a silly proposal, but what is the fact? Do hon. gentlemen want to know the figures? Why, since 1878, the gross balance of trade is \$308,000,000 against us, an average of more than \$20,000,000 a year, and that was the way the hon. gentlemen fulfilled that promise. The hon. gentlemen were to enrich the people, they were to raise the value of farm products; but the present Finance Minister, having obtained a little more wisdom than his predecessors, tells us that no Government can raise the price of farm cereals. I appeal to all my hon. friends. I appeal to hon. gentlemen opposite themselves who took part in the election of 1878, if, from one end of Ontario to the other, and, I believe from one end of Canada to the other—although the price of farm products were double then what they are now—I appeal to them and ask if the cry of hon. gentlemen opposite was not that they could and would raise the price of everything that farmers had to sell. They were to fill the North-west with population. Well, Sir, if ever there was a miserable exhibit on the face of the earth, it is the exhibit which is made to-day in that fine country, under the policy of these hon. gentlemen. Why, at the present time, we have positively not got one family to the square league of the fertile lands of the North-west. We have spent \$100,000,000, more or less, in the last dozen years, and I doubt, Sir, if we can be shown to have added 10,000 families to the population of the North-west during the last dozen years, by reason of that enormous expenditure. But, above all, they told us that they would obtain reciprocity; as Sir John Macdonald put it: reciprocity of trade, or reciprocity of tariffs. That, also, I must deal with hereafter. It would take me altogether too long at this present moment to do justice to the strenuous efforts made by these hon. gentlemen, and by the Minister of Finance in particular, on two memorable occasions, to obtain reciprocity for the people of Canada. Now, I notice three fundamental errors in the speech of the Finance Minister, errors which affect his whole policy and the whole policy of his Government and his party. That hon. gentleman lays down, or did lay down, as a

proposition, that it was possible to increase our collective wealth by increasing our taxes. I beg leave to tell the hon. gentleman that I regard such a proposition as about the ne plus ultra of folly in a country like Canada. When the hon. gentleman is able to pour water into a sieve and keep it there, when the hon. gentleman is able to leap from one of these buildings and sustain himself in mid-air, by grasping his waistband, when the hon. gentleman can take snow in his hand and hold it before the fire without its melting; then, and not until then, will the hon. gentleman increase the collective wealth of the community by increasing their taxes. Sir, we do not look for grapes from thorns and we do not look for figs from thistles, but we had better do that than look for prosperity to a policy, the very key-note of which is to enrich one or two special classes at the expense of the great bulk of the community. I tell the hon. gentleman that his Government and his policy may indeed displace wealth—that they have done to a large extent—but they are helpless and powerless to create it. Then, Sir, the friends of the hon. gentleman, and I think the hon. gentleman himself, although he alluded to it but lightly, gave us to understand that because protection had brought prosperity, as he thought, to the United States, therefore that protection would bring prosperity to Canada also. I never heard that argument used by anybody without putting down the man who used it either as a charlatan who does know better, but who desires to delude the people, or as a man who is utterly and hopelessly ignorant of the very primary geographical conditions in which this country is placed. I have said often, and I repeat it here—because the hon. gentleman has made it necessary for me to go into some details in dealing with these general propositions—I repeat, that if an economist were called upon to select two countries in one of which the protective system would do the maximum of mischief, and another in which it would do the minimum of mischief, he would select as the one which was best able to bear a protective system without injury, the United States of North America, and he would also select as the one in which a protective system would assuredly do the maximum of mischief to the whole inhabitants of the country, the federation of this Dominion. In the United States you have met together every condition which would counteract the evil effects of a high protective system. You have a huge country, containing a population equal to two first-rate European nations, producing every article, I believe, which any nation can require to produce, having every variety of climate, from the tropic to the pole, and enjoying in itself a vast and most perfect system of free trade among twenty-five or thirty nations called states. You have, on this side of the border, a group of countries se-

parated from each other by physical obstacles of a very formidable kind separated from each other by large tracts of inhospitable country, producing almost identically the same articles; not a homogeneous people by any means, with a very small population, comparatively speaking; and, in one word, you have combined in Canada every possible combination of circumstances which can make a protective system a huge and vicious mistake. The hon. the Finance Minister and his friends are in the habit of telling us that we need not complain, forsooth, of the amount of the taxes they levy upon us for the benefit of the manufacturers, because, he told us, the manufacturers are now able to produce in Canada as cheaply as in any other country. I doubt if a more impudent claim was ever advanced. If they are able to produce as cheaply in Canada as anywhere else, what right or what need have they of protection at all? But the fact is, that as to many articles, it is impossible, 'In rerum natura,' that you can produce them in Canada at all as cheaply as you can in other countries. I take issue in the most distinct fashion with the hon. gentleman on that question. I may tell him that Canada at present is essentially an agricultural country, and next to that, it is a mining, fishing and lumbering country, and while I am not in any respect disposed to deprecate the great importance of the manufacturing industries that exist, neither can I for one moment allow the hon. gentleman to mislead this House or to mislead the people into supposing that Canada has any peculiar aptitudes for a great many manufactures. There are certain manufactures which may develop naturally and fairly here, and if so, Sir, they will need no coddling by a protective tariff or in any other way. If our manufactures need anything for the purpose of their full and free development, what they need, and what the best of our manufacturers know that they need, is a larger market than they at present possess. I am well aware, Sir, that it is the habit of hon. gentlemen opposite to support these false contentions by impudently claiming for themselves, in the first place, the benefit of all the natural improvement which must take place in a great country like this, and in the second place, of claiming the benefit of all these wonderful scientific discoveries which from day to day, I might also say from hour to hour, are cheapening the process of manufacturing. Sir, science, I grant you, has partly undone the enormous mischief that protection has caused; but, Sir, what protection does is this: it intercepts the compensation which is due to our farmers and the other classes I have named. The prices of all their manufactures, their wheat, their beef, every article that they produce, have been falling heavily, and still more heavily, from year to year, until this year, as the hon. Minister admitted in his speech, the prices of most of our cereals have touched the lowest figure known for

nearly half a century. The Government may not be able to mitigate that; but what our Government does is at the same time to enable our protected manufacturers to deprive our farmers of the benefit which they ought to derive from the products of their industry. The Government cannot help the farmers to get one farthing more for their produce; but it does prevent them from buying as cheaply as they otherwise might. Meantime, the hon. gentleman, backed by his colleagues, continues to assert that all is well, and they give us proof, as the hon. gentleman to-night gave us proofs, of the truth of the assertion. He told us that the savings bank deposits had on the whole greatly increased, and that our bank deposits had likewise increased; he spoke of new railways, and I think he spoke of the growth of certain of our towns and cities. Now, I have no objection in the world to the hon. gentleman bringing forward those evidences, which are good as far as they go. I grant you that it is a good thing that the savings bank deposits have increased; I grant you that it is a good thing that our bank deposits have increased; I grant, if you like, that it is a good thing that certain cities have grown and prospered; but, after all, how far do all these things go? I repeat to the Minister of Finance what I said some nights ago to his chief: that evidences of debt are not necessarily evidences of increasing wealth; he tells us of the great increase in the savings bank deposits. Well, Sir, where is the money? The hon. gentleman has not got it. If a run were made on the savings bank, he knows, as he tells us in his own report which I hold in my hand, that he would have to go to England to borrow money to meet it. What does the increase in the deposits in the savings banks prove? It proves that the people of Canada owe the sum of money so deposited to a few individuals. Where is that money? A part of it, we know, is interred in the North-west rebellion; another part is interred in public works on the principle of paying \$3,000,000 for what is worth \$2,000,000; another part is going to pay railway subsidies for the purpose of keeping some hon. gentlemen behind the hon. Minister in good humour; and of the rest he can give as good an account of it as he pleases. With regard to the bank deposits, I wish to know if the hon. gentleman regards them as an unanswerable proof of increased prosperity in the country. It may or it may not be. It may go to show, and to a certain extent it does show, that under a protective system a much larger amount of money is required to carry on a given amount of trade than ever before. If you add enormously to the taxes on imported goods, there is no doubt that a larger amount of money will be required to carry on the same amount of trade as before. But, after all said and done, where are these same bank deposits, and by what are they represented? They are represented chiefly by discounts. The hon. gentleman knows that, although the

banks of Canada have a good and honourable record, if there were a run on those deposits to-day, they could not pay them, nor for that matter could the banks of any country do so. To a large extent these discounts go to show that owing to the unhappy disposition of people to forsake the country for the town, there are great many more men engaged in trade than the interests of the country require, and I fear that they are using much less of their own capital and much more of borrowed capital than ever before. But we will let that pass. There is, however, one significant fact that I am not going to let pass. It is a fact that I have brought time and again to the attention of the members of this House, and it shows the utter hollowness and worthlessness of these alleged proofs of the country's prosperity. Sir, to-day, throughout the province of Ontario, I dare to say, there are a hundred towns and villages in each of which there are bank offices having hundreds of thousands and it may be millions of dollars on deposit. Go to any one of those towns and villages and put up a house or a farm for auction, and even if you are willing to take 50 per cent of its real value, I am sorry to say that in the vast majority of cases, although there are hundreds of thousands of dollars lying comparatively idle, and bearing but 3 or 4 per cent interest, you will not be able to get a single bid for your property. Sir, it is not a proof of great and increasing prosperity in a country like Canada, possessing a large unoccupied area of fertile land, that there are an unusually large number of people who prefer to put their money in savings banks and get 3 or 4 per cent interest for it rather than to put it in house or land property; and these things, in so far as they are a proof at all of genuine wealth, are often more accurately described as being a proof of the displacement of wealth. But, Sir, I will allow for argument's sake that the hon. gentleman is right in telling us that these things represent real growth and real wealth. Is there no 'per contra' to all this? Is the hon. gentleman sitting there as Finance Minister unaware of the fact, which I know, which scores of men in this House know, which thousands outside of this House know, that in the older parts of Canada, at any rate, in Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, there is to-day a most unusual and extraordinary decrease in the value, first of all, of town and village property, and in the next place of farm property? Does the hon. gentleman not know that in the past twelve years there has been an enormous increase of debt along with this decrease in the value of property? Does he not know that our federal debt has increased enormously? Does he not know that our provincial debts have also increased enormously? Does he not know that our municipal debt, and our railroad indebtedness—because the moneys borrowed for the con-

struction of railways are a real debt upon the people of Canada—have enormously increased likewise; and that private indebtedness, as represented by moneys borrowed by our loan companies and invested in mortgages, has likewise increased enormously? I would like the hon. gentleman to tell us what his estimate is of the indebtedness of our people to outsiders on all these various scores. One of his colleagues, the hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White), some years ago submitted a calculation to this House, according to which he estimated that we owed annually \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000 of interest. I am not disposed to quarrel with that calculation. I am very much disposed to think that since that time our annual indebtedness for interest has considerably increased. But if it be correct, if we have to pay \$30,000,000 in the shape of interest to foreign creditors, and if you add to that the enormous amount of money we are likewise obliged to pay, not into our treasury, but in the shape of taxes to manufacturers, the hon. gentleman will see that we have very good ground for saying that the people of Canada at this moment are subjected to a burden far too heavy for them to bear. Now, Sir, in the meantime there are certain facts as to which there is no shadow of doubt. With the census returns now in our hands, there is no shadow of doubt that there has been in these ten years that I have alluded to, an enormous loss of the native-born population of Canada, of the very pink and flower of our population. There has been likewise, if there be one word of truth in the statement formally laid on the Table of the House by the Government of which the hon. gentleman is a member, a most enormous loss of the foreign imported immigration. And here I may pause for one moment to say that I, for my part, am willing enough to welcome any honest immigration, but I think, Sir, that the Government and the people of Canada will do well, looking at the enormous loss of their own people, to hesitate before they encourage much more foreign immigration. I have noticed, and noticed carefully, that the foreign immigration which has come to Canada of late years shows a most distinct deterioration, and I believe the same thing exists with respect to the immigration to the United States. In old times, no doubt, the immigration was composed of a very good class of people, as a whole. The difficulties that attended leaving their own country, and the expense of coming here, operated as a sort of natural selection, and a tolerably good class of immigrants came out. In fact, in the old days they would compare perhaps as favourably with the majority of the people from which they came as do the Canadians, I regret to say, who now go to the United States, compare with the majority they leave behind in Canada. But that is all altered. The improvements of transportation make it very easy to shunt upon us an inferior class of

immigrants, and, no doubt, a very large number of those brought to Canada, under the auspices of the hon. gentleman and his colleagues, have been of a very inferior class. There is danger here to the national life. We are suffering a double moral depreciation and degradation. First of all, these hon. gentlemen deprive us of the cream of our population, and then they water the skim-milk that remains. Some gentlemen on their side I dare say, could advise scientifically as to the proportion of water which should go into skim-milk. If you add to this the enormous increase in the real taxation of the people, and by that I mean not only what goes into the Treasury, but what goes out of the pockets of the people, can the hon. gentleman wonder that there is discontent and agitation from one end of the country to the other, more particularly when he and I know that all over Canada to-day a very large class of the very best of our population are daily and hourly being degraded from the position of free and independent landowners to that of mere tenants at will or hopelessly mortgaged men? Let us compare for a moment the progress we have made in this last decade with the progress we made in other decades. The hon. gentleman made a very great point of the enormous increase which the census shows in manufactures. Well, I have also taken the trouble to look through the census returns, and while I am glad to see there has been a considerable increase, I am sorry to be obliged to tell the hon. gentleman that he is utterly mistaken, and is misleading the House gravely when he declares that there is a greater proportionate increase in the most important respects between 1881 and 1891 than between 1871 and 1881. I take these census returns and look to two very important particulars. I look, in the first place, to the number of men employed. The increase in that respect amounted to 44 per cent; the increase between 1871 and 1881 amounted, I believe, to about 39 per cent. All the alleged gain that has been obtained has been a relative increase of some 4 or 5 per cent. And I turn to another item, to which the hon. gentleman directed special attention, the item of the amount of money employed. I do not consider that that is a very favourable showing. It requires to-day, \$353,000,000 of money to produce \$475,000,000 worth of goods, according to the hon. gentleman's census returns. Now, in 1881, it required \$165,000,000 to produce \$309,000,000 worth of goods. Consequently, whereas before we were able to produce by the employment of \$1 of capital nearly \$2 worth of goods, now it requires \$2 worth of capital to produce \$3 worth of goods—a very distinct alteration, and an alteration for the worse in that important respect. And so on for a very considerable number of other important matters. As I have told the hon. gentleman, I do not consider that, in a country like Canada, there is anything to boast of in the fact that there is a reasonable natural increase from year to

year. Does the hon. gentleman pay so very bad a compliment to his own policy as to think there would be no natural increase at all? Let us look at the rate of increase and compare it with that in the mother country, and let us return to that test which I have always pointed to as offering the best possible guarantee for a nation's real progress. I pointed out the other evening that in old Canada, that is to say in the five old provinces, our total increase during the last ten years had been barely 7 per cent. I turn to the returns for England and Wales, and I find that while, with our almost unlimited amount of vacant land in Ontario and Quebec, at any rate, and also some of the Maritime provinces, all we increased in that decade was 7 per cent, in England from 1861 to 1871 the increase was 13 per cent, and from 1871 to 1881 it was 14 per cent, and for this last period the increase is as nearly as possible 12 per cent. So that, practically speaking, the increase in England and Wales—an old country, a country which loses a great many of its population by emigration—has been in some decades twice as much as that which took place in our old provinces from 1861 to 1881. I notice that when the hon. gentlemen opposite are confronted with the facts of the census, or with the facts of the enormous depreciation of property in town, village and farm lands, their course has one merit—it has always been perfectly consistent. I will recall to the minds of my hon. friends behind me the numerous occasions in which, during past years, I have challenged the accuracies of the hon. gentleman's statements as to the growth of this country, and I ask them if the course of the Government was not on all occasions precisely the same. First of all, there was an impudent denial of the fact. That was usually followed by frantic abuse on their part, and on the part of their supporters and their hiring press, of myself and the other gentlemen who brought those unpleasant facts to their notice, and when the facts became too clear to be gainsaid or denied, then the hon. gentleman took refuge—in what? In the assertion, and often the very incorrect assertion, that it was a matter of no consequence, because in some hole or corner of the United States, in some little state of the Union, a similar state of things prevailed. Sir, a physician who, when asked to cure a patient of a wasting disease, would tell the patient that he knew of no remedy, but was able to inform him that there was a number of other people similarly attacked, would not be the kind of man I would like to employ. The hon. gentleman devoted, if I recollect aright, about an hour, or maybe an hour and a quarter to enunciating the policy of the Government. The policy of the Government! Well, Sir, the policy of the Government might have been defined in much shorter metre. The policy of the Government, Sir, as enunciated by the hon. gentleman is, briefly, to fling a tub to the whale. The policy of the

hon. gentleman reminds me very forcibly of an anecdote which I once heard of an American gentleman who, at an early period of this century, was sojourning at an English country house. This was at a time when the great American nation had not been educated on the subject of tips, and this frugal party was seriously exercised as to what he ought to do. So he took one acquaintance aside and asked him gravely, "What is the least sum I can give without appearing mean?" I think the hon. gentleman's Budget has been framed entirely on these lines. The spirit of this frugal Yankee has transmigrated into my hon. friend, and his one end and object at present is to ascertain: "What is the least I can do for the unfortunate farmer without appearing mean?" I cannot congratulate him, but it is the day of small things, and I suppose we must be grateful. And perhaps there may be something in the instalment plan on which the hon. gentleman intends to proceed. Sir, if ever there was a case in which the saying 'Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus' was verified it has been verified by the hon. gentleman this afternoon. Two and a half mortal hours the hon. gentleman consumed in telling us, first, that the Government did not know what to do about saw-logs; second, that the Government will allow us to import oil in tanks instead of in barrels; and, third, that the hon. gentleman will make the duty on binding twine 1 cent instead of 2 cents. But, Sir, that is not all, that is not all by any means. Over and above all this, Sir, the hon. gentleman has been good enough to say that a grand progress is about to be instituted. Is it to be by caravan or by Jamaica car, Mr. Speaker? Four Cabinet Ministers—no, two Cabinet Ministers and two apprentice boys will peddle old taxes for sale about the Dominion. Old taxes for sale! That positively is the policy of the hon. gentleman. Now, Sir, if the hon. gentleman really means it, he has been monstrously injudicious. I recollect perfectly well how the vials of wrath were poured out on my devoted head because, some eighteen years ago, in the course of a speech made by His Excellency, I ventured to hint in the mildest way that within a month or so there would be some tariff changes. Sir, it seemed to me that the heavens and the earth were coming together. What I had done was unconstitutional; I was destroying trade, paralyzing manufactures. But the hon. gentleman proposes during the whole year, if he really means what he says, to unsettle all trade, to unsettle all manufactures. Nobody is to know where he stands until the hon. gentleman and his colleagues have completed their pilgrimage and until a sufficient number of the old taxes have been sold. But, Sir, if the hon. gentleman does not mean it, if all this is simply a device to gain time, if there has been a private arrangement with certain protected manufacturers that they need not disturb themselves, that this will all come out

right, that it will be managed in such a way that their interests at any rate will not suffer, then, I venture to say, a greater farce was never played off on any country than the proposition of the hon. gentleman to take a whole year to carefully consider what he, as Finance Minister, ought to be able to advise this country on to-day. As I have said, Sir, there is one fact which, after fifteen long years, has dawned on the hon. gentleman (I wonder has it dawned on any of his friends around him), and that is, that the Government cannot raise the price of cereals. Sir, you will recollect, and the House will recollect, that we were told by the hon. gentleman time and again that only demagogues would dare to say that the Government could raise the price of cereals, and yet my memory goes back to the time when this country, in 1878, was flooded with demagogues preaching that identical doctrine. The hon. gentleman tells us that our trade in agricultural products with Great Britain has increased by fifteen millions. Well, Sir, I am glad that, bad as the markets are, our farmers have a market at all, but I can tell the hon. gentleman this, that, as regards a large part of that fifteen millions, it is simply the measure of our loss, it is simply the amount of unprofitable trade which we have transacted in place of a much more profitable trade with our natural market. Sir, he was good enough to tell us that the Government came to the help of the farmer in 1889, when they put on a lot of taxes on American products, and got for him, I believe, a million or so of additional markets. And, Sir, he might have added that by that ill-timed and injudicious act he stuck the farmers of Canada for the McKinley tariff and all the mischief it has done them. Had he and his friends pursued, as they were advised from this side of the House, a wise, conservative policy, had they, knowing what was in contemplation from the United States, abstained from putting weapons into the hands of our opponents, the chances are a thousand to one that the most obnoxious portions of the McKinley tariff would never have been enacted. But when he chose in April to defy the American people and to put on taxes which he knew must bring retaliation, he and his Government stand convicted before this country of having, more than any other men, contributed to saddle the McKinley tariff on the farmers of Ontario and the rest of the Dominion. Sir, the hon. gentleman says that the Government lowered the sugar taxes. No doubt the Government, at the dictation of the aforesaid Mr. McKinley, did lower the duties. Did we hear one word of the remission of the sugar taxes until the American Government had made it impossible to keep them on? And when they did reduce them, they did it so as to reduce the amount received by the community in revenue, but not so as to disturb the profits of their refining friends. The utmost amount that could be taken was

taken out of the pockets of the people; but the smallest possible amount was taken out of the pocket of their friend, the chairman of the Conservative committee in Montreal. Sir, the hon. gentleman's ideas are excellent; but I am bound to say his practice is detestable. Now, I come to deal with what I must call the per capita fraud which the hon. gentleman has often referred to. If the hon. gentleman knew anything about what one of his followers calls "scientific protection" he would know that it is the absurdest nonsense to talk about a per capita reduction or a per capita anything else in connection with a protective tariff. Who does not know that the very essence, the very reason for imposing a protective tariff is to compel the bulk of the people to pay a very considerable sum to certain manufacturers, which sum does not go into the treasury? I am not arguing the point whether that is wise or foolish, but I say it is a necessity of the case, and, when that is so, what folly it is to talk of the per capita taxes levied on the people being measured by the sum which goes into the treasury. The tax is taken out of their pockets, and so far as the great mass of the consumers are concerned it does not matter to them whether it goes into the treasury or whether it goes into the pockets of the protected manufacturers. So, likewise, the hon. gentleman tells us that we cannot have free trade because we have \$30,000,000 of taxes to raise. The question suggests itself to my mind: Why have we \$30,000,000 of taxes to raise? Sir, I tell the hon. gentleman that had reasonable prudence and economy been used in the government of this country, had that Government been administered as the late Mr. Mackenzie would have administered it, we would not require to-day to raise \$30,000,000; I doubt if we would require to raise \$20,000,000; and they make their own vicious extravagance, their own folly, and worse than folly, the excuse for denying the people that relief which they have a right to claim. Sir, the hon. gentleman asked my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, for a policy. Well, this is not the first time the Minister of Finance has made that request. I recollect the hon. gentleman asked Mr. Blaine for a policy. Now he asks Mr. Laurier for a policy, and I have no doubt that Mr. Laurier will be quite prepared to prescribe a policy when he is called in, as I have intimated before.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to see his diploma.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. What diploma has the hon. gentleman got to qualify him for the post of Finance Minister?

Mr. FOSTER. Good sense.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. He has sense to sit steady on the fence, I grant, and I think that is the only claim he possesses. The hon. gentleman is good enough to bestow on my hon. friend whom I see at the

other end of the Chamber, considerable encouragement in the matter of preferential trade. I will also tell the hon. gentleman that I have no doubt the Finance Minister regards preferential trade as an excellent red herring to draw across the track; and so far, he is sure of the sympathy of the Minister of Finance if he will aid and assist him in that benevolent purpose. Now, the hon. gentleman dwelt at length on the percentages of increase in the volume of trade, and with great discrimination he selected 1878, the worst of a prolonged period of depression, as the starting point. Well, Sir, I can do, if I like—though I do not often take the trouble—a little in the matter of percentages, and I will tell him how they come out. I will begin at 1868 and go to 1878. In 1868 the grand total of our imports and exports was 130 millions; in 1878 it was 172 millions. The grand total had increased in those ten years, 42 millions, being at the rate of a little over 3 per cent per annum, compounded. From 1878 to 1888 the sum total had increased from 172 millions to about 201 millions, being less than 2 per cent per annum during those ten years, and 50 per cent less than the increase from 1868 to 1878. If he chooses to add the other five years, it would only make, all told, an increase of about 2½ per cent during the whole fourteen years from 1878 to 1892, as against the increase from 1868 to 1878. Well, it is satisfactory to know there is some increase; but I am bound to say, it does not strike me as being such an overwhelming increase for a country in the position of Canada. If we come to the hon. gentleman's favourite per capita argument, and if we take the trade of twenty years ago, we find that in 1873 our grand total of exports and imports was \$217,811,000. This year it is \$241,000,000. Now, our population in 1873 was under four millions, and our trade amounted to \$57 per head. In 1892, when our population is about five millions, our trade per head is \$48. Our trade to-day is \$9 per head less than it was nineteen years ago, and \$45 a family less than it was at that time. As I have said, I do not depreciate the increase, I am very glad to see it, but, at the same time, let the hon. gentleman do his—what shall I call it?—his roaring with some discretion, and not select facts that any school boy who has access to the Trade and Navigation Returns can turn upside down with five minutes' attention. Sir, the plain fact of the matter is this—and the Minister of Finance ought to understand it, and if he does not understand it, it will be our more or less painful duty to make it plain to him—the position of the greater part of Canada to-day, the position, at any rate, of the older provinces of Canada, is that of a country which has unfortunately fallen to a stationary or retrograde condition. There has been an enormous shrinkage in values, a shrinkage which largely overbears all the increases which the hon. gentleman has enumerated. Canada, moreover,—and this is a serious con-

sideration for a Minister of Finance, with or without a diploma—Canada, moreover, is largely a tribute-paying country. We are obliged every year, either on account of individual or general indebtedness, to pay a sum of about 25 to 30 millions to our English creditors. Further than that, Canada is an enormously taxed country. First of all, there is a tax of 30 millions which goes into the Federal treasury; next to that, there is a tax, as I believe, of an amount about or quite equal, which goes into the pockets of the protected manufacturers; and thirdly, there is a very heavy tax paid to the United States Government under the operation of the McKinley tariff. Now, although I do not want to depreciate the value of English markets, I must tell the hon. gentleman, I must tell his followers, that they are leaning on a broken reed if they hope to induce the people of this country to believe that the English markets are going to compensate us, as regards the great majority of farm products, in any shape or way for the American markets we have lost. We may send cheese, we may send wheat, we may send beef, we may send dairy products generally to the English market and do well there; but for almost all other articles, for almost all the vegetables we raise, for our horses, for our barley and for our eggs, I tell the hon. gentleman that it is an absurdity, 'in rerum natura,' to suppose that the English market, under any circumstances, will ever be one-half as favourable to us as the American market is known to be. Now, Sir, I spoke just now of the amount which we paid to the protected manufacturers. This is an important point, bearing largely on the whole argument of the hon. gentleman. Now, I think those in the House on either side who have paid any attention to economic questions, will agree that the measure of a tax is of necessity the difference between the cost of the article consumed under such a system, and the cost of the same article in open market. I will apply that test to a very few manufactures. First of all, we will take the article of cotton. Now, Sir, from cotton last year we obtained a revenue of \$1,114,000. What was the tax that we paid on the article of cotton? There is a difficulty here, because there is some dispute as to the exact value of the cotton consumed in this country. Various figures have been given to me. Some persons put it at \$4 per head, some put it at a little less; but having made a careful examination into the amount formerly imported and the amount of raw material now consumed, I believe that I am well within the mark in saying that the total value of the cotton goods now consumed in Canada, ranges somewhere between \$17,000,000 and \$20,000,000, including what is imported and what is produced in this country. Sir, it is known to all hon. gentlemen here that our taxes on cotton, especially on the coarser varieties go into high figures; but I

assume for the purpose of this argument, and only for this purpose, that the taxes average 30 per cent. In that case our taxes on the cotton goods consumed in Canada would amount to considerably over \$3,000,000, and the amount that goes into the treasury is only \$1,100,000. In the case of sugar, of which the hon. gentleman has boasted so much, while I agree with him that the consumption is about 344,000,000 lbs., the tax is $\frac{1}{16}$ of a cent per pound, and though it may be quite true that the refiner was not able to extract the uttermost of his pound of flesh, but the people are compelled to pay at least \$2,000,000 a year for the benefit of the refiner, while only about \$80,000 goes into the public treasury. I take the case of binding twine, which the hon. gentleman has graciously been pleased to reduce from 2 cents to 1 cent. What was the amount of tax last year? It was shown to be 2½ cents, or 25 per cent, on 10,000,000 lbs., meaning a tax of \$250,000 a year, of which the revenue only received \$42,000. I take the case of rice, and in regard to that article his calculations differ from mine. We imported of clean rice about 3,000,000 lbs., and of paddy or uncleaned rice about 20,000,000 lbs. I do not know exactly the loss in the conversion of unclean into clean rice, but all rice consumed in Canada paid 1½ cents per pound, that being the tax on the cleaned articles. That means that the people paid somebody, though not into the treasury, a tax of at least \$250,000, while the revenue received is only \$80,000. I will not dwell on the results of this oppressive system as regards coal oil or iron, which enters so largely into the consumption of all agriculturists, or binder twine; but taking those articles together, the taxes on the four which I have enumerated amount to from \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000 a year, while all that is received by the revenue is only \$1,250,000. I have paid no attention whatever to the well-known fact that in many of these cases the tax is enormously increased by the middleman's charges. It is well known to everybody that if you put a tax on an article and it passes, before it reaches the final consumer, through two or three hands, the tax is enormously increased. I have left that wholly and entirely out of the question. I have merely called attention to the enormous amount which, under the operation of any protective tariff is taken out of the people's pockets over and above the sum which goes into the revenue. On most of those articles the taxes are imposed so as to hurt the farmer more especially, and you must remember that over and above this high taxation, over and above the high bonuses given to protected manufacturers, the condition of things is such that almost the whole weight falls on the farmers under the McKinley Bill, because, although it may not benefit the United States consumer, it does injure the Canadian producer. You will find my other statement is perfectly correct, that under the combined operations of these three heavy systems of taxation, taxation for Gov-

ernment purposes, taxation for the benefit of protected manufacturers, and taxation under the McKinley tariff, every acre of land now under cultivation in any portion of Canada is practically subject to a heavy rent. In fact, in many parts of Canada that rent is, I believe, after a careful examination, fully equal to the outside rent that is paid in any part of England for ordinary farm lands. Sir, the hon. gentleman was good enough in a recent discussion to tell us that after all said and done it was really a law of nature, and that people nowadays will rush from the country to the towns, and there is no help for it. In other words, the policy of the Government may be defined as follows: They are aware there is a determination of blood to the head, and it is their policy by overtaxing the farmers, by making agriculture unproductive, to do everything in their power to increase it. That is practically their policy so far as the farmers are concerned. I turn to the manufacturers, the hon. gentleman's special proteges and friends. I am very dubious indeed if the great bulk of the manufacturers, as contradistinguished from a few specially petted interests, have gained anything under this tariff, and I make this assertion boldly. I think there is very strong reason to believe that the great bulk of the manufacturers in Canada would have prospered much more under the revenue tariff of 1878 than under the present system. Sir, those census statistics on which the hon. gentleman relies are essentially, I might almost say, on the face of them, statistics on which no thorough dependence can be placed. The hon. gentleman alluded some time ago to the very large increase in the number of industrial establishments. Well, Sir, that statement had attracted my eye also. I took eleven towns in Ontario which I knew best, and examined the list of industries, or rather industrial establishments which were credited to those towns, and I recommend hon. gentlemen in this House and my friends out of it to pay special attention to this list. I find that in Bowmanville, with a population of 3,377 souls, there were 86 industrial establishments; in Cobourg, with 4,829 souls, there were 83 industrial establishments; in Collingwood, with a population of 4,940, there were 78 industrial establishments; in Napanee, of which I know something, with a population of 3,434, I was happy to learn, for the first time in my life, that it possessed 84 industrial establishments; Oshawa, with a population of 4,066, had 94 industrial establishments; Trenton, with a population of 4,300, had 62 industrial establishments; Whitby, with a population of 2,786, had 92 industrial establishments; Port Hope, with a population of 5,042, had 140 industrial establishments; Strathroy, with a population of 3,316, had 132 industrial establishments; Mount Forest, with a population of 2,214, had 92 industrial establishments; in other words, in all those favoured places under the influence of the National Policy every five, six or seven fami-

lies had an industrial establishment between them. I believe if the hon. gentleman's census commissioners had counted every tinker, tailor, cobbler, carpenter, blacksmith and sewing girl in all those places they would not have made up the list. When I look at what they call manufactures, if I am to judge from the census taken under the auspices of hon. gentlemen opposite in 1881, although they may be technically correct, there is not the slightest doubt that a very false impression will be created in the minds of the people by the grandiloquent statement that so many hundred millions of dollars worth of articles are manufactured. I have not the details for 1891, although the Minister of Finance may have them, and we will probably receive them in due course; but I have those for 1881, and I desire to call the special attention of the House to the way in which the list of manufacturing industries in Canada was made up. We had \$309,000,000 worth of manufactured articles in that year. Of these there was flour to the value of \$42,000,000; bakeries, \$9,500,000; tanneries, \$15,100,000; boots and shoes, \$18,000,000; sugar, \$9,600,000 (it took 700 hands to produce that value in sugar); meat, \$4,000,000; cheese, \$5,500,000; clothes, \$15,000,000; dressmakers' products, \$5,000,000; hatters' goods, \$3,300,000; carpenters were \$3,900,000, blacksmiths were \$7,200,000, carriage-makers were \$6,500,000, saw mills \$38,000,000, sash and door factories \$480,000, printing offices were \$2,700,000—what particular description of manufacture that is, I do not exactly see—paper mills were \$2,400,000, pulp mills \$4,750,000, ship yards \$3,557,000, and shingle mills \$776,000. In other words, out of their \$309,000,000, there were \$202,000,000 which, to say the truth, could have been in no possible respect benefited by the National Policy, or a policy of protection, except, possibly, the single article of sugar. I do submit, that in calling these things manufactures, the hon. gentleman has parted, not, perhaps, from technical accuracy, as his predecessors did, but he most assuredly contributed to convey a very false opinion to the majority of the people as to the extent of our manufactures. I suspect that when these \$470,000,000 of alleged manufactures come to be examined, that you will find in every case as in this, that an enormous mass of these so-called manufactures are hardly things that would be called manufactures at all, and that, in any case, from the very nature of the fact, they could derive no possible benefit, but rather the reverse, from a protective policy. I noticed amongst the \$7,000,000 worth of manufactured goods which the hon. gentleman boasted of having exported, one item for which I give the National Policy full credit. I notice that among these \$7,000,000 worth of goods, there was over \$1,000,000 worth of settlers' goods belonging to emigrants leaving this country for the United States. As to manufactures generally, I desire to say most explicitly, that I neither overrate nor under-

rate, nor wish to overrate their importance. Every man knows perfectly well that manufactures must have a place, and a very important place, in any country at all civilized. I have not the slightest wish to underrate in any shape or form the great importance of manufactures, but, Sir, for all that, I contend that the hon. gentleman is wholly wrong in endeavouring to convey to the people of Canada the idea that Canada has special advantages for becoming a great manufacturing country. I say that Canada is, above all, a great agricultural country; next to its great agricultural resources stands its mineral, its lumbering, and its fishing resources, and next after these, and I admit they are very important, come its manufactures. But, Sir, it is not in our time that Canada is likely to become a great manufacturing country, unless some very extraordinary scientific discovery occurs, and unless the conditions of manufacturing are totally altered, the very circumstances in which we are placed would appear to forbid it. Neither in age, nor climate, nor in density of population, nor from our products, nor our geographical situation, do we possess the advantages for becoming a great manufacturing country which other nations possess, and the Government, I believe, have been doing a very ill service to the manufacturers of Canada, by inducing many men to embark their capital and to risk their whole fortunes in manufactures for which this country was not well suited. There are manufactures which Canada might develop to an enormously greater extent than it has as yet done, and were the United States markets once thrown open to us, and were there free trade from one end of this continent to the other, I would look to see very great development of very many important industries in Canada. As it is, Sir, we resemble men who, having an inexhaustible gold-field at their feet, have chosen to devote themselves to the manufacture of artificial flowers, or, to borrow a metaphor from the hon. gentleman opposite, we seem to be at the present moment like men who, possessing the finest and most fertile wheat region of the world, choose rather to grow oranges in hot houses than to devote themselves to the proper exploitation of the soil. What are the remedies which are offered by us on this side of the House? The hon. gentleman desires to know our policy. I will tell the hon. gentleman what has been our policy from first to last. Our policy from first to last has been to destroy this villainous protective system which has been grinding out the vitals of the people of this country. I do not care in what particular way the reptile is destroyed. I do not care whether it is cut off by the head, or the tail, or in the middle; I do not care whether it is by free trade positive or absolute, or by revenue tariff or continental free trade. I wish to see my people redeemed from the degrading slavery which a few political and commercial knaves imposed upon

them. With respect to free trade with the United States, we have had some very remarkable admissions from these hon. gentlemen opposite. A few years ago they were constantly telling us that there was no possibility of obtaining reciprocal trade with the United States; but a few weeks ago the Premier of this country admitted in Toronto, that there was no difficulty whatever in obtaining reciprocity with the neighbouring republic. It follows, Sir, that when I first proposed that measure five years ago, Canada might have had reciprocal trade, if the Government had chosen to work for it; Canada to-day might have had 500,000 people which she has lost since that proposal was rejected, and Canada might also have doubled or trebled her trade with the United States, but these hon. gentlemen opposite would have none of it. Had they been honest in this matter, had they stuck to their original declaration, had they adopted and stood fast by the policy which the Finance Minister himself declared when I first brought forward this matter in 1888, why, Sir, then I would have said, that at least they have the credit of consistency. But what has their course been? When in 1888 I proposed that we should open negotiations with the United States, they refused deliberately, on the ground that they would make no effort whatever to have free trade with the States, unless they could secure the interests of the protected few. When in 1889 I repeated that motion I was met with a direct negative, and in 1890, as the House knows, when the motion was again proposed, Mr. Colby was good enough to blurt out the truth that the Government did not want anything to do with it, and that the Government did not even believe in the exchange of natural products. Now, Sir, what are we to say of the miserable falsehood which preceded and followed the elections of 1891, when these hon. gentlemen opposite dared to go to the country under the pretense that they required the mandate of the people to enable them to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, which they had not the remotest idea of honestly attempting to do? Has the House forgotten the humiliation to which Sir Charles Tupper was subjected when over his own hand, he was obliged to report to the Government of Canada that he had to proceed with Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, to the presence of Mr. Blaine, and there humbly to recant all that he had said to the people of Canada as to the alleged invitation of the United States Government to come and treat with them? Do they remember their whole conduct since 1886? What has been their policy as regard the United States? Their policy has been to snarl and to run away, their policy has been to bluster and to cringe, and I, for one, felt humiliation when the Finance Minister, rising in his place, told us that he, the Finance Minister of Canada, had to appeal to Mr. Blaine, the Premier of the United

States, to be instructed in what way he might raise taxes out of the people of Canada. I, for one, reaffirm my position. I say clearly and distinctly that as matters stand to-day in Canada—although it need not have been so, and although it was not always so—no great development is possible unless in some form or shape, either by the voluntary good-will of the United States or by a reciprocity treaty, the markets of the rest of this continent are thrown open to us. I say, Sir, that that condition is fixed for us by geographical considerations. I do not mean to say that we cannot enjoy a moderate prosperity without; but I do say that after the chances which Canada has thrown away, as in 1867, when she entered on the race of national existence, with extraordinary advantages over the United States, and which we've thrown away by the folly of the Government of the day, and afterwards, in 1878, when we had pretty well extricated ourselves from the effects of the villainous improvidence of preceding Administrations—I say, Sir, that after throwing away those chances, it is no longer possible for us to hope for any great development of the really great resources which Canada possesses unless it is through obtaining access to the markets of the United States. But, Sir, although we may not be able to obtain that; although I am perfectly willing to own that the conduct of the Government of Canada for the past seven years has been such as to put a great impediment in our way; although there is no doubt that, from first to last, whether under Cleveland or under Harrison, they have so conducted themselves as to become objects of just suspicion to the American Government; yet I say that there is a good deal that still remains for us to do. We can reform this system. We can, beyond all doubt, if we choose, grant a great and permanent relief to the people of this country. We can reduce the taxation which now presses upon them. I am not now discussing what is abstractly the best; I am simply discussing what is the best possible. I say it is right that time and due consideration should be given. I say, although this is a case, not of cutting away mouldering branches, but of cutting down the entire Upas tree, it is right and proper that the bystanders should be duly warned. It is true that the Government have made reciprocity with the United States in their time and by them quite impossible; but there is no doubt that the tariff which we now have to deal with is a tariff vicious in the extreme. It is not merely a tariff under which great waste and huge extortion are perpetrated. It is a tariff that sins in every possible form. Now, what are the universal notes or marks of a good system of taxation? I will tell the hon. gentleman. A good and honest taxation will take as little as possible out of the pockets of the people beyond what goes into the treasury. A good and honest taxation will be uniform in its operation on all classes and sections; it will

spare the necessities of life; and, although this is a lesser matter, it will take the taxation in such a way as to cause as little inconvenience as possible. Now, Sir, what is the character of the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite? By means of it they take twice as much out of the pockets of the people as goes into the treasury. They so arrange the taxation that it is specially unfair and unjust to the poorest classes of the community, specially unfair and unjust to the great consuming classes of this country, and sometimes specially unfair and unjust to the inhabitants of one section as compared with another. They tax food, fuel, light, clothing, the means of knowledge. Sir, there is another and further thing: this system of tariff protection, as instituted by them, has this further evil in it, that it practically organizes corruption. It practically makes it the interest of a large class of business men in Canada, controlling large sums of money, when appealed to by the Government, and especially when the hon. gentleman, as he now proposes to do, goes around the country taking their views and ascertaining what they will pay rather than have a particular tax abolished—it makes it their special interest to keep a corrupt Government in power if only that Government will give them the power of plundering the people in return. There is one fault in this system of taxation which requires particular attention. The whole system of specific duties levied by the hon. gentleman is distinctly bad. In the first place, it disguises the amount of the taxation; in the next place, the tax is always relatively increasing. Just as fast as scientific discoveries enable goods to be cheapened in price, a specific tax rises relatively in proportion. But the chief and greatest offence against good government is that such a tax invariably discriminates, and heavily discriminates, against the poorest consumer. I have taken a few cases, and only a few, to show the extreme injustice wrought by the present system. I take ordinary cottons, which are taxed 2 cents a yard and 15 cents ad valorem, or 55 per cent on the lowest grade consumed by the poorer classes, and only 30 per cent on the high grades, consumed by the wealthier classes. On the low grades of blankets consumed by the poor there is at least 50 per cent against 30 per cent on the higher grade. On shirts there is 60 per cent on the low grades against 25 per cent on the high grades. On rough coatings there is 60 per cent on the low grades against 25 per cent on the high grades. On oil-cloth there is 80 per cent on the low grades against 25 per cent on the high grades. On wall paper there is at least 100 per cent on the low grades against 30 per cent, and even considerably less, on the high grades. Sir, I have always believed, and I will make the hon. gentleman a present of the statement, that in a true and sound system of taxation, the object of the Government should be so to equalize matters, that as many days'

income should be taken from one man as from another, with this very important qualification, that incomes which are so small as not to do more than supply the recipient with the necessities of life, should not be taxed at all. Sir, I advise the hon. gentleman, if he desires to have before him a true ideal system of taxation, to work towards that end, and I tell him that huge accumulations, under any circumstances, ought to be discouraged by wise statesmen; they are politically and socially dangerous. I tell him that it is his duty, and the duty of the Government, to do all that lies in their power to restrain combinations and corporations of every kind—to see that all these bodies, which derive their existence from us, are kept in their proper place as servants of the state and not masters, as too many of them seem to be. There is no doubt, also, that, under the hon. gentleman's policy, the cost of living in Canada has been enormously increased. It may not be in his knowledge, but it is in mine, that in the case of men possessing moderate incomes it is possible to-day to live in greater comfort in England at barely two-thirds of the expense that is necessary here. That is partly due to the natural condition of things here. In a climate with such extremes as ours, there is no doubt that living is, in many respects, more expensive than in more temperate climates. But the fact remains that, whereas, a comparatively short space of time ago, Canada was a cheap place to live in, under the regime of hon. gentlemen opposite it has become a decidedly dearer country than England, and, I fear, in many respects, a dearer country than the United States. Now, I said a while ago that one result of the policy of the Government had been, beyond all doubt, enormously to aggravate the exodus from this country, and I added, and now repeat, that there is one result of that exodus which has not been entirely or properly appreciated by our people. Sir, you cannot go on for many years, from year to year, driving away the very choicest part of your population without doing a great moral as well as physical injury, and I believe that the statement made some years ago by Mr. Leckie on this subject, in dealing with another country, well known to most of us, may be literally and properly applied to Canada. In speaking of the effect of the emigration from Ireland, he used these words. The examples he refers to are the Irishmen who have distinguished themselves abroad:

These examples might easily be increased, but they are quite sufficient to show how large a proportion of the energy and ability of Ireland was employed in foreign lands and how ruinous must have been the consequences at home. If, as there appears much reason to believe, there is such a thing as a hereditary transmission of moral and intellectual qualities, the removal from a nation of tens of thousands of the ablest and most energetic of its citizens must inevitably, by a mere physical law, result in the degradation of the race. Nor is it necessary to fall back upon any speculations of disputed science. In every community

there exists a small minority of men whose abilities, high purpose, and energy of will, mark them out as in some degree leaders of men. These take the first steps in every public enterprise, counteract by their example the vicious elements of the population, set the current and form the standard of public opinion, and infuse a healthy moral vigour into their nation. In Ireland for three or four generations such men were steadily weeded out. Can we wonder that the standard of public morals and of public spirit should have declined?

But not only were the healthiest elements driven away; corrupting influences of the most powerful kind infected those who remained.

Sir, place Ireland for Canada, and you will have a very excellent illustration of what the policy of this Government for the last fourteen years has been employed in effecting. Sir, in the early part of the eighteenth century, to which these words refer, it may have taken five or six decades to do what, under existing conditions, has been done in Canada in ten or twelve years. And one of the chief counts I make against the policy of which these hon. gentlemen are so proud, is that, from first to last, the inevitable tendency of their policy has been to organize political corruption of the very vilest kind. The danger is vastly increased in such a country as ours by the exportation of the best of its youth, so that, while the danger increases, the resistance to it is diminished. In the United States it is different. There, whatever be the evils of their policy, at any rate the youth of the population remain, and it is to that fact very largely the success of the American people in emancipating themselves, as they have done, from the shackles of protection is to be ascribed. I have not time to-night to review our scale of expenditure. I will simply say that our general scale of expenditure for a population of 5,000,000 is monstrously extravagant. Our clothes are far too big. They were cut out for a population of 20,000,000 or 30,000,000. I need look no further than the benches opposite to illustrate this. What possible use can there be in a country like Canada for a Cabinet of fifteen Ministers, besides the Deputy Ministers? Why, Sir, 50,000,000 of people might be administered with the same staff. Look at the cost of administration and legislation. We have practically \$14,000,000 to expend, exclusive of charges for collection of revenue and interest, and it costs us every year \$2,000,000 to spend that amount. Turn to our Estimates, and review the number of clerks these gentlemen require. In Mr. Mackenzie's time, to do the same work, his Cabinet only required 480; hon. gentlemen opposite employ 826, and a whole regiment of extras besides. The hon. gentleman spoke very lightly of the consequences to Canada of the United States revising their tariff. I cannot agree with him there. If the United States do very largely reduce their tariff they will very largely cheapen the cost of living in that country. They will very

largely cheapen the cost of production. The United States farmers have to-day a very great advantage over ours in many ways. They get more for what they produce, and with the single exception of the article of woollen clothing they are enabled to purchase what they require at much lower rates, and even if we are fortunate enough to get our raw products admitted free, we will still be comparatively at a serious disadvantage compared with them. What is the part of true statesmanship, and what would be wise policy under such circumstances? Not, as these hon. gentlemen are doing, looking to Washington, and waiting until they know exactly what the United States are going to do before they proceed to bring down their tariff and annunciate their policy; but to anticipate the Americans, to give Canada, if they can, a little start; to give Canada the advantage of being made comparatively a cheap country to live in, which it is in their power to do by a reasonable and prompt readjustment of the tariff. Now, I have briefly to say this: I, for my part, indict the present policy of the Government, and I indict its present tariff on all counts. I say it is radically false in theory, and vicious in principle. I say that it is in the highest degree an unjust and an oppressive tariff. I say that it is most eminently unsuited to the genius and geographical position of the people of Canada. I say that it is in the highest degree an unjust and of the people, and that it discriminates against special sections. Practically, these hon. gentlemen reverse Robin Hood's good old rule, for whereas Robin Hood robbed the rich for the purpose of bestowing gifts on the poor, they rob the poor for the purpose of bestowing gifts on the rich. I say that these hon. gentlemen and their tariff are very largely responsible for the fact that a million of the best blood of Canada are now exiled in the United States. I say that their tariff directly fosters extravagance, that it is a veritable hot bed of corruption, that it debases and enslaves and is fast emasculating our people, and I say that we have no chance whatever of ever developing Canada, as it should be developed, until this thing is utterly and completely reformed, root and branch. And that there is no mistake about our intent and our policy, I move:

That all the words after the word "That" be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof:—"It be Resolved, That the present Customs tariff bears heavily and unjustly upon the great consuming classes of the Dominion and should be at once thoroughly reformed in the direction of freer trade, and that the amount of taxes collected be limited to the sum required to meet the necessities of the Government efficiently and economically administered."

OTTAWA

Printed by S. E. DAWSON

Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty

1893

The
very
ays.
and
e of
hase
and
our
l be
com-
true
olicy
hese
ing-
ctly
fore
and
the
n, a
tage
ntry
o by
the
: I,
the
f on
e in
say
and
most
gra-
say
and
inst
gen-
for
the
they
ving
non.
gely
of
l in
triff
ver-
ises
our
unce
s it
ut-
and
out

left
"it
ears
asses
y re-
the
re-
nent

